

## JOHN WHITEHORNE (1944–2020)



J.E.G. Whitehorne, retired Associate Professor in the Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Queensland, in which he served until 2011, and a valued past member (1995–2010) of the three-person committee of editors of this journal, died on March 5, 2020. Born in London on July 2, 1944, John prepared at Manchester Grammar School before going on to do his BA at London, graduating in 1965, but not before meeting Eric Turner and encountering his first Greek papyri. After completing an MA at the University of British Columbia (1967), with a thesis on Latin poetry, John served as a lecturer at the University of Auckland for two years before returning to London to begin doctoral study. His graduate student career, however, was again interrupted when he received a faculty appointment at the University of Queensland, requiring him to complete his doctoral studies *cum* dissertation (on 26 Oxyrhynchus Greek papyri) at a distance in Australia, returning to London to defend in 1977.

Indeed these early events set the peripatetic rhythm of intercontinental mobility that prevailed throughout John's life even after he attained a stable academic career base in Australia. Especially because of his need to work in-person with papyrus collections in the UK, in Europe, and

the US, he may well have held the papyrologists' record for lifetime airline miles amassed. An inveterate attendee at academic congresses as well, during conference excursions he could often be encountered, along with his wife, Judy, at archaeological or other historic sites, typically in the Mediterranean.

Incredibly energetic and generous, yet in manner a modest man full of wry humor, John displayed a great range of academic interests related to the ancient world. Greek documentary papyri were his bread and butter, but not his all. Papyrologists will especially recognize his extensive contributions to the three *P.Oxy.* volumes (49 [1982], 59 [1992], 62 [1995]) that he co-edited beginning early in his career, as well as his numerous journal articles on individual texts and his contributions to several other volumes such as *P. Kellis* 1. Together with Guido Bastianini, John authored an especially important tool for documentary papyrologists, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt: Chronological List and Index*, first published in 1987, followed by a revised edition in 2006. His book *Cleopatra*s (1994), in which he sketches the life of not only Cleopatra VII but also the lives of 30-plus other ancient royal women of the same name stretching back before the Ptolemies, garnered widespread popular as well as scholarly interest. All the while, John was teaching Greek, Latin, and ancient civilizations and writing reviews of a wide range of books on classical and ancient literature and history.

Before an audience, John's manner of pronouncing English – seemingly a blend of London's East End, Australia, and perhaps other strains – apparently proved impenetrable to many second-language English speakers who had been taught the “correct” pronunciation. Ever helpful, John was observed on at least one occasion positioning stacks of copies of his paper in the back of the congress lecture room before his session so that he could direct those who could not understand what he was saying to this backup. This was truly emblematic of John's generosity and thoughtfulness.

Timothy Renner

With sadness we also note the passing of Paul Peeters (1965–2021). Paul was instrumental in moving *BASP* to Peeters in 2017. We will miss him at the annual meetings of the Society for Classical Studies, where he manned the Peeters booth.

## THE PTOLEMIES AND THE MYTH OF ANDROMEDA AND PERSEUS: EDITION OF P.VINDOB. G 42484

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*Abstract.* — Edition of P.Vindob. G 42484, a small fragment of a papyrus codex that contains fragments of a metrical text embedded in a prose commentary. The few words that remain suggest that the subject of the poem is an episode from the myth of Andromeda and Perseus. The prose text on the other side of the codex leaf is written in the same hand and may therefore be presumed to be related; it contains references to the Ptolemies and citizens.

*Keywords:* Andromeda, Perseus, Ptolemies, Callimachus

P.Vindob. G 42484 is a small fragment (5 × 5.5 cm) of what appears to be a codex leaf damaged on all four sides. The text is written in a literary hand likely dating to the fifth or sixth century AD.<sup>1</sup> The height of most of the letters is about 0.5 cm, up to 0.75 cm for *phi*'s and *psi*'s; the widths of the letters vary from ca. 0.25 cm to more than 0.5 cm. The text is written on both sides by the same hand, but less carefully on the side with the vertical fibers. Distinctive attributes of this hand are the protruding horizontal stroke of the *epsilon* and the horizontal of the *eta* which is written with an oblique slanting upwards from left to right like a backwards *nu*. The *mu* is also written with characteristic loops, and the *delta*'s right oblique protrudes at the top with a slight curve to the left. The *alpha* has a pronounced loop, the top of which often connects to the following letter, and the *upsilon* has a large loop at the bottom making up nearly half of the letter height. The *kappa* is written with a loop connecting the downward vertical stroke with the upward diagonal, and the *pi* has slanted verticals which curve slightly at the bottom. On the back of the papyrus two *sigma*'s at the end of the line extend far to the right (almost the width of two letters) and upward, nearly reaching the bottom of the line above. Although the script is a clear and regular literary hand, the graphic oddities of this papyrus such as the oblique of the *eta* are notable. The precise

<sup>1</sup> G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period, A.D. 300–800* (London 1987) nos. 8d (V/VI) and 8e (mid-VI). — I would like to give special thanks to Evren Işınak Bruce and Peter van Minnen for all their help.

number of letters per line also cannot be determined, as there are no complete lines. The provenance of the papyrus is unknown.

P.Vindob. G 42484

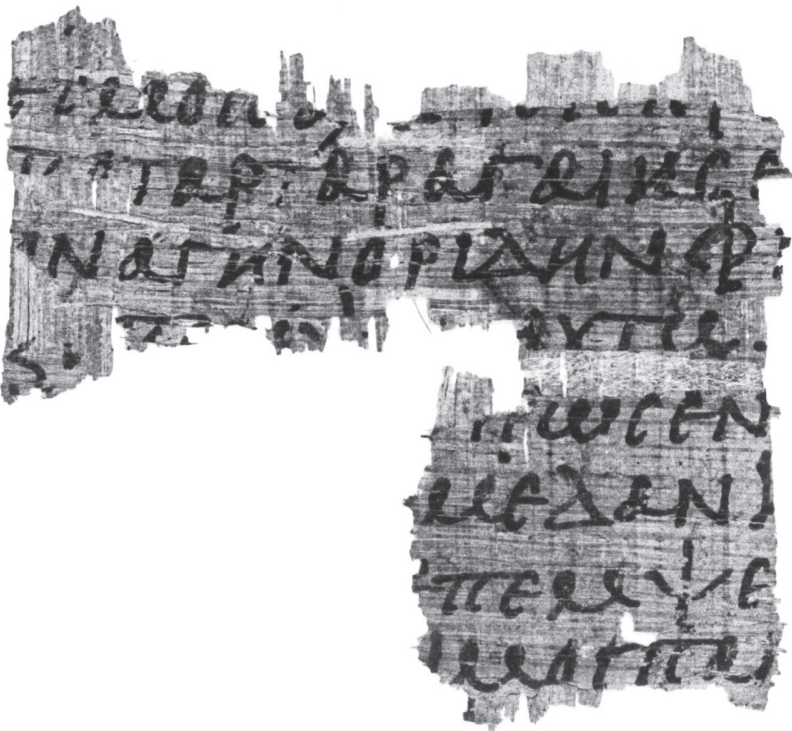
H × W = 5 × 5.5 cm

V–VI

→

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] . [  
]εσμοῖσαλ . . . . . ρ . [  
]ποταρταραγαιησε[  
]ηναγηνοριδηνφι[  
5 ]ξεπεμψ[ . ]γαντω . [  
] . . ρωσεν[  
]μεδανκ[  
]επεμψε[  
]ιμοιπα . [  
10 ]ψ[  
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] . [  
[δ]εσμοῖς αλ . . . . . ρ . [  
[ύ]πὸ τάρταρα γαίης ε[  
[γ]ῆν Ἀγηνορίδην Φι[νέα  
5 [ἐ]ξεπεμψ[ε]γ αυτῶ . [  
λ]υτρῶσεν[  
Ἄνδρο]μέδαν κ[  
]έπεμψε[  
]ιμοι πα[ι[  
10 ]ψ[  
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The few words that remain on the → side contain what seems to be a fragmentary mythological text, parts of which are metrical. In line 3, there is a dactyl-spondee combination (preceded by the two shorts of a preceding dactyl): [ὅ]πὸ τάρταρα γαίης. The same phrase (without ὑπό) occurs in Hesiod and Antimachus.<sup>2</sup> Other dactylic hexameter feet occur in the text (discussed below), but a few irregularities make it certain that we do not have the complete text of a poem, but rather a prose text which contains quotations of poetry, perhaps *lemmata* in a commentary. For example, the dactyl-spondee cadence from line 3 is followed by an *epsilon*, indicating that this is not the end of the line as would be expected. In line 4, if the reading of *eta-nu* at the beginning of the preserved line is correct, the following Ἀγηνορίδην produces an unmetrical phrase, whereas the word on its own would fit in a hexameter verse. The other lines are too poorly preserved to draw any definite conclusions. However, a likely explanation for the preserved metrical and non-metrical sections of the text is that this is a commentary on a poem in which a word or phrase is quoted and is followed by an explanation or clarification. An excellent earlier *comparandum* is the Lille papyrus commentary on *Victoria Berenices*, which gives aids to the reader interspersed among words or phrases where needed.<sup>3</sup> For example, the patronymic Agenorides is glossed Phineus, and the poetic ὑπὸ τάρταρα γαίης is explained more simply as ὑπὸ γῆν.

Two names appear in the text which help identify the myth related in the poem: the son of Agenor (Ἀγηνορίδην) in line 4 and Andromeda (Ἀνδρομέδαν) in line 7. The patronymic Agenorides might suggest a poem related to the life of Cadmus, but the presence of Andromeda suggests we are dealing with a different mythological genealogy. A scholiast on Euripides' *Phoenician Women* claims that one of the sons of Agenor is Kepheus, the father of Andromeda.<sup>4</sup> According to Apollodorus, Kepheus was the king of Ethiopia.<sup>5</sup> His wife, Kassiopeia, had boasted that she and her daughter

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod *Th.* 841; Antimachus 41a6, V.J. Matthews, *Antimachus of Colophon: Text and Commentary* (Leiden 1996). In both instances, the phrase falls at the end of the line.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. P.J. Parsons and R. Kassel, "Callimachus: *Victoria Berenices*," *ZPE* 25 (1977) 4–5.

<sup>4</sup> W. Dindorf, *Scholia graeca in Euripidis tragoedias ex codicibus aucta et emendata* 3 (Oxford 1863) 99, l.217. Herodotus (7.61.3) and Euripides (F 881 K<sup>5.2</sup>) make him the son of Belus. Hyginus (*Astr.* 2.9) calls him the son of Phoinix.

<sup>5</sup> *Bibliotheca* 2.4.3–5. The earliest record of the Andromeda myth is a Corinthian amphora from the mid-sixth century BC (*LIMC* s.v. "Andromeda" no. 1), showing Perseus about to hurl stones at a wolf-like monster. Compare also Pherekydes, *FGH* 3 fr.12. Andromeda was also the subject of lost plays by Sophocles and Euripides (R. Klimek-Winter, *Andromedatragödien* [Stuttgart 1993] 23–54, 55–315). For Euripides' play cf. F. Babel, *Euripides, Andromeda* (Stuttgart 1991).

were more beautiful than all of the Nereids, the nymph-daughters of the sea god Nereus. The hubris of the queen angered Poseidon who sent a flood and a sea-monster, Ketos, to ravage the coast of Ethiopia to punish her and her citizens. Kepheus and Kassiopeia consulted the seer Ammon, who told them that the only way to appease Poseidon was to sacrifice their daughter, Andromeda, by exposing her to the sea-monster on the shores of Ethiopia. The Ethiopians compelled Kepheus to give up his daughter to save the community, and he conceded, offering Andromeda as prey to Ketos. The hero Perseus, however, when returning from slaying the Gorgon, beheld Andromeda chained to the rock, fell in love with her, and promised her father that he would save her if she were given to him in marriage. After having killed Ketos, Perseus was promised Andromeda's hand in marriage. At the wedding, however, Kepheus' brother Phineus,<sup>6</sup> to whom Andromeda had been previously betrothed, protested and attempted to recover his bride from Perseus by force. Perseus then slew a mob of Phineus' supporters and turned Phineus into stone by displaying the head of the Gorgon.

The surviving content of the Vienna papyrus seems to point to the latter part of this myth: the wedding between Perseus and Andromeda. I identify the son of Agenor in line 4 with Phineus, Andromeda's uncle, rather than Kepheus, her father. This identification is supported by the presence of a partial gloss which follows the patronymic. The *phi* and *iota* represent the beginning of Phineus, the brother of Kepheus and failed suitor of Andromeda.<sup>7</sup> Phineus does not play a significant role in any extant versions of the myth before the wedding in which he and his supporters are killed in a standoff with Perseus. The slaughter of Phineus and his supporters might also explain the context of [ὅ]πὸ τέταρτα γαίης in line 3, either referring to the death of Phineus himself who is turned to stone or one of his comrades who are run through by the sword. According to Ovid, who gives the fullest account of this episode, Phineus himself is one of the last to die.<sup>8</sup>

Later accounts include Ovid, *Met.* 4.663–803; 5.1–235 and Konon 40, M.K. Brown, *The Narratives of Konon* (München 2002).

<sup>6</sup> This Phineus is often conflated with the blind Thracian suitor, and brother of Cadmus, encountered by the Argonauts (also referred to as Agenorides in Apollonius Rhod. 2.178, 240, 293, 426, 490, 618; 3.943). He is named as Andromeda's fiancé in Ovid, *Met.* 5.1–235 and Apollodorus 2.44. He is a rival suitor with Phoinix in Konon 40. In all three versions, he is Cepheus' brother and Andromeda's uncle. Cf. O. Jessen in W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* 3.2 (Leipzig 1909) 2254–2275, s.v. "Phineus."

<sup>7</sup> Phineus' name also occurs with the patronymic in Hellanicus Hist. *Fragmenta* fr. 95.7; *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium* 140.10.

<sup>8</sup> *Met.* 5.227–235.

2 δ]εσμοῖς: perhaps referring to the earlier part of the myth when Andromeda is chained to the rock. Ovid also refers to the binding of Andromeda during his narration of the Phineus episode of the myth. *Met.* 5.22–23: *scilicet haud satis est quod te spectante revincta est / et nullam quod opem patruus sponsusve tulisti*. Compare other myths of Andromeda: ἐν πυκνοῖς δεσμοῖσιν, Eur. *Andromeda* Bubel (n. 5) 73, F9; λῦσόν με δεσμῶν, *ibid.* 76, F17. Cf. σιδηρεόεσσι βρόχ[οις, J.U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford 1925) 85, no. 9.9.12. Cf. W. Luppe, “Goodspeed Papyrus,” *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 55 (2009) 352–356 and C. Meliadd, “E cantando danzerò”: *PLitGoodspeed* 2 (Messina 2008).

Another possibility would be θ]εσμοῖς (or its antonym ἀθέσμοις) in reference to the laws or lawlessness regarding the marriage or actions by the cohort of Phineus.

– ἄλλα . . . . . ρ . [: perhaps ἄλατος. Cf. ἐξ Ἀτλαντικῆς ἁλός, Eur. *Andromeda* Bubel (n. 5) 80, F 36. Or even ἄλυτοῖς προ[. Cf. δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις ἀγρίως πελάσας, Aeschylus *Prometheus Bound* 154. An *upsilon*, however, is difficult to read after the *lambda*, if not impossible.

3 [ύ]πὸ τάρταρα γαίης ε[: the phrase τάρταρα γαίης goes as far back as Hesiod *Theog.* 841 and appears in Antimachus 41a6 (cf. n. 2). It also appears four times in the Greek magical papyri (*PGM* V 404, 408 and VII 672, 674) in nearly identical prayers to Hermes as requests for prophetic dreams. A similar but metrically different phrase, ὑπὸ γῆς τάρταρα, occurs in Eur. *Hipp.* 1290.

4 [γ]ῆν Ἀγηνορίδην Φι[νέα: γῆν preceded by ὑπὸ] in the previous line may be part of a gloss for the poetic τάρταρα γαίης, although there are other possibilities.

Φινέα is a likely gloss for the patronymic Ἀγηνορίδην, especially because of the ambiguous ancestries of both Phineus and the sons of Agenor.<sup>9</sup> Elsewhere the patronymic refers to Cadmus (Eur. *Phoen.* 217; Apollonius Rhod. *Arg.* 3.1186; Nonnus, *Dionys.* 2.3, 699; 3.372; 5.218; 44.101; Ovid, *Met.* 3.8, 81, 90; 4.563; *Pont.* 1.3.77), and for the purpose of this poem the genealogy must be clarified.

<sup>9</sup> Agenorides also occurs in the fragmentary Yale codex (early fourth century AD) containing epigrams, although not referring to Phineus. Cf. K.W. Wilkinson, “Palladas and the Age of Constantine,” *JRS* 99 (2009) 42, n. 34; *id.*, *New Epigrams of Palladas: A Fragmentary Papyrus Codex* (P.CtYBR inv. 4000) (Durham, NC 2012).

5 [ἐ]ξέπεμψ[ε]ν αὐτῷ . [: this reconstruction is very speculative as this part of the papyrus is severely damaged. A *xi* is likely at the beginning of the line, although there are no other examples of this letter on this papyrus for comparison, and the *pi* and *psi* are certain before the αὐτῷ which is clearly visible. The dot after the *omega* could be part of a *nu* or adscript *iota*, or it could be an incidental dot like the one above the *mu* in line 8. If this reading is correct, the same verb appears again in line 9.

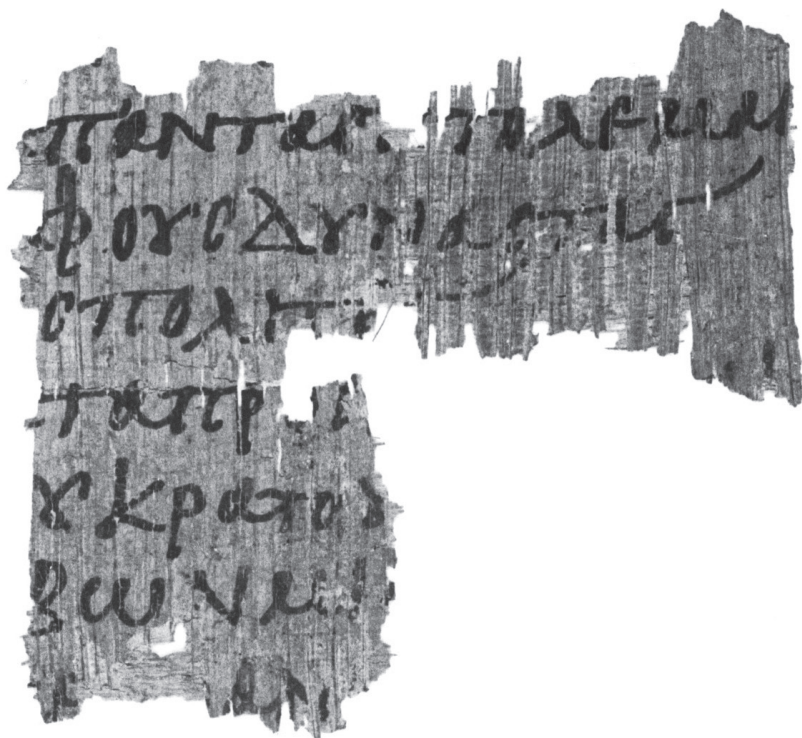
6 ἐ]λύτρωσεν [: or ἀπελύτρωσεν, perhaps referring to Perseus' rescue of Andromeda, which gave Perseus the right to marry her instead of her uncle Phineus.

7 Ἀνδρο]μέδαν κ[: ]μέδαν should likely be restored as Ἀνδρομέδαν, although other readings are possible, e.g. ]με δ' ἄν κ[. This reading in combination with Ἀγηνορίδην provides the key to identifying the myth related in the text, i.e. the marriage between Perseus and Andromeda and their conflict with Phineus and his supporters. Perhaps the following *kappa* begins another gloss: Κ[ηφέως θυγατέρα continuing onto the following line. Of course, καί or any number of other restorations are also possible.

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] . [ ] . [	] . [ ] . [
] . παντασπολεμαι[	] . πάντας Πτολεμαί[
]φουσδυναστας	ἀδελ]φούς δυναστας
] . σπολιτασ	το]ὺς πολίτας
5 ] . ταπροσ[ . . . . . ]	5 ] . τα προσ[ . . . . . ]
]υκρατου	Πολ]υκράτου[ς
]βωνμι . [	]βων μι[
] . ξ[ . . ]αν . [	] . ξ[ . . ]αν . [
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The side of the papyrus with vertical fibers gives no clear indication as to the precise subject of the text. Some tantalizing words remain, however, especially in light of the mythological story on the other side. Line 2 preserves πάντας Πτολεμαί[; line 3 reads ἀδελ]φούς δυναστας; and in line 4 we have το]ὺς πολίτας. These three phrases seem to refer to the ruling dynasty of the Ptolemies and citizens (of Alexandria?). If this is part of the same commentary on a hexameter poem quoted on the other side,



perhaps we have a political or historical commentary on the same poem on this side.<sup>10</sup> If this is the case, we may consider the circumstances that could tie the Ptolemies to the myth of Andromeda and Perseus.

The Perseus legend had a long-established connection with the Macedonian and Hellenistic dynasties beginning at least as early as the reign of Alexander I. Alexander sought to participate in the 504 Olympic Games and justified his eligibility, which was limited to Greeks, by proving himself to be of Argive origin.<sup>11</sup> This justification was likely based on the Argead claim to be descendants of Perseus. In Euripides' *Archelaus* (preserved in fragments), Archelaus, the founder of the Argead dynasty, touts

<sup>10</sup> For a mythological poem with commentary involving the Ptolemies, Callimachus' *Coma Berenices* serves as our best example. Cf. Hyginus, *Poet. Astr.* 2.10, Ps. Eratosthenes, *Catast.* 17, and Aratus, *Phaen.* 198. For a discussion of the evidence for hexameter poems on Hellenistic rulers, cf. A. Cameron, *Callimachus and His Critics* (Princeton 1995) 268–273.

<sup>11</sup> Herodotus 5.22.

his noble ancestry in Argos among whom he counts Perseus and his great-grandson Heracles.<sup>12</sup>

Alexander the Great certainly considered Perseus to be one of his ancestors.<sup>13</sup> Callisthenes, who attended Alexander as his professional historian, wrote that Alexander traveled to the oracle of Zeus-Ammon at the Siwah oasis specifically because Heracles and Perseus had consulted the oracle.<sup>14</sup> Arrian claims Alexander felt a rivalry with his mighty ancestors and sought to emulate and surpass them.<sup>15</sup> Athenaeus (12.537D)<sup>16</sup> preserves an anecdote from Nikoboule's life of Alexander in which she claims that during his last dinner he acted out an entire act from Euripides' *Andromeda* from memory, invoking the celebration of his illustrious ancestor as he proposed toasts of unmixed wine and forced the other members of the group to drink.

After Alexander, the Antigonids used images of Perseus on their coinage under Philip V and Perseus. Perseus' mother is presumed to have been Polykrateia of Argos, and she may have named her son after the hero.<sup>17</sup> The Seleucids also laid claim to the Perseus myth. Before founding Antioch, Seleucus I journeyed to Iopolis to make a sacrifice to Zeus in a temple allegedly built by Perseus.<sup>18</sup> Seleucus was married to a Persian woman,<sup>19</sup> and the Persians had long held Perseus their ancestor and namesake.<sup>20</sup> Coins of Seleucus I and II bearing the head of Medusa likely commemorated this event.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>12</sup> F 228a K<sup>5.1</sup>. Cf. S. Stephens "Writing Alexandria as the (Common)place," in C. Cusset, N. Le Meur-Weissman, and F. Levin (eds.), *Mythe et pouvoir à l'époque hellénistique* (Leuven 2013) 143–148.

<sup>13</sup> Pliny, *NH* 15.13.

<sup>14</sup> *FGH* 124 F14a. Preserved in Strabo 17.1.43.

<sup>15</sup> *Anab.* 3.3.2.

<sup>16</sup> *FGH* 127 F2.

<sup>17</sup> Plutarch, *Aratus* 49.2 and 51.2, *Cleomenes* 16.5; Livy 27.31.3, 32.21, and 32.24; and Aelian, *Varia Historica* 12.42. Cf. D. Ogden, *Polygamy, Prostitutes, and Death* (London 1999) 183–187; id., *Perseus* (London 2008) 115–116.

<sup>18</sup> Malalas (37.17–38.16). Perseus was said to have visited the Argives in Iopolis and founded this temple to Zeus Keraunios.

<sup>19</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.4.5; Strabo 12.8.15.

<sup>20</sup> Herodotus 7.61; Hellanicus *FGH* 4 frs. 59–60. Aeschylus less directly refers to this in the *Persae* (ll. 79–80), where the chorus of Persian elders proclaims Xerxes: χρυσογόνου γενεᾷς ἰσότητος φῶς (a man of a golden race, equal to a god), alluding to Zeus' impregnation of Danaë in the form of a golden shower.

<sup>21</sup> E.T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III* (New York 1941) 100–101. Also cf. A. Houghton and C. Lorber, *Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Catalogue* (New York 2002). Coins issued under Seleucus I: nos. 6–8, 21–24, 151, 191–193, 224–225; under Seleucus II: no. 600 (this one perhaps being the most explicit, as it also shows a thunderbolt, presumably referring to the Zeus Keraunos).

The Ptolemies claimed Perseus as their ancestor.<sup>22</sup> As inheritors of Egypt the Ptolemies had reason to associate themselves with a hero who had such close ties with Alexander, Egypt, and Greece. Some version of the Perseus myth existed in Egypt at least as early as the sixth century BC. According to Herodotus (2.91), Perseus was being worshipped in Egypt at the site of Chemmis in the province of Thebes.<sup>23</sup> He writes that when he himself visited he saw a temple to the hero in a grove of palm trees, a shrine and a cult statue. At Chemmis, the Egyptians celebrated games and honored Perseus “in the Greek way.”<sup>24</sup> The people of Chemmis told Herodotus that Danaos and Lynkeus had both been from their town. After Perseus slew Medusa, he visited Chemmis where he recognized many of his kinfolk. Perseus himself instituted games at Chemmis according to Greek custom with contests and prizes. The Chemmitans claimed that after his departure, Perseus was often seen about the neighboring areas and within the temple, and that he had left his winged sandal there, which was two cubits long. Whenever the sandal was seen, it was thought to be a sign of prosperity for all of Egypt.

The detail in Herodotus’ story regarding the sandal (2.91.3) has led scholars to believe Perseus had been assimilated to the Egyptian god Horus by the people of Chemmis.<sup>25</sup> Lloyd (n. 25, p. 85) writes, “For Antaeopolis near Akhmīm whose name is written with a sandal in Egyptian (*Tbw*), had a legend according to which Horus had made himself a pair of sandals there from the hide of the defeated Seth.” The beneficent effects of a god’s footprints may also be alluded to in Theocritus’ *Encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (*Idyll* 17) ll. 121–125:

μοῦνος ὃδε προτέρων τε καὶ ὧν ἔτι θερμὰ κονία  
 στειβομένα καθύπερθε ποδῶν ἐκμάσσεται ἵχνη,  
 ματρὶ φίλαι καὶ πατρὶ θυώδεας εἷσατο ναοῦς·  
 ἐν δ’ αὐτοῦς χρυσῷ περικαλλέας ἦδ’ ἐλέφαντι  
 ἴδρυται πάντεσσιν ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀρωγούς.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Isidorus, *Etym.* 17.7.7; Callimachus fr. 655: R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* 1 (Oxford 1949) 435; cf. Y. Durbec, “Individual Figures in Callimachus,” in B. Acosta-Hughes et al. (eds.), *Brill’s Companion to Callimachus* (Leiden 2011) 475.

<sup>23</sup> Herodotus (2.15) also refers to a “Watchtower of Perseus” (Περσέως σκοπή) located in the Nile Delta. Cf. Strabo (17.1.18) and Eur. *Helen* 769.

<sup>24</sup> Herodotus 2.91.4: ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι ποιεῦσι δὲ τάδε Ἑλληνικὰ τῷ Περσεί.

<sup>25</sup> A.B. Lloyd, “Perseus and Chemmis (Herodotus 2.91),” *JHS* 89 (1979) 79–86; id., *Herodotus, Book II, Commentary*, 1–98, 2nd ed. (Leiden 1994) 367–369; S.A. Stephens, *Seeing Double: Intercultural Poetics in Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Berkeley 2003) 25–26, 133; E.S. Gruen, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity* (Princeton 2011) 259.

<sup>26</sup> R.J. Cholmeley, *The Idylls of Theocritus* (London 1901).



Stephens notes the significance of this passage: that the king's footprints are equated with divine footprints, elevating Philadelphus to be among deified humans like his ancestors Heracles and Perseus.<sup>27</sup> Philadelphus thus has a divine pedigree which is congruous with both the Greek and Egyptian traditions.

The fact that Perseus was already being worshipped in Egypt at least as early as the fifth century and had likely been assimilated with the Egyptian god Horus linked the Ptolemies with both the Greek and Egyptian *panthea*.<sup>28</sup> Besides Egypt and Greece, the myth of Perseus created bonds among populations around the Mediterranean and the Near East. Through his adventures, Perseus also had strong associations with Libya, Ethiopia, and the Levant. Thus Perseus as semi-divine ancestor served as a model for the exploits and political maneuvers of his descendants the Ptolemies.

The canonical region where the Gorgons lived and where Perseus killed Medusa is Libya.<sup>29</sup> Apollonius even claims the snakes in Libya in his day were produced by the blood from the severed head of Medusa which dripped to the ground.<sup>30</sup> The Siwah Oasis in Libya was where Alexander the Great consulted the oracle of Zeus Ammon. The oracle at Siwah and the apotheosis of Alexander as Zeus Ammon may have set the precedent for the later deification of the Ptolemaic kings.<sup>31</sup> After Perseus departed from Libya, the sources diverge on exactly where he encountered and rescued Andromeda. The territory of Kepheus' kingdom is variously identified as Persia,<sup>32</sup> Ethiopia,<sup>33</sup> and the Levant.<sup>34</sup> The Persian connections with the myth of Perseus discussed above were exploited by the Persians themselves and by the Seleucid kingdom. Ethiopia, on the other hand, was

<sup>27</sup> Stephens (n. 25) 167.

<sup>28</sup> Stephens (n. 25) 133: "Perseus, therefore, provides the Ptolemies with a Greco-Egyptian pedigree parallel to that which Nectanebo provided for Alexander in the Alexander Romance, but constructed entirely within the framework of Greek myth."

<sup>29</sup> Herodotus 2.91. Also, Pausanias (3.17.3) tells us that at the Spartan Temple of the Bronze House there were five hundred bronze reliefs showing Perseus setting out for Libya. However, in the *Theogony* (ll. 270–294) the Gorgons live beyond Ocean. Pindar (*Pythian* 10.29–48) implies that the Gorgons lived near the Hyperboreans.

<sup>30</sup> *Argonautika* 4.1513–1517. Cf. Lucan 9.619–699.

<sup>31</sup> G. Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (New York 2000) 93–94.

<sup>32</sup> Herodotus 7.61.

<sup>33</sup> Eur. *Andromeda* (F145 and 147 K<sup>5.1</sup>); Apollodorus 2.4.3; Strabo 1.2.35; Ovid, *Met.* 4.669; Pliny, *NH* 6.182; Lucian, *Dialogi Marini* 14.

<sup>34</sup> Ps. Scylax, *Periplus* (104) = Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* 1.79. The text is heavily restored but confirmed by Strabo 16.2.28. Strabo attests to this version of the myth but does not endorse it: ἐνταῦθα δὲ μυθεύουσι τινες τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν ἐκτεθῆναι τῷ κήτει. Cf. M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* 3 (Jerusalem 1984) 10–12. Strabo (1.2.35) implies that the original setting was in Ethiopia, and that Jaffa was a later alteration.

important to the Ptolemies as a testament to the expansion of their influence beyond Egypt. According to Diodorus Siculus (1.37.5), Philadelphus was the first to make an expedition into Ethiopia with an army of Greeks.<sup>35</sup> This passage is believed to refer to Philadelphus' Nubian campaign, the precise details of which are uncertain. Although Ethiopia does not ever seem to have been directly controlled by the Ptolemies,<sup>36</sup> it appears that Kush became a tributary state sending gifts to Egypt on a regular basis, bringing exotic goods into Alexandria. Athenaeus (5.201b) reports Ethiopian tribute bearers bringing "600 tusks, 2000 logs of ebony, 60 mixing bowls full of gold and silver coins and gold dust."<sup>37</sup> Philadelphus traveled to Ethiopia to acquire war elephants,<sup>38</sup> and for importing exotic animals into Alexandria,<sup>39</sup> a testament to the far-reaching power of his empire as well as control over the rich Nubian gold mines.

Theocritus credits Philadelphus for "taking a portion" of Ethiopia in a list of Egypt's frontiers.<sup>40</sup> His list, which includes Phoenicia, Arabia, Syria, Libya, and the "Ethiopians," closely resembles Euergetes' catalogue of lands inherited from his father (in which however Ethiopia is exempted).<sup>41</sup> Both documents serve to emphasize the prowess of the king by citing his territorial gains. The praise of a king who expands his boundaries was a common trope employed by the pharaohs.<sup>42</sup> Philadelphus' venture into Ethiopia with its luxurious goods and exotic animals was surely a testament to his boldness and a common characteristic he shared with his ancestor Perseus who traveled into Ethiopia to slay a terrible monster.

The other traditional location for Kepheus' kingdom and Perseus' rescue of Andromeda was Phoenicia. In this case a precise location was established: Joppa (Ἰόππη). The tradition goes back at least to the fourth century.<sup>43</sup> The Seleucids and Ptolemies continually wrangled over this territory during

<sup>35</sup> Cf. A. Burton *Diodorus Siculus, Book I: A Commentary* (Leiden 1972) 137–138.

<sup>36</sup> S.M. Burstein, "The Hellenistic Fringe: The Case of Meroë," in P. Green (ed.), *Hellenistic History and Culture* (Berkeley 1993) 38–66.

<sup>37</sup> Gifts from Ethiopia are mentioned in the Pithom Stele: cf. C. Thiers, *Ptolémée Philadelphie et les prêtres d'Atoum de Tjékou. Nouvelle édition commentée de la "stèle de Pithom"* (CGC 22183) (Montpellier 2007) 67.

<sup>38</sup> Dittenberger (n. 31) 54, ll. 11–14; Pliny, *NH* 3.36.3; Strabo 16.4.7. For a full discussion of Ptolemy's elephant hunting cf. L. Casson, "Ptolemy II and the Hunting of African Elephants," *TAPA* 123 (1993) 247–260.

<sup>39</sup> Pliny, *NH* 3.36.3–9; Athenaeus 5.201a–c.

<sup>40</sup> *Encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus* ll. 86–87.

<sup>41</sup> Dittenberger (n. 31) ll. 6–7.

<sup>42</sup> Diodorus Siculus 1.55. Cf. R.L. Hunter, *Encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Berkeley 2003) 161–162.

<sup>43</sup> Ps. Scylax 104. Cf. T. Kaizer, "Interpretations of the Myth of Andromeda at Iope," *Syria* 88 (2011) 323–339.

the third and second centuries BC, and the Perseus myth would have been attractive to both ruling dynasties. Under Ptolemies II and III the Joppans minted coins depicting Perseus' *harpe*.<sup>44</sup> The Joppans themselves even turned their city into a tourist attraction pointing to the impressions left where the chains which bound Andromeda could still be seen,<sup>45</sup> an altar bearing king Kepheus' and his brother Phineas' names,<sup>46</sup> as well as a shrine honoring the legend of the sea monster itself.<sup>47</sup>

The myth of Perseus and the Ptolemies' family ties to the hero provided a degree of legitimation both at the heart of their empire in Egypt and along the peripheries of their territory. The adventures of Perseus in foreign lands would have served as a model and justification for Ptolemaic expansion.<sup>48</sup> Perseus' Greek-Egyptian pedigree was a fortunate family connection for a dynasty ruling in Hellenized Egypt.

2 ] . πάντας Πτολεμαί[: the small horizontal loop left of the *pi* might be an *alpha* (ἄπαντας) as the tail of the *alpha* connects to the *pi* similarly in line 5.

– Πτολεμαί[: several restorations are possible: Πτολεμαῖ[κ ], Πτολεμαῖ[δ ], etc. Πτολεμαί[ους is unlikely without the preceding article.

3 ]φους: there are many possibilities but ἀδελ]φους (or φιλαδέλ]-φους)<sup>49</sup> δυναστάς is tempting, but also σοφούς. If one of the former is correct, this most likely refers to Philadelphus and Arsinoe II, but we cannot be certain, since there are few other hints in the text. The final *sigma*

<sup>44</sup> B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics* (Oxford 1911) 803. In 1961 an inscription was found in Jaffa dedicated to Ptolemy IV Philopator (*SEG* 20.467); cf. B. Lifshitz, "Beiträge zur palästinischen Epigraphik," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 78 (1962) 64–88 (he sees this inscription as evidence for the introduction of a cult to Ptolemy II after the battle of Raphia in 217); cf. J. Kaplan, "Jaffa's History Revealed by the Spade," *Archaeology* 17 (1964) 270–276; R.A. Hazzard, *Imagination of a Monarchy: Studies in Ptolemaic Propaganda* (Toronto 2000) 176–179.

<sup>45</sup> Josephus, *BJ* 3.420; Strabo 16.2.28; Pausanias 4.35.9; Pliny, *NH* 5.69.

<sup>46</sup> Pomponius Mela, *Chor.* 1.11.62–64. In the same passage he tells how the locals displayed the bones of the sea monster. Cf. Pliny, *NH* 9.11 and Ammianus Marcellinus 22.15.24.

<sup>47</sup> Pliny, *NH* 5.69.

<sup>48</sup> Stephens (n. 25) in reference to Philadelphus writes: "Perseus is not merely a forefather, but a model for his descendant's signal exploits."

<sup>49</sup> Forms of φιλάδελφος also occur (referring to Arsinoe II) in Posidippus 36.5, 37.7, 119.1: cf. G. Bastianini, C. Gallazzi, and C. Austin, *Posidippo di Pella, Epigrammi* (Milan 2001), and K. Gutzwiller (ed.), *The New Posidippus: A Hellenistic Poetry Book* (Oxford 2005). The φιλάδελφοι also occur in the Yale Codex, in reference to Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II. Four lines of the text are thought to correspond with epigram 9.379 of the Palatine Anthology, attributed to Palladas (Wilkinson [n. 9]).

is elongated with an upward stroke with no letters following which suggests that this is the end of the line.

4 τοῖς πολίταις: citizens here could refer to Alexandrians or perhaps the citizens of one of the regions connected with the Perseus myth. The final *sigma*, as in line 3, is elongated with an upward stroke leaving a blank space of at least four letter widths. We might infer that this is not only the end of the line but the end of a section of text.

5 ] . τα προϛ[ . . . . . ]: the horizontal stroke at the beginning of the line looks rather like part of an *epsilon*. Perhaps ἀδιαίρετα (undivided). To the right of the gap at a distance of at least six letters strokes of two letters are preserved: perhaps *nu-iota*.

6 Πολυκράτου[ς: If Πολυκράτου[ς is correctly restored, there may be a reference to Polykrates of Argos, a general in the Battle of Raphia (217 BC) and later governor of Cyprus (202–197). See R.S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* (Leiden 1976) 253–255, L. Mooren, “Ptolemaic Families,” in *Pap.Congr.XVI* (1981) 289–301, and F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1957) on Polybius 5.64.4, who suggests a family connection with Polykratea of Argos, referenced above.

Although an attractive case can be made for connecting the Andromeda/Perseus myth with the Ptolemies, we must consider that the ↓ side of this papyrus may not refer to the → side at all and perhaps relates to another poem. Whatever the precise relationship between the two sides of the papyrus fragment, given that both sides are written by the same hand, we can safely assume that the two subjects, the mythical and the historical, are related in the context of the codex as a whole. Could this be an anthology of poetry related by theme or genre or is it a collection of the works of a single author?

It may be worthwhile to speculate about the authorship of the poem quoted on the → side of the papyrus, given that we have at least determined with relative certainty the meter of the poem (dactylic hexameter or elegiac couplets) and the subject matter (the myth of the wedding of Andromeda and Perseus). If this poem is from an epic or epyllion we may consider Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, or a poet like Aratus whose *Phaenomena* contains several episodes concerning Andromeda and Perseus in myths about the constellations and was the subject of many commentaries from the first century BC until the seventh century AD.

Callimachus is a compelling possibility in light of the considerable extant commentaries and *diegeseis* from the first or second to the sixth or seventh century AD.<sup>50</sup> The use of the patronymic and possible allusion to Hesiod and/or Antimachus in this poem would suit his elevated style. The *Aetia* almost exclusively deals with mythological heroes: F7–9 the Argonauts; F22–25 Heracles; F26–28 the royal house of Argos; F66 the daughters of Io; F178 Peleus; etc. If this poem were written in praise of the Ptolemies, we should consider that Callimachus wrote several elegies in their honor: an epithalamium on Arsinoë (F 392), epinicians for Sosibius (F 384) and for Berenice (*Victoria Berenices*),<sup>51</sup> and the famous *Lock of Berenice*.<sup>52</sup> Susan Stephens makes a compelling argument that Callimachus frequently touts the Ptolemies' Argive ancestry: "Argive ancestors link the new foundation with familiar elements in Greek cultural memory, and they allow the Ptolemies a mythic claim to Egypt itself."<sup>53</sup>

There are many other authors of mythological epic during the Hellenistic period. Diotimus and Phaedimus wrote epics about Heracles; Kleon of Kourion wrote an *Argonautica*, as did Dionysius Scytobrachion. We also know of Thebais written by Menelaus of Aigai and Antagoras. Of course, the preserved fragments of poetry we have in this papyrus provide us with no complete hexameter line and could be from a poem which is not in hexameters, but the result of "epicizing." For example, Theocritus' *Encomium* is heavily dactylic and contains many dactyl-spondee pairs.<sup>54</sup>

No definite conclusions can be drawn about the authorship of this poem or its relationship to the Ptolemies, as so little of it is preserved. Whether or not the texts on both sides of the papyrus relate to one another also cannot be answered with certainty, although some intriguing hypotheses can be made. However, given that they are written by the same hand, it seems likely that they are part of the same text, perhaps a commentary on Alexandrian poetry.

<sup>50</sup> For general discussion and examples cf. M. van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests? Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri* (Leiden 1998) 74–84.

<sup>51</sup> The *Victoria Berenice* commemorates the victory of Queen Berenice II in a chariot race at the Nemean games, and Callimachus connects her victory to her ancestor Heracles' achievement of founding the games. The Ptolemies traced their lineage to Heracles through the same blood line as Perseus, Heracles being Perseus' great-grandson.

<sup>52</sup> The association of a person with a celestial body is a common element in the *Victoria Berenices* and the myths of Andromeda, Perseus, and Cepheus, all of whom had their own constellations by the beginning of the Hellenistic period. Cf. Hazzard (n. 43).

<sup>53</sup> Stephens (n. 12) 146.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Hunter (n. 41) 54–56.

## “YOUR CITY IS MEMPHIS”: A MAGICAL FORMULARY WITH A PROSE HYMN

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*Abstract.* — First edition of a papyrus offered for sale by Erik von Scherling ca. 1948/1949 and advertised in the bulletin *Rotulus*, now in the Duke University Library (P.Duk. inv. 751; ex-P.Robinson 9). The text, as already identified by von Scherling, proves to be a fragment of a magical formulary with portions of instructions for ritual preparations and an invocation in the form of a prose hymn, the procedure possibly relating to a magical genre of invocations seeking favor (χαριτήσια).

*Keywords:* magic, invocation, prose hymn, χαριτήσιον, Erik von Scherling

The fifth issue of the bulletin *Rotulus* lists a papyrus fragment offered for sale ca. 1948/1949, described by Erik von Scherling (1907–1956), an antiquities dealer from a Swedish family active at Oegstgeest in the Netherlands whose activities have been traced by Klaas Worp, as follows:

**MAGICAL. SECOND CENTURY A.D.** ab. 100 : 55 mM., 14 lines of small neat uncial script on verso, much rubbed off and traces of similar script on recto (reverse), the right half and the bottom of the leaf are missing. An exact identification of this magical text is difficult. The left hand is mentioned, something should be written whereafter a magical spell (logos) is to be uttered, with the name of Memphis. With full transcript (G 84). f 60,—.<sup>1</sup>

It had previously been described more briefly among lists of items for sale by the same dealer, now kept in the archives of the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden.<sup>2</sup> The preface of the issue of *Rotulus* indicates that the entire lot of papyri described there were purchased by von Scherling

<sup>1</sup> E. von Scherling, *Rotulus: A Bulletin for Manuscript-Collectors* 5 (1949) 35, no. 2189; according to the conversion given in the “Conditions of Sale” on the back cover, the price of 60 guilders would have been equivalent to ca. \$22.80 (and to ca. \$250 in 2020, adjusted for inflation). I thank Megan Ó Connell for assistance with the images reproduced here, Klaas Worp for advice on the question of provenance, and the editors and anonymous reviewers of *BASP* for criticisms of this article; all remaining errors are my own.

<sup>2</sup> K.A. Worp and R. Dekker, “Missing Papyri: The Greek and Coptic Papyri in the von Scherling Papyrus Collection,” *BASP* 49 (2012) 183, 192 (unlocated: List 8, no. 6). For the biography of von Scherling see now K. Worp, “New von Scherling Papyri in Uppsala,” *BASP* 53 (2016) 61, n. 1.

“in the Near East” in 1935/1936; he is known to have done business with fellahin at el-Hiba and Akhmim and with the well-known Maurice Nahman in Cairo.<sup>3</sup>

Upon relocation of the fragment in question, which may have left Oegstgeest after the 1949 listing or after the disposal of von Scherling’s estate following his death, the description proves to be substantially accurate: although the fate of the “full transcript” is unknown, the papyrus may now be identified with one kept at Duke University (inv. 751), which is published here. The Duke tranche of von Scherling papyri, which were donated by William H. Willis, was originally acquired by David Moore Robinson.<sup>4</sup> According to internal records the present papyrus was assigned no. 9 among the Duke Robinson papyri by Willis, which must refer to a different numeration from that which Willis meant when he wrote that the Robinson papyri “bearing inventory numbers 1 to 17” were all acquired from David L. Askren in the Fayum ca. 1903–1910.<sup>5</sup>

On the front (which a facsimile shows to be the papyrological *recto*, not *verso*) in a small, upright and rounded informal bookhand, for which von Scherling’s dating to the second century is probable,<sup>6</sup> the papyrus preserves the top and left edge of a column of what proves to be a relatively early witness to a Greek magical formulary from Egypt. As far as can be determined in its fragmentary condition, the text gives a recipe for a magical ritual involving writing (γράφον, 3), and an instruction to “give (it) to rinse” (7) in conjunction with mention of honey suggests the preparation of a ritual liquid for rinsing the user’s mouth, in which the writing might in turn have been dissolved. That writing, in the absence of any further specification, is probably identical with the invocation, set off by the heading λόγος (9) and preceded by a forked *paragraphos* roughly midway between the two lines. If the damaged first line is indeed the beginning and the difficult reading proposed in the commentary is accepted, ἵνα περιέπῃ “so that you may be treated with respect,” the goal

<sup>3</sup> Worp (n. 2) 61, n. 1; M. Bakker, A. Bakkers, and K.A. Worp, “Back to Oegstgeest: The von Scherling Papyrus Collection; Some von Scherling Texts in Minnesota,” *BASP* 44 (2007) 41–42.

<sup>4</sup> Bakker, Bakkers, and Worp (n. 3) 42, n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> W.H. Willis, “Oxyrhynchite Documents among the Robinson Papyri,” *BASP* 25 (1988) 99; in turn the acquisitions from von Scherling are not limited to P.Robinson 18–26 as might otherwise be concluded from the reference to “[t]hose numbered 18 to 26” (ibid.). I thank the editors of *BASP* for advice on this point.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *P.Oxy.* 36.2754 (111 CE) and *P.Oxy.* 22.2340 (192 CE; images via *PapPal*); *P.Oxy.* 9.1182 (1/2 CE: E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed. [London 1987] 112, no. 67).



of the procedure may fit into the context of a solidly attested subgenre in the magical papyri, rituals to gain favor (sometimes internally titled χαρι-τήσια),<sup>7</sup> but uncertainty remains.

The invocation itself, which is even more poorly preserved, can be seen to address a divine power, opening with a reference to Memphis. Based on parallels, the traces support a more specific claim to know Memphis as “your city,” and the text is probably related to a better-preserved invocation of the Sun in an Oxyrhynchite formulary of the late first century CE, *P.Oxy.* 65.4468, which has been termed a “prose hymn” by its editor, Franco Maltomini (r.1 and probably continuing into r.2). That text, which presents Greek reflexes of traditional Egyptian hymns, lists the animal forms and names of the Sun and cites Heliopolis (which despite the remnants in 12–13 cannot be read in the present text) as “your city,” before threatening disruption of sacred spaces if the Sun does not assist in the apparently erotic aims of the invocation. The same formulary gives on the *verso* a procedure to gain favor, which may be compared with the goal of the von Scherling papyrus as argued here. Catalogues of forms and symbols more broadly characterize solar invocations in the same tradition among the magical papyri, as seen in the ritual for “communing with the Sun” (σύστασις πρὸς Ἥλιον) in *PGM* III, a formulary of the third or fourth century CE (494–611).<sup>8</sup>

In the von Scherling papyrus, the pride of place given to Memphis instead of Heliopolis makes a solar hymn proper unlikely. Instead, the format has apparently been extended to another deity, in this case probably Ptah.<sup>9</sup> The Memphite creator-god is otherwise not directly invoked among the magical papyri, in contrast to the more frequent transliteration of his name as the element Φθα- and similar among magical words and occult names,<sup>10</sup> but

<sup>7</sup> See *P.Oxy.* 65.4468.v.1.1–17 n.; J.F. Quack, “From Ritual to Magic: Ancient Egyptian Forerunners of the Charitesion and their Social Setting,” in G. Bohak, Y. Harari, and S. Shaked (eds.), *Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition* (Leiden 2011) 43–84; T.S. de Bruyn, “An Anatomy of Tradition: The Case of the *Charitesion*,” *ARG* 16 (2014) 31–50; J. Dieleman, “The Greco-Egyptian Magical Papyri,” in D. Frankfurter (ed.), *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic* (Leiden 2019) 301.

<sup>8</sup> Dated no earlier than 300 CE in *PGM* (p. 32), but third-century palaeographic parallels are gathered by E.O.D. Love, “The ‘*PGM* III’ Archive – Two Papyri, Two Scribes, Two Scripts, and Two Languages,” *ZPE* 202 (2017) 179, n. 31.

<sup>9</sup> Memphis is mentioned as “the place of Ptah” in a Demotic invocation to produce a mantic dream in which Imhotep, son of Ptah, who resides there, will prescribe a medical remedy: *P.Leid.* I 384.v.1\*.14, ed. J. Johnson, “The Demotic Magical Spells of Leiden I 384,” *OMRO* 56 (1975) 29–64.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. *PGM* VII 340 with W.M. Brashear, “The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928–1994),” *ANRW* 2.18.5 (Berlin 1995) 3584.

the centrality of speech to his acts of creation<sup>11</sup> is obviously suitable to an invocation of this sort. A further innovation with respect to the earlier Oxyrhynchus hymn, consistent with the later development of Greek magical texts in Roman Egypt, is the insertion of magical words (at least in 11, possibly in 13), as found also in the invocation in the σύστασις-ritual of *PGM* III cited above.<sup>12</sup>

The back appears to be in a different hand, which has been given a preliminary identification in internal Duke records as a sub-literary text. No summary of its contents was given by von Scherling, who described the hand as “similar” to that on the front. Not a single complete word of it has yet been recognized by the present author, in whose opinion it is not a continuation of the magical text.<sup>13</sup>

P.Duk. inv. 751                      H × W = 11.5 × 6.4 cm                      Unknown provenance  
(von Scherling inv. G 84; *Rotulus* no. 2189; P.Robinson 9)                      Second century CE

front (→)

- vac. ἵνα περιε . . . [                      ]  
 . πρὸς τῆς ἀριστερᾶ[ς ca. 5–10 ]  
 . . [ . . ὁ]μοίως γράψον [ ca. 5–10 ]  
 . [ . . ] . . . . εἰς οὐκ . . [ ca. 5–10 ]  
 5 [ἀρρ]ενεικὰ καὶ ὅμοι . [ ca. 5–10 ]  
 [ἀ]ρ[ι]στερὰν χεῖρα αὐτ[ ca. 3–8 μί-]  
 ξας μέλιτι δὸς κλίζεσ[θαι· τόν-?]  
 δε λέγ[ε] τὸν λόγον. vac. [ ca. 5–10 ]  
 —  
 vac. λόγος vac. [vac. ?]  
 10 ἡ [πό]λις [ς] σ[ου] Μέμφις, τὸ κεφ[αλ-? ca. 3–8 ]  
 λου . [ . . . ]αρ σεσ[σιν] βα[ρ ca. 5–10 ]  
 θε[ . . . ] . . [ . . . . . ο . ηλ . [ ca. 5–10 ]

The vocative Ἥφαιστε in *PGM* XII 177 is subsumed within a sequence titled “the name of the Sun” along with solar epithets and magical words so as not to be recognizable as a true invocation of Hephaistos-Ptah.

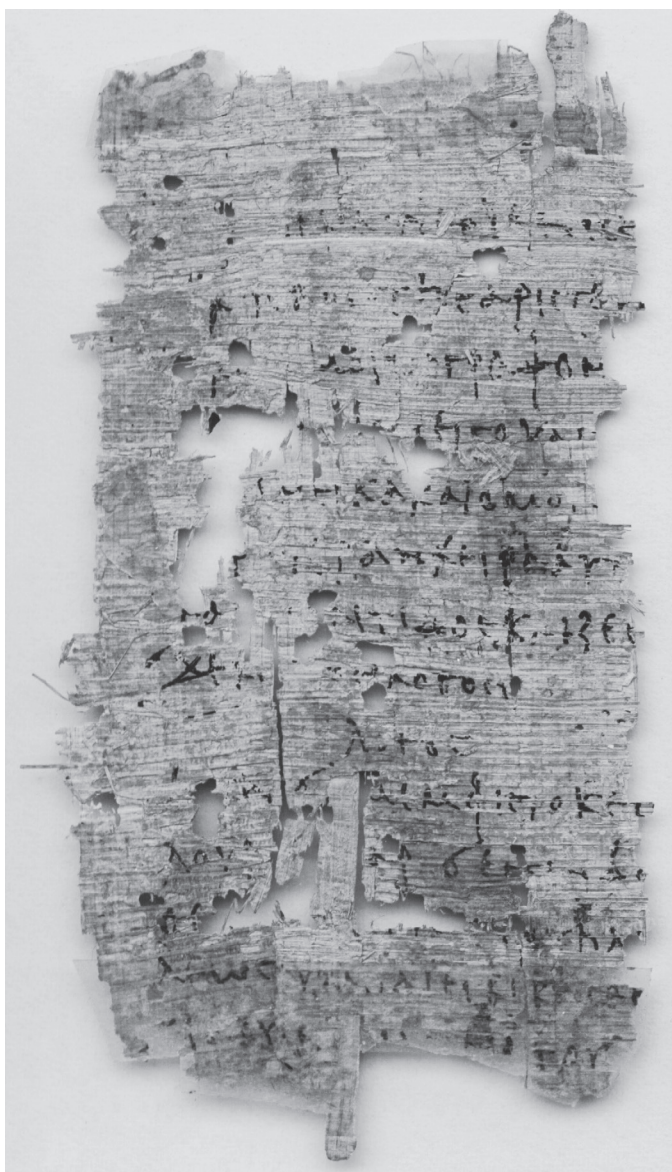
<sup>11</sup> As expressed in the so-called Memphite Theology: for the text, H. Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis (Schabarka-Inschrift)* (Berlin 1940); see also J. Berlandini, “Ptah-démiurge et l’exaltation du ciel,” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 46 (1995) 9–41.

<sup>12</sup> There the Sun has names including Ἀλλωεα . . . ουρηηδυδιε θαραβραχι[ρι]γξ ἱαρβαθαχραμνηφιβ[α]ωχθυμω καμπυρκριλ . ελαμμαρη and the Jewish (eventually also Christian) Adonai and Gabriel (533–536).

<sup>13</sup> Compare perhaps the magical formulary to which medical recipes were later added on the back: P.Harr. inv. 303a, ed. M. Zöllmann-Rohrer, “Homeric and Pharmacologic Medical Recipes in a Greek Papyrus Formulary,” *BASP* 53 (2016) 5–16.

λεως υ . οδιει βιβ . . . . . [ ca. 5–10 ]  
 . ι . . υ . . [ . . ] . . [ . . ] . . του . [ ca. 5–10 ]

5 l. ἄρρενικὰ 7 l. κλύζεσθαι



“So that you may be treated with respect (?) ... from the left (?) ... likewise write ... male and likewise (?) ... left hand ... mix with honey, give to rinse, and say the following (?) speech. Speech: “Your city is Memphis, your crown (?) ... SESSIN BAR ... Y.ODIEI BIB...”

1 The most likely reading (rendered in the translation) is ἵνα περιέπη. The space before the first word is clearly a *vacat* and not the result of damage; there is no need to assume that any text (i.e. on a preceding column) has been lost, as the *vacat* can serve simply to draw the eye to the title, or that a title is missing (for which a search for nouns in *-a* yields nothing), especially if the papyrus belonged to a single sheet containing only this recipe. The end of the line is abraded, but περιε- is certain; in particular, ink above the topline guarantees a writing of the vertically elongated ε characteristic of this hand, and there can be no question of περι τῆς. The resulting verb, if accepted, would be new to the magical papyri but gives good sense; in an Egyptian context its application to the worship of sacred crocodiles in Hdt. 2.69 (περιέποντες ὡς κάλλιστα ζῶντας) is noteworthy. Besides the medio-passive, active constructions (e.g. περιέπη σ[έ τις], περιέπωσ[ί σε πάντες]) are conceivable.

2 At the beginning the unread letter, if indeed a letter, resembles most ε in this hand; the possibility of an ornamental design, beginning above this line and extending further down, has been considered but is improbable due to the horizontal stroke on the same level as that of the midline for this line, which again suggests rather an ε; what could be mistaken for a continuation of such an ornament to the left of line 8 in fact belongs to the ξ beginning the previous line. Under normal syllabification, the possibilities for continuations of a word from the preceding line are limited: one could think of an imperative [λῦ]ε; the numeral ε΄ should also be considered.

πρὸς τῆς ἀριστερᾶ[ς]: with χειρός understood or lost in the gap (compare 6 below); the construction with the genitive can be explained as an extension of the use of πρὸς with cardinal points and geographic landmarks to indicate direction (LSJ s.v. A.I.2) but lacks parallels among the magical papyri.

4 οκα . . [: read ὁ καὶ . . [, or perhaps ὁ κάλυ[θαρος] of a beetle used as ritual ingredient (sacrificial victim?) or depicted in a ritual drawing or effigy.

5 [ἀρρ]ενεικά: apparently the male gender belongs to an ingredient, possibly a plant, or, by comparison to a ritual to accompany an invocation

spoken facing the Sun, “masculine” eggs (i.e. fertilized by the male bird?): τὸ ὄνομα γράφε ζμυρνομέλανι εἰς ὧὰ δύο ἄρρενικά, *PGM* VII 521–522. The aim of the latter procedure is more generally to gain attention from the solar deity saluted in the invocation, which could presumably have served the same end as a χαριτήσιον among other applications, none of which are specified there.

6 [ἀ]ρ[ι]στερὰν χειρὰ. Strictures on the use of left and right hands and sides are a commonplace in magical texts; for literature on left vs. right in particular see Brashear (1991) 43<sup>14</sup>; *P.Oxy.* 82.5305.2.3 n.; cf. also 2 above. The accusative depends on a lost verb most likely in 5 whose sense remains unclear; before the break in this line, ἀὐτ[ ] probably refers to one or more ritual ingredients, perhaps as object of the following [μί]ξας. The invocations of χαριτήσια (if the present procedure is comparable with them) sometimes name (or leave placeholders for the naming of) human targets with whom the user is particularly aiming to gain favor, but such a reference would be out of place among the accompanying ritual instructions in the present state of the evidence. The following instruction to give some ritual substance to someone for rinsing (7) in turn eliminates the possibility that the left hand here is that of a human target of erotic magic or of ritual cursing or binding, who could not reasonably be expected to participate in a process designed for his or her own detriment.

6–7 [μί]ξας μέλιτι: the descender of ξ is flourished to extend into the left margin; after α, scant traces consistent with top left corner of lunate σ, then to the right of a hole, the top right of μ and a small portion of the vertical of ε before another hole. The restoration is justified by a precise parallel in *PGM* IV 782 (instructions for making a ritual ink); the magical papyri offer no parallels to support an alternative division -λιτιδος, and the imperative δός is well supported in its context (see the following note).

7 δὸς κλίζεσ[θαι]. The reading of the infinitive is clear, to which the banal iotacism is no obstacle<sup>15</sup>; despite some abrasion, the angle of the two strokes visible after κ ensures λ against τ. For the restoration cf. *P.Duk. inv.* 729.11 (ed. Jordan 2006<sup>16</sup>), δὸς πεῖν of dissolved magical

<sup>14</sup> W.M. Brashear, *Magica Varia* (Brussels 1991).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* 1 (Milan 1976) 267–271.

<sup>16</sup> D.R. Jordan, “*P.Duk. inv.* 729, Magical Formulae,” *GRBS* 46 (2006) 159–173.

writing; for such ingestion see further *Suppl. Mag.* 2.75.3 n. The point here may be that the invocation beginning in 9 is to be written down (3) then dissolved in some liquid mixture containing honey (6–7), which is then given to the beneficiary of the procedure for the “rinsing” specified here, probably of the mouth. More speculatively, the honey could provide an analogy for sweetness of speech or general desirability and favor that the procedure was intended to provide.

7–8 The tentative restoration is suggested by cf. *PGM I* 71 λέγε τὸν ὕμ[νικὸν λόγον] τόνδε; a slightly longer line would also be possible here, e.g. [καὶ τόν]δε. The possibility of reference to multiple λόγοι in the same recipe, in the form of a reading δεύτερον in 8, has been considered after the suggestion of an anonymous reviewer, but υ is a poor fit for the traces taken here as λ, for which the first letter of λόγον in the same line gives a better parallel.

9 λόγος: for the term as a rubric for invocations see e.g. *Suppl. Mag.* 2.88.6.

10 The form of the invocation is broadly paralleled in Greek reflexes of Egyptian solar hymns (see the introduction), while the present phrasing is comparable to *P.Oxy.* 65.4468.r.1.13 ἡ πό[λις] σου Ἡλιοπόλιν ἐστίν, and to an invocation of Hermes in *PGM VIII* 13–14: after claims to knowledge of his names, forms (μορφαί), and favored types of wood, one is to say, “I know you, Hermes, who you are and where you are from and which is your city: Hermoupolis” (οἶδά σε, Ἑρμῆ, τίς εἶ καὶ πόθεν εἶ, καὶ τίς ἡ πόλις σου· Ἑρμούπολις).

Μέμφις: among the magical papyri this city appears only at *PGM VII* 630, of an image of Asklepios(-Imouthes) to be engraved on a ring, τὸν ἐν Μέμφει Ἀσκληπιόν; and *P.Duk. inv.* 729 (ed. Jordan as cited above) 36, among a series of epithets of the Sun, “you are the great god who is invoked in Memphis, Hephaistos” (σὺ ἱ ὁ μέγας [θεὸς ὁ ἐπικ]αλούμενος ἐν Μέμφι Ἥφα[ι]στος). The nearby necropolis of Saqqara is generally accepted as the findspot of the so-called Curse of Artemisia (*UPZ* 1.1; *PGM XL*), whose eponym may have lived in Memphis. The city certainly maintained a reputation in Greek literature into the Roman period for priestly traditions including magical ritual, witnessed by Lucian’s famous portrait of the hapless apprentice of Pankrates (*Philops.* 33–36), temple scribe and master of incantations (ἐπωδαί).

10–11 κεφ[αλ-]: also possible is κεγ[, but κέγ[τρον is less satisfactory in context. A direct continuation κεφ[ά]λου with the following



line would make for too narrow a column (cf. 7–8 above). Most likely, then, is κεφ[άλαιον], a reference to a crown (elsewhere βασιλείον, e.g. *P.Oxy.* 82.5303.5) or other sacred emblem on the head of the invoked deity such as an *uraeus*, cited as token of knowledge of him along with his city (see the commentary on 10 above), but direct parallels are lacking. If Memphis is reason enough, as assumed above, to dismiss the Sun in favor of Ptah as the invoked deity, then the otherwise tempting continuation [αἰ]λλούρ[ου] into 11 (i.e., your head is that of a cat; the Sun is said to take on μορφήν αἰλούρου at the third hour of the day in the invocation at *PGM* III 506–507, while in the seventh hour in turn it begets the cat on earth [519]) is improbable.

11 σεσσιν βα[ρ]: a variant of the well-known sequence σεσενγεν βαρ παραγγης, originally a divine name,<sup>17</sup> eventually simply a magical word (*Suppl.Mag.* 2, p. 323, Index 7 s.v.).

12–13 The sequence ηλ in 12 is clear, the η of the half-uncial h-form, but the exiguous surrounding traces do not support [πó]λεως σου Ἡλι[ουπό]λεως, which in turn is a poor fit in sense for a deity primarily associated with Memphis. If a form of Ἡλῖος did lie before the break in 12, one might think instead of the presence of Sokar, the Memphite solar deity syncretized in turn with Ptah. Parallels for the rest, again abraded, have not yet been found among the magical papyri; enough of the flat foot of δ is preserved to secure this reading against α.

13 βιβ . . . : a possible reading is βιβ . ρρ-, but the traces of the fourth letter do not suit λ; βιβιρρ- would be preferable, which recalls the sequence βιβιου (not itself a possible reading here) common in the magical papyri: see the commentary of D. Martinez on *P.Mich.* 16, ll. 101–102 and Quack (2004) 479.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> M. Schwartz, “\*Sasm, Sesen, St. Sisinnios, Sesengen Barpharangēs, and ... ‘Seman-glof,’” *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, N.S. 10 (1996) 253–257; M. Schwartz, “On Aiiehüā, Afflictress of Childbirth, and Pairikā: Two Avestan Demonesses (with an Appendix on the Indo-Iranian Shipwrecked Seaman),” *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, N.S. 22 (2008) 95–96; on SSM see further J. DeGrado and M. Richey, “The Aramaic Inscription of the Ashmolean Museum Pazuzu Statuette and Ancient Middle Eastern Magic,” *Semitica et Classica* 12 (2019) 31–35.

<sup>18</sup> J.F. Quack, “Griechische und andere Dämonen in den spätdemotischen magischen Texten,” in S. Thomas (ed.), *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens, Nordafrikas und der Ägäis: Akten des Basler Kolloquiums zum ägyptisch-nichtsemitischen Sprachkontakt*, Basel 9.-11. Juli 2003 (Münster 2004) 427–507.



# TRA ARCHIMEDE E DESCARTES: LE 24 POTENZE DI P.VINDOB. G 27574<sup>1</sup>

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*Abstract.* — This seventh- (or eighth-) century papyrus lists a series of powers of 2, up to the 24th power. The exponential growth of the results, from 2 to 16,777,216, is accompanied by numerical exponents – from the 12th power on noted as ordinal numbers –, which anticipate the modern notation system of powers adopted by Descartes in 1637. I briefly outline the history of the use, and above all of the notation, of powers from antiquity to modern times: something similar to our text can be found for the first time in Michael Stifel's *Arithmetica integra*, from 1544. The papyrus is part of a different tradition from the one better known and for a long time prevalent, which is based on geometric concepts such as square, cube, square of the square, etc. It is a parallel and underground tradition, based on purely numerical concepts that has left very few traces in the sources.

*Keywords:* mathematics, notation system of powers, Michael Stifel

I papiri conservano numerosi testi matematici, in particolare tabelle di divisioni, addizioni, moltiplicazioni, e in pochi casi quadrati.<sup>2</sup> P.Vindob. G 27574 appartiene a una categoria nuova, adesso testimoniata ancora in un papiro del Cairo edito nel 2016. Do subito il testo del papiro viennese, per poi discuterne e inquadrarne meglio il contenuto.

P.Vindob. G 27574    H × W = 12,2 × 12,5 cm    provenienza ignota, VII(–VIII?)

Il testo è scritto sul *recto* lungo le fibre di un foglietto di papiro più o meno intero sui quattro lati. Il taglio originario è conservato per intero solo sulla sinistra. Una *kollesis* di mediocre fattura larga circa 2 cm corre verticalmente lungo il bordo sinistro. La scrittura in inchiostro nero e

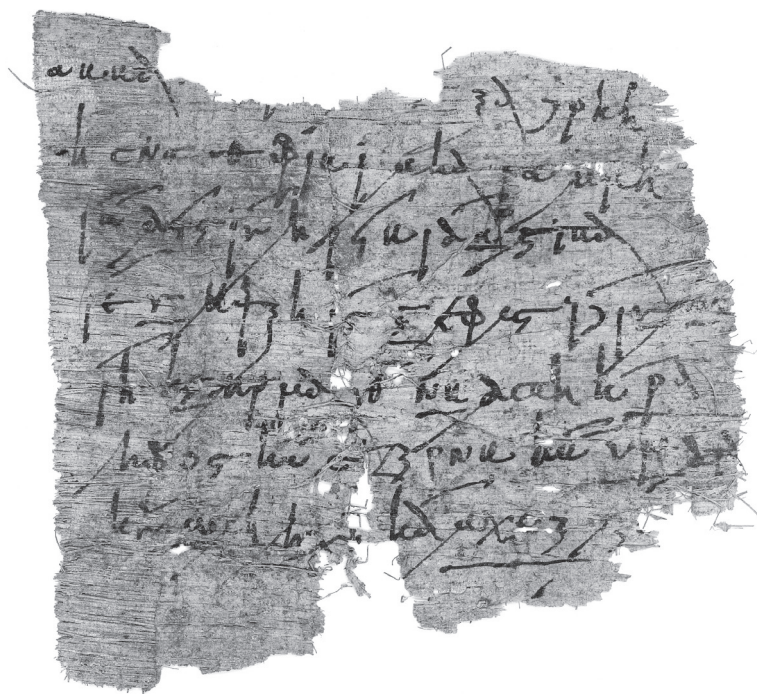
<sup>1</sup> Questo lavoro è stato preparato nell'ambito del progetto P30967 finanziato dal *Wissenschaftsfonds* austriaco (*Austrian Science Fund*, FWF). Ringrazio Bernhard Palme per il permesso di pubblicazione. Il papiro è già stato presentato in una comunicazione al 28° Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia tenutosi a Barcellona nel 2016. Ho discusso alcuni problemi, in particolare relativamente al P.Cairo Museum S.R. 3069 v<sup>o</sup>, con Francesca Schironi, che qui ringrazio.

<sup>2</sup> Secondo le categorie stabilite da D.H. Fowler, "A Catalogue of Tables," *ZPE* 75 (1988) 273–280, in particolare 273.

tracciata con un calamo relativamente spesso è una minuscola di dimensioni medio-piccole, posata e non particolarmente curata, che daterei al VII secolo, pur non escludendo l'VIII. Il *verso* non mostra tracce di scrittura. Una piegatura verticale grosso modo a metà del foglio, a c. 5–5,5 cm dal bordo sinistro. Il foglietto doveva essere stato piegato anche orizzontalmente a partire dal basso: piegature orizzontali sono a c. 2,5, 5,5, 9,5 cm dal bordo inferiore. L'inventario manoscritto di Wessely indica come anno di acquisizione 1881–4, e cioè il cosiddetto "1. Faijûmer Fund," che potrebbe far pensare a una provenienza dall'Arsinoite o dall'Eracleopolite.

- 1 α β β δ γ [η δ] ι[ς ε] λ[β] ζ ξδ ζ ρκη  
 2 η ενς θ φιβ ι ακδ ια βμη  
 3 ι'β' ,δρς ιγ' ,ηρρβ ιδ' α ζτπδ  
 4 ιε' γ βψζη ις' ζ ,εφλς ις' ιγ ,αοβ  
 5 ιη' κς βρμδ ιθ' νβ ,δεπη κ' ρδ  
 6 ,ηφος κ'α' ρθ ζρνβ κ'β' υιθ ,δτδ  
 7 κγ' ωλη ,ηχη κδ' ,αχοζ ζς[ις]

2 ι pap. 3 ιγ pap. 4 ις pap.



Il testo consiste in una serie di cifre nella quale si distinguono due progressioni alternate tra loro. La prima è una progressione aritmetica, nella quale cioè la differenza tra ciascuno dei termini è una costante: essa parte da 1 e arriva per aumenti di una unità fino a 24. A partire dal 12, a l. 3, le cifre sono accompagnate dal trattino obliquo a destra che di solito distingue le frazioni, ma che propriamente indica l'ordinale ed è usato anche per le date.<sup>3</sup> Di regola lo scrivente usa un singolo trattino a destra della seconda cifra, secondo l'uso più comune; ma per ιβ a l. 3, κα e κβ a l. 6, i trattini sono due: uno a destra delle decine, l'altro delle unità.

Alternata a queste cifre da 1 a 24, la seconda serie di numeri rappresenta una progressione geometrica, dove costante è il rapporto tra i termini: 2, 4, 8, e così via fino a 16.777.216. A partire da 10.000 questi numeri sono indicati, secondo l'uso normale, con le miriadi<sup>4</sup> rappresentate da una cifra sottolineata.<sup>5</sup> Combinazioni di migliaia e miriadi per esprimere numeri dalle decine di milioni in su non sono – come non lo sono i numeri che da queste combinazioni sono rappresentati – frequenti nei papiri, e si trovano se mai in testi matematici: come *P.Rain.Unterricht* 152.85–91 (Arsinoite, II/III), che arriva addirittura alla miriade di miriadi per i 100.000.000, o *P.Rain.Unterricht Kopt.* 332 fol. 4 v° 9, 14, 19 (?, IX).

Una traduzione “letterale” del testo, rendendo le cifre nel modo in cui esse sono scritte sul papiro, sarebbe:

“1, 2; 2, 4; 3, 8; 4, 16; 5, 32; 6, 64; 7, 128;  
8, 256; 9, 512; 10, 1024; 11, 2048;  
12°, 4096; 13°, 8192; 14°, 1 miriade 6384;  
15°, 3 miriadi 2768; 16°, 6 miriadi 5536; 17°, 13 miriadi 1072;  
18°, 26 miriadi 2144; 19°, 52 miriadi 4288; 20°, 104 miriadi

<sup>3</sup> Nelle frazioni l'ordinale si riferisce alla parte: τρίτον (*scil.* μέρος), τέταρτον (*scil.* μέρος), etc. Cfr. D.H. Fowler, *The Mathematics of Plato's Academy*, 2ª ed. (Oxford 1999) 14. Accanto al trattino obliquo singolo o meno frequentemente doppio comune nei papiri del periodo bizantino e arabo, possono essere usati anche trattini orizzontali o punti; per la possibilità di ricondurre questo sistema e più in generale l'uso di frazioni unitarie – quelle cioè a numeratore uno – alla matematica egiziana, che considerava le frazioni come l'inverso di numeri interi positivi e aveva dunque la necessità di distinguerli adeguatamente, cfr. A. Imhausen, “Mathematics in Egypt,” in P. T. Keyser e J. Scarborough (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Science and Medicine in the Classical World* (New York 2018) 52.

<sup>4</sup> In generale per l'argomento cfr. Fowler (n. 3) 226; Fowler (n. 2) 273.

<sup>5</sup> Questa sottolineatura è riconducibile al Μ sormontato dal numero delle miriadi delle epoche precedenti, come già osservava M. Hasitzka in *P.Rain.Unterricht Kopt.*, pp. 233–234, e *P.Rain.Unterricht Kopt.* 332 introd., p. 285: questo testo unisce alla sottolineatura un segno da intendere probabilmente come un μ. In generale per il simbolo delle miriadi vedi anche W. Brashear, “The Myrias-Symbol in CPR VII 8,” *ZPE* 60 (1985) 239–242, in particolare 241–242.

8576; 21°, 209 miriadi 7152; 22°, 419 miriadi 4304;  
23°, 838 miriadi 8608; 24°, 1677 miriadi 7216”

Si tratta evidentemente di una serie di potenze di 2, da  $2^1$  a  $2^{24}$ , nella quale le cifre della prima serie o progressione aritmetica rappresentano gli esponenti, quelle della seconda serie o progressione geometrica, i risultati. Il testo, riportato in forma moderna secondo il modo di esprimere le potenze adottato da Descartes nel 1637, è:

“ $2^1$  2;  $2^2$  4;  $2^3$  8;  $2^4$  16;  $2^5$  32;  $2^6$  64;  $2^7$  128;  
 $2^8$  256;  $2^9$  512;  $2^{10}$  1024;  $2^{11}$  2.048;  
 $2^{12}$  4.096;  $2^{13}$  8.192;  $2^{14}$  16.384;  
 $2^{15}$  32.768;  $2^{16}$  65.536;  $2^{17}$  131.072;  
 $2^{18}$  262.144;  $2^{19}$  524.288;  $2^{20}$  1.04  
8.576;  $2^{21}$  2.097.152;  $2^{22}$  4.194.304;  
 $2^{23}$  8.388.608;  $2^{24}$  16.777.216”

Tra i testi matematici conservati nei papiri le tabelle di potenze sono estremamente rare, e non vanno di regola più in là dei quadrati.<sup>6</sup> Unica

<sup>6</sup> Fowler (n. 2) 279–280; riprese in Fowler (n. 3) 276. Successivamente è stato edito SB 22.15335 (R. Criatore, “A Table of Squares [P. Tebt. II 683 verso],” BASP 30 [1993] 23–25) della seconda metà del I secolo d.C., riportato nell’aggiornamento di D.H. Fowler, “Further Arithmetical Tables,” ZPE 105 (1995) 227. Si tratta in tutto di cinque testi di età tolemaica e romana, e di uno tardo antico: *Un livre d’écolier du III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.*, edito da O. Guéraud e P. Jouguet (Le Caire 1938), alle ll. 216–234, dove sono conservati i quadrati dei numeri da 4 a 9, 10–40, 90, 100–800, nella forma  $\epsilon \epsilon \kappa \epsilon$ , etc. La tabella è conservata solo per la parte inferiore, e in origine essa doveva essere completa per i numeri da 1 a 900. P.Haun. 3.49, del II a.C., riporta nella stessa forma i quadrati dei numeri da 1 a 20, per poi procedere con le decine fino a 40. PSI 7.763.5–11 (I a.C.) riporta i quadrati in forma non tabellare esprimendoli come  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\zeta$  (la lettura è di Fowler [n. 2] 280)  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \alpha \delta\iota\varsigma \delta\upsilon\omicron \iota \mid \delta$ , fino a  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\varsigma \delta\acute{\epsilon}\text{--}\iota\mid\kappa\alpha \rho$ . SB 22.15335 (I d.C.) riporta nella forma usuale  $\alpha \alpha \alpha \mid \beta \beta \delta \mid$  quadrati fino a 10, e poi per le decine fino a 40. Questa stessa forma è usata ancora in P.Rain.Unterricht 152.55–86 (II/III d.C.) con i quadrati di 1–9, 10–90, 100–900, 1000–10.000. Come una tavola di quadrati è intesa dagli editori e da Fowler la col. 3 dello stesso testo, ll. 34–54, dove lo schema è  $\alpha \alpha \mid \delta \beta$ , fino a  $\pi\alpha \theta$ ; quindi  $\rho \iota$  fino a  $\zeta\upsilon \pi$ , e infine  $\mu^a \rho$  fino a  $\mu^{ke} \varphi$ ; traduzione dell’edizione: “ $1 = (1 \times) 1 \mid 4 = (2 \times) 2$ ,” etc. Ma per la successione delle cifre e il modo in cui esse sono espresse deve qui trattarsi di radici quadrate: le sole conservate nella documentazione antica. Il testo più tardo è un’iscrizione murale del monastero di Phoibammon, il graffito 16 in O.Mon.Phoib., pp. 13–14: esso conserva i quadrati dei numeri da 10 a 30 nella forma  $\iota \kappa\alpha \iota \rho \mid \iota\alpha \iota\alpha \rho\kappa\alpha$ , etc. Nell’edizione il testo è stampato in caratteri copti, e come copto esso è considerato nella letteratura; ma la riproduzione mostra che si tratta evidentemente di greco: vedi anche la pl. II, dove il testo è descritto come “Graffito Grec No. 97.” Si può aggiungere ancora la tavoletta di Berlino SB 3.6219 v°, sulla quale accanto alle moltiplicazioni  $\iota\theta \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \nu\epsilon \mu\epsilon$  e  $\sigma\eta \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \sigma\varsigma \epsilon\phi\kappa\eta$ , troviamo  $\xi\delta \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \xi\delta \delta\sigma\varsigma$  e  $\xi\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \xi\varsigma \delta\tau\nu\varsigma$ , e cioè i quadrati di 64 – che tra l’altro è a sua volta un quadrato, di 8 – e 66.

eccezione è un papiro tolemaico pubblicato recentemente<sup>7</sup> del quale si riparerà più avanti. Nel calcolo antico e in particolare in quello greco – la cui matematica era strettamente legata a una concezione geometrica – quadrati e cubi erano le sole potenze di utilità pratica immediata, perché applicabili al calcolo delle superfici e dei volumi. E non solo per la superficie del quadrato: anche per il rettangolo si procedeva sommando i due diversi lati (base ed altezza), facendo la media, e quindi trattando la figura come se essa fosse stata un quadrato.<sup>8</sup> Il passaggio all'uso di potenze superiori alla terza implica un'astrazione e uno scioglimento del calcolo delle potenze dalla geometria.

### *Archimede*

In un ambito più teorico, già nel III a.C. Archimede ricorre in qualche modo al concetto di potenza per esprimere nell'*Arenarius* un numero esorbitante come quello dei granelli di sabbia che possono essere contenuti nell'universo;<sup>9</sup> un calcolo che la matematica moderna rende come  $8 \times 10^{63}$ .<sup>10</sup>

In realtà Archimede non parte da una base 10, ma da una base 10.000, o piuttosto dalla miriade di miriadi e cioè da 100.000.000. In questo modo egli definisce diversi ordini di numeri, ciascuno basato su una potenza degli altri: fino alla miriade di miriadi, e cioè 100.000.000, sono i “primi numeri”; fino a 10.000 miriadi di questi primi numeri sono i “secondi numeri”; fino a 10.000 miriadi di questi secondi numeri, i “terzi numeri,” e così via fino alla diecimillesima potenza. È interessante l'uso degli ordinali per indicare serie di numeri ottenuti con una serie di potenze. Si tratta comunque di serie di numeri che si pongono su diversi livelli, non propriamente dei risultati di potenze: i “primi numeri” sono tutti i numeri da 1 a 100.000.000,<sup>11</sup> e così via. Archimede poi non è interessato all'operazione

<sup>7</sup> Sono venuto a conoscenza di questo testo solo dopo aver presentato il papiro viennese al congresso di Barcellona.

<sup>8</sup> D.E. Smith, *History of Mathematics* (senza luogo di edizione, 1923–1925) 2.286.

<sup>9</sup> C. Mugler, *Archimède*, vol. 2 (Paris 1971) 145–147.

<sup>10</sup> Th. Heath, *A History of Greek Mathematics* (Oxford 1921) 1.40–41; J. Tropfke, *Geschichte der Elementarmathematik in systematischer Darstellung*, 3ª ed. (Berlin-Leipzig 1930–1933) 1.6; Smith (n. 8) 80.

<sup>11</sup> Secondo F. Acerbi, “Unaccountable Numbers,” *GRBS* 55 (2015) 916, n. 37, gli “Archimedes’ ἀριθμοὶ πρῶτοι range from the unit to the decimal 8-species (myriad of myriads) excluded”; ma il testo di Archimede, 145–146, ha: συμβαίνει δὴ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐς τὸ μὲν τῶν μυρίων ὑπάρχειν ἅμιν παραδεδομένα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ τῶν μυρίων [μὲν] ἀποχρεόντως γινώσκόμες μυριάδων ἀριθμὸν λέγοντες ἔστε ποτὶ τὰς μυριάς

matematica in sé, da applicare a numeri concreti e reali. Il suo è un modo di scrivere numeri che non sono esprimibili con il sistema greco che ha a disposizione solo le miriadi e le miriadi di miriadi.<sup>12</sup>

### *Diophantos*

Più importante per lo studio delle potenze è Diophantos di Alessandria, la cui cronologia è molto vaga: egli deve essere vissuto tra il 150 a.C. e la seconda metà del IV secolo d.C. (!), forse – secondo una datazione largamente accettata – intorno al 250 d.C.<sup>13</sup> E tuttavia anche il “padre dell'algebra” resta legato all'idea di base geometrica. Per arrivare alla sesta potenza egli ricorre a diverse combinazioni di quadrato e cubo: *tetragonos*, o piuttosto *dynamis*, e *kybos*, nozioni che in sé erano già usate dai pitagorici e poi da Euclide.<sup>14</sup> La base è detta, geometricamente, “lato del quadrato,” *πλευρά*; *tetragonos* o *dynamis* è la seconda potenza, e il *kybos* la terza potenza. Quindi egli va avanti riprendendo concetti che si trovano già in Heron di Alessandria (I d.C.), e ancora prima, sembra, in Varrone

μυριάδας. Ἐστών οὖν ἅμιν οἱ μὲν νῦν εἰρημένοι ἀριθμοὶ ἕς τὰς μυριάς μυριάδας πρῶτοι καλοῦμενοι. I “*primi numeri*” sono gli οἱ μὲν νῦν εἰρημένοι ἀριθμοί, i numeri appena menzionati, e cioè fino alla miriade di miriadi compresa. Lo stesso vale per le serie successive.

<sup>12</sup> Cfr. anche Fowler (n. 3) 225–226.

<sup>13</sup> Cfr. Th. Heath, *Diophantus of Alexandria*, 2ª ed. (Cambridge 1910) 1–2. Più recentemente, N. Schappacher, “Diophante d’Alexandrie: un texte et son histoire,” in *4000 ans d’histoire des mathématiques: les mathématiques dans la longue durée. Actes du treizième colloque inter-IREM d’Histoire et d’Épistémologie des Mathématiques, IREM de Rennes, 6-7-8 mai 2000* (Rennes 2002) 16–18; una prima versione tedesca in N. Schappacher, “Wer war Diophant?” *Mathematische Semesterberichte* 45.2 (1998) 141–156. E. Afonasin, “Pythagorean Numerology and Diophantus’ *Arithmetica* (A Note on Hyppolitus’ *Elenchos* I 2),” in A.-B. Renger e A. Stavru (eds.), *Pythagorean Knowledge from the Ancient to the Modern World* (Wiesbaden 2016) 337–349. Più sinteticamente J. Christianidis, “The Way of Diophantos: Some Clarifications on Diophantus’ Method of Solution,” *Historia Mathematica* 34 (2007) 290.

<sup>14</sup> Tropfke (n. 10) 2.133 e n. 797. J. Tropfke, *Geschichte der Elementarmathematik*, 4. Auflage, Band I, *Arithmetik und Algebra*, vollständig neu bearbeitet von K. Vogel, K. Reich, H. Gericke (Berlin-New York 1980) 265; B.A. Rosenfeld e M. L. Cernova, “Algebraic Exponents and their Geometric Interpretation,” *Organon* 4 (1967) 109. La traduzione araba di Diophantos (J. Sesiano, *Books IV to VII of Diophantus’ Arithmetica in the Arabic Translation Attributed to Qusṭā ibn Lûkâ* [New York 1982]) ha ancora la ottava potenza, per la quale si può presumere in greco un  $\Delta^5\Delta^5\Delta^5\Delta^5$ : per la terminologia adottata da Diophantos, i suoi usi precedenti e la sua storia successiva, A. Meskens, “Reading Diophantos,” in B. Van Kerkhove, *New Perspectives on Mathematical Practices: Essays in Philosophy and History of Mathematics*, Brussels 26–28 March 2007 (Singapore 2009) 35–37; A. Meskens, *Traveling Mathematics. The Fate of Diophantos’ Arithmetics* (Basel 2010) 54–55.



(116–27 a.C.):<sup>15</sup> la *dynamodynamis* per la quarta potenza, e cioè moltiplicando il quadrato per il quadrato, o in altre parole sommando gli esponenti. La moltiplicazione del quadrato per il cubo dà il *dynamokybos*, per la quinta potenza ( $2 + 3 = 5$ ). E infine il cubo per il cubo, il *kybokybos* per la sesta potenza ( $3 + 3 = 6$ ).<sup>16</sup> Diophantos si serve di questi concetti non in relazione a numeri reali, ma per il calcolo algebrico: in effetti alla spiegazione di queste prime potenze seguono le operazioni algebriche basate sulle potenze. In più i concetti da lui usati, come *dynamis*, *kybos*, etc., non indicano in sé l'elevazione a potenza, l'esponente insomma, ma tutto insieme l'incognita al quadrato, e cioè la  $x^2$  o la  $x^3$ . Lo stesso vale per gli altri termini che egli usa.

### Altri esempi

Potenze più elevate sono in alcune tavolette babilonesi concepite secondo il sistema sessagesimale: oltre a tabelle di quadrati e cubi risalenti al XXIII–XVI sec. a.C.,<sup>17</sup> alcuni testi tardo babilonesi attribuibili ai

<sup>15</sup> Δυναμοδύναμις è in Heron 3,48, cfr. Tropfke (n. 14) 266; ma per la possibilità di considerare Heron contemporaneo di Diophantos – nel qual caso egli avrebbe ripreso il termine da Diophantos invece che anticiparlo –, cfr. W.R. Knorr, “*Arithmêtikê stoicheiôsis*: On Diophantos and Hero of Alexandria,” *Historia mathematica* 20 (1993) 184–185 e 190–191, n. 23. La stessa terminologia di Diophantos fino alla sesta potenza è usata da Hippolytus, vescovo di Roma all'inizio del III secolo, nella *Refutatio omnium haeresium* 1.2.10 e 4.51.8, cfr. Knorr (n. 15) 190–191, n. 23; da rilevare che Hippolytus attribuisce il sistema già a Pitagora, ma cfr. Afonasin (n. 13) 338–339. Essa è ancora, traslitterata e con le uscite latine fino al *kybokybus*, negli *Excerpta e geometria* di Varrone (116–27 a.C.), N. Bubnov, *Gerberti postea Silvestri II papae Opera Mathematica* (972–1003) (Berolini 1899) 494–503, se questa attribuzione è corretta. Cfr. H. Gericke, *Mathematik im Abendland. Von den römischen Feldmessern bis zu Descartes* (Berlin 1990) 41.

<sup>16</sup> La discussione delle potenze si trova alle pp. 2–8 dell'edizione di P. Tannery: *Diophanti Alexandrini opera omnia, cum Graecis commentariis, edidit Paulus Tannery* (Lipsiae 1895); cfr. in particolare il riepilogo a p. 8:

Ἀριθμὸς μὲν ἐπὶ ἀριθμὸν πολυπλασιασθεὶς ποιεῖ δύναμιν,  
ἐπὶ δὲ δύναμιν, κύβον,  
ἐπὶ δὲ κύβον, δυναμοδύναμιν,  
ἐπὶ δὲ δυναμοδύναμιν, δυναμόκυβον,  
ἐπὶ δὲ δυναμόκυβον, κυβόκυβον.  
Δύναμις δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν δύναμιν, δυναμοδύναμιν,  
ἐπὶ δὲ κύβον, δυναμόκυβον,  
ἐπὶ δὲ δυναμοδύναμιν, κυβόκυβον.

Κύβος δὲ ἐπὶ κύβον, κυβόκυβον.

<sup>17</sup> Tropfke (n. 10) 1.145–146, Tropfke (n. 14) 263–264. Per altri testi della prima metà del secondo millennio cfr. J. Friberg, *A Remarkable Collection of Babylonian Mathematical Texts* (New York 2007) 18–22, 37–49; 42–43 per una tavoletta con la 12<sup>a</sup> e la 16<sup>a</sup> potenza di 20.



secoli III–II a.C. danno potenze di 9 fino a  $9^{46}$ .<sup>18</sup> Essi riportano solo, e in maniera molto frammentaria, i risultati; non indicano invece né la base né gli esponenti.

Su una serie di potenze di 7 è costruito il problema 79 del papiro matematico Rhind, del XVI sec. a.C. Con i dati indicati di 7 case, 49 gatti, 343 topi, 2401 spighe di grano, 16807 *hekat* di grano, si ha un totale di 19067: calcolabile o per semplice somma o per moltiplicazione. I numeri del problema sono una progressione geometrica di 7, uguale a  $7^5$ . Oggetto del problema però non è in sé la progressione geometrica o la potenza – i numeri sono già indicati nel testo –, ma il metodo per ottenere il totale di tutti i numeri che di questa progressione fanno parte.<sup>19</sup>

### *Gli scacchi*

Un calcolo dello stesso genere, basato però su una progressione geometrica di 2 – e dunque molto più interessante per il nostro papiro – nella quale tutti i risultati sono sommati insieme, è nella storia dell’invenzione degli scacchi tramandata in versioni diverse nella letteratura araba.<sup>20</sup> Il filosofo che aveva inventato il gioco per un re indiano, avrebbe chiesto come ricompensa di mettere un chicco di grano sul primo quadrato, 2 sul secondo, 4 sul terzo, 8 sul quinto e così via per successivi raddoppiamenti: il risultato è uguale a  $2^{64} - 1$ , e cioè 18.446.744.073.709.551.615 (18 miliardi e 446 milioni 744 mila 73 miliardi e 709 milioni 551 mila 615; o per esprimersi in maniera più comprensibile, tra 18 e 19 miliardi di miliardi) chicchi di grano.<sup>21</sup> Questa leggenda risale a epoca preislamica e si riallaccia a un modo di calcolare che, per il metodo e il gusto dei numeri esorbitanti, era familiare ai matematici indiani.<sup>22</sup> L’operazione

<sup>18</sup> M. Ossendrijver, “The Powers of 9 and Related Mathematical Tables from Babylon,” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 66 (2014) 149–165.

<sup>19</sup> A.B. Chace, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus. Free Translation and Commentary with Selected Photographs, Transcriptions, Transliterations and Literal Translations* (Oberlin, Ohio 1927–1929) 1.30 e 112, vol. 2, pl. 101 per testo e traduzione. Cfr. anche G. Robins e Ch. Shute, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus* (London 1987) 56–57; Tropicke (n. 14) 629–630, con esempi di analoghi problemi da altre epoche e altri ambienti, dalla Cina all’Inghilterra.

<sup>20</sup> Ampia presentazione e discussione delle fonti in H.J.R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford 1913) 207–219.

<sup>21</sup> In generale per il problema della scacchiera e altre tradizioni analoghe, in particolare quella nella quale il prezzo di un cavallo è calcolato raddoppiando un’unità di partenza per ognuno degli 8 chiodi dei 4 ferri, Tropicke (n. 14) 630–633.

<sup>22</sup> Murray (n. 20) 212–213 e 218.

basata sulla scacchiera ha continuato a lungo a occupare i matematici arabi e poi occidentali.<sup>23</sup> E tuttavia essa era vista come un raddoppiamento, una *duplatio*, piuttosto che come una serie di potenze. Leonardo Pisano detto il Fibonacci – lo stesso che ha spiegato e introdotto in Europa il sistema di numerazione posizionale indiana – intitola *De duplicatione scacherii* la parte dedicata a questo tipo di calcolo nel *Liber abbaci* del 1202 e poi 1228 (sottocapitolo 9 del capitolo 12). La *duplatio* o *duplicatio* è stata per molto tempo considerata una delle operazioni fondamentali, usata per la moltiplicazione dagli egizi e dai greci – che pure conoscevano, e a giudicare dai papiri matematici usavano più frequentemente,<sup>24</sup> vere moltiplicazioni; trattata come un'operazione a sé per tutto il medioevo, essa è rimasta in uso ancora fino all'inizio del XVIII secolo.<sup>25</sup> Di un raddoppiamento per l'operazione eseguita sulla scacchiera parla anche Dante Alighieri, quando nel *Paradiso* 28.91–93, per il numero altissimo degli angeli paragonati a scintille, scrive che “l numer loro l più che l doppiar de li scacchi s'inmilla.” La metafora di Dante, col riferimento al raddoppiamento della scacchiera, è per altro abbastanza comune nella poesia medievale.<sup>26</sup>

Considerare come una *duplatio* anche le operazioni del papiro viennese è difficile: in questo caso la progressione geometrica avrebbe dovuto iniziare da 1. Ora, il nostro testo inizia sì con un  $\alpha$ ; questo primo numero però non fa parte della serie 2, 4, 8, 16 etc., e sta invece sullo stesso piano del  $\beta$  che precede il  $\delta$ , del  $\gamma$  che precede l' $\eta$ , del  $\delta$  che precede  $\iota\varsigma$  etc. L' $\alpha$  insomma fa parte della progressione aritmetica, gli esponenti, che, in combinazione con la progressione geometrica, o dei risultati, mostra che qui si tratta davvero di potenze di 2.

<sup>23</sup> In arabo esistono almeno due trattati dedicati al problema, *Taq'if buyût ash-shaṭranj* di al-Missisî del IX–X sec., e *Taq'if 'adad ruq'a ash-shaṭranj* di al-Akfânî, del 1348, cfr. Murray (n. 20) 218.

<sup>24</sup> Vedi da ultimo G. Azzarello in *P.Scholl* 3 introd., p. 136.

<sup>25</sup> Cfr. Smith (n. 8) 2.32–35; Tropfke (n. 10) 1.70, 72–76; Tropfke (n. 14) 159–160, 208–209. Tabelle di raddoppiamenti, non però in serie partendo da uno stesso numero, ma di numeri diversi, sono elencate da G. Azzarello in *P.Harrauer* 3 introd., p. 22.

<sup>26</sup> Peire Vidal, tra la fine del XII e l'inizio del XIII secolo, in *Tant an ben dig del marques*, 41–42: “Mil tans es doblatz sos bes l Qu'el comtes de l'escaquier”; Thierry de Soissons, attivo tra il 1230 e 1260: “quant recort sa douce chiere, ... alors puis de deus eschequiers l Doubler les poincts tous entiers de fine beauté pleniére”; Guiot de Provins, dalla metà del XII all'inizio del XIII (le sei canzoni superstiti sono tutte databili intorno al 1180), 2.40–42: “Bien puis, hoi est li jors, l Les poinz de l'eschaquier l Doubler de mes dolors.” In tedesco, Wolfram von Eschenbach (c. 1160/80–c. 1220), *Willehalm* (c. 1212/1217), p. 151 Lachmann: “Der marcraf sagt im rehte: 'Ir hers mich bevilte. l der zende ûz zwispilte l ame schâchzabel ieslîch velt l mit cardamôm.” Cfr. Murray (n. 20) 755; A.A. Macdonell, “The Origin and Early History of Chess,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (Jan., 1898) 126–128.

*Michael Stifel*

Una combinazione delle due progressioni analoga a quella del P.Vindob. G 27574 si trova nella *Arithmetica integra* di Michael Stifel, del 1544.<sup>27</sup> Nella parte introduttiva al capitolo *De progressionibus geometricis* Stifel presenta prima progressioni come il raddoppiamento.<sup>28</sup> Quindi egli continua applicando da un lato la stessa serie di raddoppiamenti – che solo per il 2 equivalgono alle potenze – al 3; dall’altro applicando al 2 una *triplatio*.<sup>29</sup> Fino a qui si tratta evidentemente di operazioni diverse dalle potenze.

Poco più avanti però, partendo dal concetto di “radice” per il secondo numero delle progressioni inizianti da 1,<sup>30</sup> Stifel mette in relazione una progressione aritmetica con una progressione geometrica. Ne risulta uno schema molto simile a quello del nostro papiro, che Stifel porta avanti fino alla sesta potenza:

*Et hic vide, ut progressio naturalis numerorum serviat progressionibus Geometricis: ut,*

0.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	
1.	2.	4.	8.	16.	32.	64.	<i>etc.</i>

Stifel sviluppa questa serie nella parte *de numeris solidis*. In particolare a proposito dei *solidi regulariter*:<sup>31</sup> il *cube* propriamente detto,  $2 \times 2 \times 2$  (e cioè, come scriveremmo noi,  $2^3$ ) = 8. Poi lo *zenzizensus*, cioè il quadrato per il quadrato, corrispondente a due cubi:  $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$  (e cioè  $2^4$ ) = 16; il *surdesolidus* (= 4 cubi), e cioè  $2^5$ ; lo *zensicubus*, composto

<sup>27</sup> Michael Stifel, *Arithmetica integra* (Norimbergae 1544), [https://archive.org/details/bub\\_gb\\_fndPsRv08R0C](https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_fndPsRv08R0C).

<sup>28</sup> 30 r°: (...) *progressiones Geometricae, nihil aliud sint, quam proportionalites, id est, proportionum continuationes aequalium: ut in hac progressionem 1. 2. 4. 8. 16. 32. 64. succedit proportio dupla, proportioni duplae, per omnes terminos continue.*

<sup>29</sup> 30 r°–30 v°: *Sub genere vero multiplici sunt infinitae species progressionum. Quaedam enim vocantur duplae proportionalitatis progressionem, ut haec est, 3. 6. 12. 24. 48. 96. etc. Quaedam vocantur triplae proportionalitatis, ut haec, 2. 6. 18. 54. 162. etc. Quaedam quadruplae, quaedam quintuplae: et sic in infinitum.*

<sup>30</sup> 31 r°: *Sed de iis mihi restat dicendum, quae ab unitate incipiunt. In omni progressionem Geometrica ab unitate incipiente, dicitur radix progressionis ille numerus, qui unitatem immediate sequitur, eo quod omnes termini illius progressionis sequentes ex eo termino excrescant tanquam ex radice. Si enim radix bis ponatur, fiatque ita multiplicatio, tunc oritur terminus tertius, qui radicem immediate sequitur. Si radix ter ponatur, oritur terminus quartus. Si quater, oritur terminus quintus: et sic in infinitum.*

<sup>31</sup> 31 v°: *solidi regulariter sunt, qui radicem aliquam habent, ut sunt omnes numeri progressionis Geometricae ab unitate incipientis, a termino quarto, in infinitum usque. Unde in qualibet progressionem Geometrica ab unitate incipiente, unitas ponitur loco puncti, et radix ponitur loco lineae, et tertius terminus ponitur loco superficiei: et reliquorum singuli sunt solidi.* La discussione dei solidi è in 31 r°–33 v°.

da 8 cubi, e cioè  $2^6$ ; lo *bsurdesolidus*, uguale a 16 cubi e corrispondente a  $2^7$ , lo *zensizenzensicus*,  $2^8$ , fino al *cubicubus*: cubo con il lato di 4 cubi,  $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 = 512$ , corrispondente a  $2^9$ .

E tuttavia, Stifel ragiona sempre in termini geometrici e dà le operazioni aritmetiche solo come calcolo dell'idea geometrica. Come in Diophantos, la base è il lato, il quadrato la superficie, etc. Inoltre egli dà per ognuno di questi solidi una serie di moltiplicazioni, del tipo  $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times \dots$ , senza ricorrere veramente all'idea di esponente: un numero sintetico che indica la quantità dei numeri (in questo caso 2) che vengono moltiplicati per sé stessi.<sup>32</sup> In effetti Stifel, secondo un sistema usato già prima in lavori di matematica e seguito poi anche successivamente, indica ancora le potenze con combinazioni di lettere che sono abbreviazioni per i solidi da lui utilizzati per rappresentare questo tipo di operazione.<sup>33</sup>

### *Dal medioevo a Descartes*

Esponenti numerici sono usati, già prima di Stifel, da Nicole Oresme (c. 1323–1382) per potenze frazionali,<sup>34</sup> e soprattutto da Nicolas Chuquet nel 1484.<sup>35</sup> Questi esponenti comunque sono sempre comprensivi anche della base e riferiti all'incognita:<sup>36</sup> una scrittura come  $12^3$  sta per  $12x^3$ .<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Stifel chiama comunque *exponens* il numero della progressione aritmetica posto al di sopra del corrispondente numero della progressione geometrica: vedi ad esempio 237. Egli sembra essere il primo a introdurre questo termine, che poi sarà di uso generale.

<sup>33</sup> Tropfke (n. 10) 2.148–149; F. Cajori, *A History of Mathematical Notations, Vol. I, Notations in Elementary Mathematics* (London 1928) 139.

<sup>34</sup> Oresme usa però un sistema di scrivere complesso, molto diverso dalla notazione moderna, vedi Cajori (n. 33) 91–93.

<sup>35</sup> N. Chuquet, *Le triparty en la science des nombres*, manoscritto del 1484, edito da A. Marre (Rome 1881), cfr. Cajori (n. 33) 100–103.

<sup>36</sup> Per la separazione dell'esponente dalla base, Cajori (n. 33) 345 ricorda che fino a che questa non era indicata con una lettera, "There was no pressing need of indicating the powers of a given number, say the cube of twelve; they could be computed at once. Moreover, as only the unknown quantity was raised to powers which could not be computed on the spot, why should one go to the trouble of writing down the base? Was it not sufficient to put down the exponent and omit the base? Was it not easier to write  $16^v$  than  $16x^5$ ?" Vedi anche 339: "In the early development of algebraic symbolism, no signs were used for the powers of given numbers in an equation. As given numbers and coefficients were not represented by letters in equations before the time of Vieta, but were specifically given in numerals, their powers could be computed on the spot and no symbolism for powers or such numbers was needed. It was different with the unknown numbers, the determination of which constituted the purpose of establishing an equation. In consequence, one finds the occurrence of symbolic representation of the unknown and its powers during a period extending over a thousand years before the introduction of the literal coefficient and its powers."

<sup>37</sup> Cajori (n. 33) 100–103.

L'uso degli ordinali italiani *prima*, *seconda*, *terza*, etc. abbreviati in diversi modi, si trova nel trattato di aritmetica e algebra dell'austriaco Heinrich Schreiber o Grammateus, del 1518.<sup>38</sup> Una notazione nella quale l'esponente, anche qui un ordinale, è separato dalla base – comunque l'incognita espressa con una R, per *res* – è usata nel 1494 da Luca Pacioli, che però usava esponenti superiori di una unità rispetto a quelli che useremmo noi.<sup>39</sup> Al sistema moderno, quello introdotto da Descartes nella *Géométrie* del 1637,<sup>40</sup> si arriva con la combinazione degli esponenti in numeri arabi scritti da Adriaan van Roomen, o Romanus, – su suggerimento del francese Pierre Hérigone – a destra delle lettere indicanti l'incognita,<sup>41</sup> e di quelli in numeri romani scritti in alto a destra dell'incognita usati da James Hume nella sua edizione dell'algebra di Vieta.<sup>42</sup>

### *La novità di P.Vindob. G 27574*

Nessun testo della tradizione greco-latina, occidentale o araba sviluppa la serie delle potenze fino alla ventiquattresima potenza. Ma il papiro si distingue soprattutto sul piano concettuale: esso mostra una completa astrazione dalla concezione geometrica, e allontanandosi dal sistema di combinare le potenze più basse espresse con figure geometriche per indicare quelle superiori,<sup>43</sup> usa numeri corrispondenti ai nostri esponenti. Già il quadrato e il cubo sono indicati con  $\beta$  e  $\gamma$ , e cioè con valori puramente numerici.<sup>44</sup> Non solo: a partire dalla dodicesima potenza di l. 3 questi valori sono espressi con numeri ordinali, come in molte lingue moderne:  $2^2$ ,  $2^3$ , etc. per 2 alla seconda (potenza), 2 alla terza, e così via.

<sup>38</sup> H. Schreiber, *Ayn New Kunstlich Buech* (Nürnberg 1518). Cfr. Cajori (n. 33) 131–133.

<sup>39</sup> L. Pacioli, *Summa de arithmetica geometria proportioni et proportionalita* (Venezia 1494). Cfr. Cajori (n. 33) 108–109.

<sup>40</sup> Pubblicata come appendice in R. Descartes, *Discours de la méthode pour bien conduire sa raison, et chercher la vérité dans les sciences. Plus La dioptrique. Les météores. et La géométrie. qui font des essais de cete Méthode* (Leyde 1637) 295–314. La spiegazione del sistema è in 299: “Et  $a$ , ou  $a^2$ , pour multiplier  $a$  pour soy mesme; Et  $a^3$ , pour le multiplier encore une fois par  $a$ , et ainsi a l’infini.” Per il testo, <https://archive.org/details/46Descartes>. Da rilevare comunque che anche Descartes continua a fare riferimento alla terminologia geometrica, o meglio ipergeometrica, precedente: Rosenfeld e Cernova (n. 14) 112.

<sup>41</sup> *Ideae mathematicae pars prima, sive methodus polygonorum* (Antwerpiae 1593).

<sup>42</sup> Vedi Cajori (n. 33) 345–346. Per un quadro chiaro ed esauriente dello sviluppo delle potenze a partire dall'antichità, Tropfke (n. 10) 2.132–162; Tropfke (n. 14) 263–268, 281–287. In particolare per il XV secolo, un quadro sintetico in Gericke (n. 15) 216–218.

<sup>43</sup> Oltre che in Diophantos e nella maggior parte dei matematici italiani e tedeschi fino al XVII secolo, il riferimento alle figure geometriche era usato anche nel sistema indiano e in quello arabo: Cajori (n. 33) 341.

<sup>44</sup> Di Diophantos si è già parlato sopra; per i simboli da lui utilizzati, o meglio, usati nei manoscritti medievali del testo di Diophantos, Smith (n. 8) 2.422.

Rispetto alle altre tabelle di potenze, o meglio di quadrati, conservate nei papiri P.Vindob. G 27574 sta in un singolare isolamento: nelle tabelle di quadrati l'esponente è sempre lo stesso, e quello che cambia è la base. Da un punto di vista formale, le operazioni sono espresse come una serie di moltiplicazioni nelle quali le diverse basi sono moltiplicate per sé stesse: manca del tutto insomma il concetto di un esponente – uguale il modo in cui esso potesse essere espresso – a indicare questo particolare tipo di operazione. In P.Vindob. G 27574 invece la base è sempre la stessa, e quello che cambia sono gli esponenti. Sono questi dunque a essere indicati, non la base, che del resto è uguale alla prima potenza,  $2^1$ . Eppure anche in P.Vindob. G 27574 sarebbe stato facile, e più corrispondente alla prassi delle tabelle matematiche su papiro, indicare le operazioni come una serie di ripetute moltiplicazioni per 2, del genere “ $2 \times 2 = 4 \times 2 = 8 \times 2 = 16 \times 2 = 32$  etc.” Il procedimento di P.Vindob. G 27574 insomma non è lo sviluppo delle forme più semplici che troviamo nelle tabelle di quadrati su papiro, ma si inserisce in una linea di tradizione del tutto differente.

Le peculiarità di P.Vindob. G 27574 – e in parte, si vedrà, del papiro del Cairo – pongono la questione dell'origine del sistema in esso utilizzato, se esso abbia una qualche relazione con il sistema di Diophantos, e se davvero esso sia un fenomeno isolato nel quadro di quello che si sa di questo genere di calcoli nell'antichità.

### Michael Psellos

La risposta è in una lettera di Michael Psellos conservata nel codice *Laurentianus* 58, 29 e nello *Scorialensis* Y III 12, edita da Tannery nella sua edizione di Diophantos,<sup>45</sup> ma a quello che vedo non ripresa nelle edizioni moderne di Michael Psellos e di conseguenza neppure nel *TLG*. Il dotto bizantino dell'XI secolo spiega il sistema di Diophantos, che egli definisce egiziano, facendo riferimento però, oltre che alla terminologia basata su *dynamis* e *kybos*, a denominazioni basate sugli ordinali:

δύναμις δέ ἐστιν ὅταν ἀριθμὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν πολλαπλασιασθῇ· τοῦτο δὲ καλεῖται καὶ τετράγωνος ἀριθμός· εἰ οὖν ὑποθούμεθα τὸν ἀριθμὸν μονάδων β, ἡ δύναμις ἔσται μονάδων δ. κύβος δέ ἐστιν ὅταν ἀριθμὸς ἐπὶ τὴν δύναμιν πολλαπλασιασθῇ· οἷον εἰ ὑποθούμεθα τὸν ἀριθμὸν μονάδων β, ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ τὰ δ' ἐὰν ἐπὶ τὴν πλευρὰν τὰ β πολλαπλασιασθῇ, γενήσεται ὁ ἡ ἀριθμὸς ὃς δὴ κύβος ἐστὶ. δυναμοδύναμις δέ ἐστιν ὅταν ἡ δύναμις

<sup>45</sup> 2.37–38.

ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν πολλαπλασιασθῇ· οἷον ὁ δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ γίνεται ὁ ις. δυναμόκυβος δέ ἐστιν ὅταν ἡ δύναμις ἐπὶ κύβον πολλαπλασιασθῇ, ὥςπερ ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἦ καὶ γίνεται λβ'· ὁς καλεῖται ἄλογος πρῶτος (οὔτε γὰρ τετραγώνος ἐστιν οὔτε κύβος) καὶ ἀριθμὸς πέμπτος· πρῶτος γὰρ ἀπλῶς ἀριθμὸς, δεύτερος δύναμις, τρίτος κύβος, τέταρτος δυναμοδύναμις, καὶ πέμπτος οὗτος ὁ δυναμόκυβος. κυβόκυβος δέ ἐστιν ὅταν κύβος ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν πολλαπλασιασθεὶς ἀριθμὸν ποιήσῃ. ἄλογος δὲ δεύτερος ἀριθμὸς ἐστιν ὅταν δύναμις ἐπὶ ἄλογον πρῶτον πολλαπλασιασθῇ· τῆς γὰρ δυνάμεως οὔσης μονάδων δ', ὡς εἴρηται, τοῦ δὲ πρῶτου ἀλόγου μονάδων λβ', τὸ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔσται μονάδων ρκη, ὅπερ καλεῖται ἄλογος δεύτερος· καλεῖται δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἀριθμὸς ἑβδομος.

“Una potenza è quando un numero sia moltiplicato per sé stesso: questo è chiamato anche numero quadrato; se dunque poniamo il numero di 2 unità, la potenza sarà di 4 unità. Un cubo è quando un numero venga moltiplicato per la potenza: di maniera tale che, se poniamo il numero di 2 unità, la sua potenza è il 4; qualora venga moltiplicata per il lato, il 2, diventerà il numero 8, che è un cubo. Potenza-potenza (*dynamodynamis*) è quando la potenza venga moltiplicata per sé stessa: come il 4 per sé stesso, e fa il 16. Potenza-cubo (*dynamokybos*) è quando la potenza venga moltiplicata per un cubo, come il 4 per l'8, e fa 32: il quale è chiamato primo indefinibile<sup>46</sup> (non è infatti né un quadrato né un cubo) e numero quinto: primo infatti è un numero semplice, secondo una potenza, terzo un cubo, quarto una potenza-potenza (*dynamodynamis*), e quinto questo potenza-cubo (*dynamokybos*). Cubo-cubo (*kybokybos*) è quando un cubo moltiplicato per sé stesso faccia il numero. Secondo numero indefinibile è quando la potenza venga moltiplicata per il primo indefinibile: essendo infatti la potenza di 4 unità, come si è detto, e il primo indefinibile di 32 unità, il loro prodotto sarà di 128 unità, che è chiamato secondo indefinibile; lo stesso è chiamato anche numero settimo.”

In questo sistema dunque il primo numero è l'unità di partenza, il secondo numero la *dynamis* e cioè il quadrato, il terzo numero il cubo, e così via fino al settimo numero per 27.<sup>47</sup> L'associazione delle potenze dell'incognita con i numeri naturali dà luogo a valori esponenziali, per i

<sup>46</sup> Metto nel testo «indefinibile», ma il senso da dare a ἄλογος è molto controverso: vedi da ultimo Acerbi (n. 11) 902–926.

<sup>47</sup> Si osserverà che Michael Psellos non menziona un valore numerico per la sesta potenza. Valori numerici mancano anche per le due potenze successive, la ottava e la nona: τετραπλῆ δὲ δύναμις ἐστιν ὅταν δύναμις ἐπὶ κυβόκυβον πολλαπλασιασθῇ· κύβος δὲ ἐξελικτός ἐστιν ὅταν δύναμις ἐπὶ ἄλογον δεύτερον πολλαπλασιασθῇ. L'una è indicata come “potenza quadrupla,” corrispondente alla moltiplicazione della potenza per il cubo-cubo; l'altra come “cubo sviluppato,” corrispondente alla moltiplicazione della potenza per il secondo “indefinibile,” a sua volta uguale al prodotto della potenza per il cubo-cubo. Ma è difficile pensare che anche per queste – e le successive – potenze non esistessero valori numerici come per le prime della serie; cfr. anche P. Tannery, “Psellus sur Diophante,” *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik, historisch-literarische Abtheilung* 37 (1892) 44.



quali né Diophantos né i matematici del millennio successivo davano un sistema adeguato di notazione.<sup>48</sup>

Michael Psellos spiega che “questo metodo egiziano” delle potenze era stato trattato diffusamente da Diophantos, e poi più sinteticamente da un Anatolios in un’opera che presentava gli aspetti essenziali della scienza matematica, dedicata a Diophantos.<sup>49</sup> Ora, il passo è molto controverso:<sup>50</sup> cos’è il metodo egiziano, ed è esso diverso da quello di Diophantos? Dal testo, in particolare per la frase περί δὲ τῆς αἰγυπτιακῆς μεθόδου ταύτης Διόφαντος μὲν διέλαβεν ἀκριβέστερον, non sembrerebbe che nella sostanza Anatolios dicesse cose diverse da Diophantos. D’altra parte è un fatto che Diophantos, almeno per quanto è conservato, conosce solo il sistema geometrico di indicare le potenze. È anche in sé improbabile che Diophantos, la cui parte relativa alle denominazioni geometriche delle potenze è conservata e si trova all’inizio dell’opera, presentasse altrove quelle puramente numeriche.

Tannery, editore di Diophantos e della lettera di Michael Psellos, pensava, credo a ragione, che il sistema numerico fosse menzionato, se non introdotto, solo da Anatolios.<sup>51</sup> Egli lo identificava con Anatolios di Alessandria vescovo di Laodicea, vissuto nel III secolo e noto anche come autore di scritti di matematica. Questo Anatolios, se era un contemporaneo di Diophantos, darebbe anche un elemento per la datazione del matematico alessandrino. Tannery poi riteneva pressoché certo che Psellos avesse le informazioni sul sistema egiziano e su Anatolios da un codice nel quale l’opera di Diophantos era accompagnata da un commentario ampio e antico, verosimilmente il commento ai 13 libri degli *Arithmetica* redatto tra il IV e il V secolo da Hypatia di Alessandria.<sup>52</sup>

Per noi è ancora interessante rilevare che Michael Psellos, pur riferendosi a Diophantos e a denominazioni come *dynamis*, *kybos*, *dynamodynamis* etc., che in Diophantos indicano insieme incognita e potenza,

<sup>48</sup> Cfr. Cajori (n. 33) 85, e anche Tropfke (n. 10) 2.138–139, Acerbi (n. 11) 915–916.

<sup>49</sup> Περί δὲ τῆς αἰγυπτιακῆς μεθόδου ταύτης Διόφαντος μὲν διέλαβεν ἀκριβέστερον, ὁ δὲ λογιώτατος Ἀνατόλιος τὰ συνεκτικώτατα μέρη τῆς κατ’ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιστήμης ἀπολεξάμενος ἐτέρως Διοφάντῳ συνοπτικώτατα προσεφώνησε. καὶ εἴ τις τὰς ἐντεῦθεν μεθόδους εἶδῃ, τὰ προβαλλόμενα ἐνίοις ἐν τοῖς ἐμμέτροις ἐπιγράμμασιν ἀριθμητικὰ προβλήματα σαφέστατα διαλύσει.

<sup>50</sup> Con le implicazioni per la datazione di Diophantos, e anche per la questione di chi affermava cosa: cfr. Knorr (n. 15) 184–185, 187, 189–191, nn. 20, 21, 23; Meskens, “Reading Diophantos” (n. 14) 29–30; Meskens, *Travelling Mathematics* (n. 14) 47–48; Afonasin (n. 13) 339–342. Acerbi (n. 11) 912–913, n. 29. In particolare per il senso da dare a τῆς αἰγυπτιακῆς μεθόδου, Tannery (n. 47); Knorr (n. 15) 189, n. 18.

<sup>51</sup> Tannery (n. 47) 43–45.

<sup>52</sup> Tannery (n. 16) IX.

faccia esempi partendo da una base 2: la stessa utilizzata in P.Vindob. G 27574. I valori esponenziali, dissociati dall'incognita, sono accostati a un numero come il 2 per calcolarne una serie di potenze. Rimane dubbio se in questo egli seguisse Anatolios;<sup>53</sup> ma la stessa notazione la vediamo adesso nel nostro papiro: certo senza indicazione della base a ogni esponente, ma comunque con l'indicazione del numero di partenza all'inizio della serie nella forma "1° (numero/potenza) 2."

### *Il papiro del Cairo*

Nel contesto che si è adesso definito si inserisce il nuovo P.Cairo Museum S.R. 3069 v°:<sup>54</sup> databile paleograficamente – ma anche in base alle indicazioni monetarie dello stesso *verso* – al II secolo a.C., esso anticipa parzialmente il sistema descritto da Michael Psellos, utilizzando le usuali denominazioni δύναιτε e κύβος per la seconda e la terza potenza, e poi il sistema di esponenti numerici – espressi almeno dalla quinta potenza con ordinali<sup>55</sup> riferiti a δύναιτε, scritti per di più in alto a destra dell'abbreviazione δ<sup>v</sup> – credo già dalla quarta<sup>56</sup> e certamente dalla quinta, fino all'ottava potenza. Riporto qui il testo, con alcune modifiche rispetto a quello dell'edizione:

] . [  
 δ ᾱ γνω( ) ἀρ(ιθμ- ) ἐξτιν<sup>57</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Knorr (n. 15) 190, n. 21, sembra quasi ricondurre il sistema a Diophantos; Acerbi (n. 11) 915–916, lo accosta al sistema dei diversi ordini di numeri di Archimede.

<sup>54</sup> Editto in S.D. Almasry Aish, "A Greek Mathematical Papyrus from the Cairo Museum," *APF* 62 (2016) 49–54.

<sup>55</sup> L'edizione riporta il trattino obliquo soltanto per ζ' a l. 8 e η' a l. 10, ma esso è visibile anche per ε' a l. 6 e ζ' a l. 9: in questi casi esso può essere stato confuso dall'editore con la parte inferiore rispettivamente del ζ alla fine di l. 5, e di ξ in ξδ alla fine di l. 8.

<sup>56</sup> L'edizione trascrive a l. 5 δν(ναμο)δύ(ναμτε): il papiro seguirebbe fino a qui lo stesso sistema che si trova in Diophantos. Ma per quello che posso vedere sulla riproduzione, il secondo δ è sollevato, e non riesco a riconoscere tracce dello ν puntato dell'edizione. Del resto lo stesso Diophantos p. 4 Tannery abbreviava con Δ<sup>v</sup>Δ, o δδ<sup>v</sup> secondo l'edizione di C. G. Bachet de Méziriac e P. de Fermat, *Diophanti Alexandrini Arithmeticon libri sex et de numeris multangulis liber unus* (Tolosae 1670), *Arithmetica* I, II 2; cfr. anche Cajori (n. 33) 72. Con δύ(ναμτε)<sup>δ</sup> abbiamo anche qui un esponente numerico, come alle linee successive.

<sup>57</sup> L'edizione ha δ (πρῶτος) γνῶ(μων) ἀρ(ιθμῶν) ἐξτιν, "the prime gnomon of numbers is," del quale senso e connessione con quello che segue mi rimangono poco chiari. L' ᾱ però deve essere un numero cardinale, non ordinale: la lineetta soprascritta si trova per i cardinali in altre parti dello stesso papiro. È vero che essa manca per gli altri numeri

	ὁ δὲ ἀριθμὸς μο(νάδων)	β <sup>58</sup>
	ἐφ' αὐ(τόν) <sup>59</sup> (γίνεται) δύ(ναμις)	δ
5	ἐπὶ ἀριθμὸν (γίνεται) κύ(βος)	η
	ἐπὶ ἀριθμὸν (γίνεται) δύ(ναμις) <sup>δ</sup> <sup>60</sup>	ις
	ἐπὶ ἀριθμὸν (γίνεται) δύ(ναμις) <sup>ε'</sup>	λβ
	ἐπὶ ἀριθμὸν (γίνεται) δύ(ναμις) <sup>ς'</sup>	ξδ
	ἐπὶ ἀριθμὸν (γίνεται) δύ(ναμις) <sup>ς'</sup>	ρκη
10	ἐπὶ ἀριθμὸν (γίνεται) δύ(ναμις) <sup>η'</sup>	cvς

“1'1 è ...

il numero di unità	2
per sé stesso fa la potenza	4
per il numero fa il cubo	8
per il numero fa la potenza <sup>4a</sup>	16
per il numero fa la potenza <sup>5a</sup>	32
per il numero fa la potenza <sup>6a</sup>	64
per il numero fa la potenza <sup>7a</sup>	128
per il numero fa la potenza <sup>8a</sup>	256”

Il papiro è una delle prime testimonianze per un sistema più complesso di potenze: sistema geometrico per i due gradini più ovvi, quadrato e

nell'esercizio con le potenze, ma questi sono tutti bene incolonnati sulla destra e lo scriba può non avere ritenuto necessario l'uso di ulteriori segni per distinguerli. Del resto i tratti per gli ordinali agli esponenti delle ll. 6–10 sono obliqui, non orizzontali. Con  $\bar{a} = 1$ , lettura ovvia per questa linea sarebbe ὁ  $\bar{a}$  γνώ(μων) ἀριθμὸς ἐστιν, “1'1 è un numero gnomon,” e cioè uno dei numeri dispari (1, 3, 5, 7, etc.), che secondo la dottrina pitagorica, sommati a un quadrato danno il quadrato immediatamente superiore:  $1^2 = 1$ ;  $2^2 = 1 + 3 = 4$ ;  $3^2 = 4 + 5 = 9$ ;  $4^2 = 9 + 7 = 16$ , etc.: cfr. Heath (n. 10) 1.77–79, o per una spiegazione più semplice A. Boeckh, *Philolaos des Pythagoreers Lehren* (Berlin 1819) 142–144. Ma la connessione di un simile enunciato con quello che segue rimane poco chiara: questo metodo si riferisce ai quadrati di numeri successivi, mentre il papiro del Cairo dà potenze successive di uno stesso numero, il 2. Forse qui “numero gnomon” è da intendere in un altro senso? Per quanto non sappia spiegarla, questa lettura mi sembra la più probabile e lascio la soluzione ai matematici. Delle altre possibili soluzioni per γνώ( ) nessuna mi sembra risolutiva.

<sup>58</sup> La linea richiama in qualche modo lo εὖ οὖν ὑποθείμεθα τὸν ἀριθμὸν μονάδων β̄ della lettera di Michael Psellos, 37.15–16. Con un inizio ὁ δέ – dove a dire il vero la seconda lettera piuttosto che δ sembra un α, che però non darebbe senso – la l. 2 è difficilmente una prosecuzione di l. 1, e deve piuttosto proseguire nella l. 3.

<sup>59</sup> L'edizione qui ha ε . ικν( ). Con ἐφ' αὐ(τόν) la linea richiama il δύναμις δέ ἐστιν ὅταν ἀριθμὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν πολλαπλασιασθῇ della lettera di Michael Psellos, 37.12–13; cfr. anche 22–23. Per quello che vedo sulla riproduzione del papiro, non credo che dopo αὐτόν ci fosse anche ἀριθμὸν; non mi sento però di escluderlo del tutto.

<sup>60</sup> Qui il papiro è danneggiato, ma quello che si vede sopra i resti del δ soprascritto mi sembra parte del κ della linea superiore, piuttosto che di un trattino obliquo per l'ordinale.

cubo, e poi numerico per quelli che seguono. È da rilevare che ogni potenza è introdotta da ἐπι ἄρ(ιθμὸν) (γίνεται): ogni gradino della serie è presentato come una moltiplicazione della potenza precedente per il numero base. La sostituzione di δύ(ναμις)<sup>61</sup> al δυ(ναμο)δύ(ναμις) dell'edizione elimina ogni connessione con Diophantos, rispetto al quale il papiro è probabilmente – la collocazione cronologica di Diophantos è incerta – precedente. Il papiro del Cairo è comunque anteriore ad Anatolios, dal quale Michael Psellos riprendeva, verosimilmente indirettamente – secondo Tannery per il tramite di Hypatia –, il sistema numerico di potenze. Questo sistema, ancora con riferimenti a quadrato e cubo nel papiro del Cairo, ricompare qualcosa come otto secoli più tardi, portato avanti fino all'24<sup>a</sup> potenza e completamente liberato da ogni riferimento a concetti geometrici – proprio come nel sistema descritto dallo Psellos –, e anche da ogni assimilazione a una serie di moltiplicazioni, in P.Vindob. G 27574.

### *La natura di P.Vindob. G 27574*

Rimane la questione di chi abbia scritto questo testo, o almeno di definirne in qualche modo il contesto e lo scopo. Il papiro non è un frammento di un trattato di matematica, ma un foglietto in sé concluso e completo, pur danneggiato lungo i bordi superiore, destro e inferiore. La scrittura è una minuscola come quella dei documenti fiscali, di mano esperta anche se non particolarmente curata. In comune con l'ambiente della contabilità sono anche le cifre fino all'ottava potenza, 256: esse corrispondono ai denominatori delle frazioni, o più propriamente alle parti, usate normalmente nella contabilità amministrativa, in particolare fiscale.<sup>61</sup> D'altra parte nei documenti fiscali del VII e VIII secolo è più frequente, per i denominatori rappresentati da numeri superiori a 10, l'altra serie, quella che si ottiene per raddoppiamenti a partire da una base 3:  $\frac{1}{6}$ ,  $\frac{1}{12}$ ,  $\frac{1}{24}$ ,  $\frac{1}{48}$ ,  $\frac{1}{96}$ ,  $\frac{1}{192}$ .<sup>62</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Con frequenza decrescente per le frazioni più piccole: *P.Freer* 1+2 del 524 è, credo casualmente, l'attestazione più tarda per le frazioni  $\frac{1}{128}$  e  $\frac{1}{256}$ . Non è possibile però intendere quella di P.Vindob. G 27574 come una serie di frazioni, le prime utilizzate nella contabilità pratica, le altre solo teoriche: il trattino obliquo manca per quella che dovrebbe essere la frazione, ed è invece a destra del numero che la precede. Contro la possibilità di intendere qualcosa come "1<sup>a</sup> frazione  $\frac{1}{2}$ , 2<sup>a</sup> frazione  $\frac{1}{4}$ , 3<sup>a</sup> frazione  $\frac{1}{8}$ , 4<sup>a</sup> frazione  $\frac{1}{16}$ ," etc. c'è anche il fatto che per  $\frac{1}{2}$  avrebbe dovuto esserci il simbolo  $\lambda$  per ἡμις, non β: β starebbe se mai per  $\frac{2}{3}$ , che in questa serie non darebbe senso.

<sup>62</sup> Quest'ultima frazione è solo in *P.Lips.* 1.87 (Ermopolite, 364, 379 o 394?), e non è ancora attestata nella documentazione del periodo arabo. Per l'uso delle due serie di frazioni cfr. *CPR* 22.28 introd., pp. 145–146.

La scrittura mostra che siamo lontani dall'ambiente dell'insegnamento elementare: cosa del resto ovvia per il contenuto del testo. Il testo non è neppure una tabella in senso proprio: chi scrive non ordina i numeri in colonne, come di regola in questo genere di testi, ma li scrive di seguito su linee consecutive, addirittura dividendo tra la l. 5 e la l. 6 un risultato rappresentato da un numero piuttosto lungo. Forse egli voleva far entrare tutto il testo su un foglietto che era già di dimensioni definite, e sul quale non sarebbe stato possibile disporre in maniera ordinata le 24 operazioni in forma di tabella: o perché questo era il foglietto che aveva a disposizione, o perché egli voleva avere il testo su un formato ridotto.

Ancora, il testo sembra essere stato pensato nel momento in cui veniva scritto: gli esponenti sono scritti come ordinali solo a partire dal 12, come se lo scrivente avesse prima iniziato a scriverli come numeri cardinali, e solo poi riflettuto che sarebbe stato meglio connotarli come ordinali. Da questo momento egli aggiunge sistematicamente il trattino sulla destra. Penserei allora che chi scrive non stia copiando da un modello, da una tabella già esistente, ma la stia compilando sul momento: nonostante i risultati rappresentati da numeri così alti e apparentemente complessi, si tratta di calcoli abbastanza elementari che possono essere fatti mentalmente senza difficoltà anche da chi, come noi, sia ormai abituato a usare le calcolatrici elettroniche. Tanto più che la progressione che si ottiene con la potenza di 2, corrispondendo a una serie di *duplationes*, doveva essere familiare a chiunque avesse una certa formazione matematica.

Più che il calcolo dei risultati in sé, è il tipo di operazione, il calcolo cioè di una serie così lunga di potenze fino alla ventiquattresima, che fa pensare a un testo opera di uno studioso o studente di livello avanzato, o comunque di qualcuno che aveva una formazione matematica superiore. In sé, sarebbe anche possibile pensare che a scrivere il nostro foglietto fosse stato un impiegato dell'amministrazione fiscale araba, magari in un momento di noia: questi contabili dovevano avere una padronanza estremamente raffinata degli strumenti matematici a loro disposizione.<sup>63</sup> Uno di loro avrebbe potuto, partendo dalle prime potenze i cui risultati gli erano familiari poiché uguali ai denominatori delle frazioni che usava quotidianamente, proseguire fino a numeri sull'ordine delle decine di milioni: la scelta di 24 come ultimo della progressione aritmetica si spiega bene per la sua importanza nel sistema duodecimale.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Vedi ad esempio la serie di approssimazioni per eccesso e per difetto che si compensano nel totale finale in *P.Lond.* 4.1434.234–240, con F. Morelli, *Olio e retribuzioni nell'Egitto tardo (V–VIII d.C.)* (Firenze 1996) 115, n. 144.

<sup>64</sup> È interessante rilevare che tanto Diophantos che Stifel arrivano alla sesta potenza: anche questo un numero chiave del sistema duodecimale.

D'altra parte il testo è scritto sul *recto*, non su carta di recupero; e dopo essere stato scritto esso è stato ripiegato a formare un pacchettino di dimensioni ridotte, largo c. 7,5 cm e alto c. 4 cm: per quale motivo? Sembrerebbe che chi ha scritto il testo, lo avesse fatto per portarselo dietro e servirsene come *pro memoria*: e poiché un calcolo di questo tipo non poteva avere alcun fine pratico, viene da pensare a un *pro memoria* da usare nell'insegnamento, da parte di un insegnante o di uno studente – uno *Schummelzettel*?

L'indicazione degli esponenti prima dei risultati mostra comunque che l'autore del testo – studioso, studente, contabile o chiunque altri egli fosse –, sapeva bene che tipo di operazioni stava scrivendo; e getta una luce nuova sul livello di conoscenza e uso delle potenze nel mondo tardo antico, finora inimmaginabile sulla base delle testimonianze del periodo, e anche posteriori. Il papiro ci mette di fronte a una tradizione sul modo di indicare le potenze alternativa a quella di Diophantos, che sotterraneamente va dal II a.C. al VII/VIII d.C., e poi ancora all'XI. Una tradizione rimasta evidentemente in secondo piano, ma che anticipa i sistemi di indicare le potenze sviluppatisi e affermatisi solo in età moderna.

## A PTOLEMAIC LEASE (*P.TEBT.* 1.137 *DESCR.*)<sup>1</sup>

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*Abstract.* — Edition of a Greek papyrus (217 BCE) written in Thegonis and found in Tebtunis, now in the collection of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri at the University of California, Berkeley. The papyrus preserves a lease of land, likely used for both viticulture and grain cultivation, from a Coan soldier to an Arsinoite woman in the form of a double-document. Notable features include an individual, Sosos the Coan, plausibly identified with a cleruch from another text (*Chr.Mitt.* 28); an Egyptian name hitherto unattested, Obestaetis (presumably a Bastet name); the seventh chiliarchy, which only appears in one other papyrus; payment in the form of grapes or grape products and grain, with penalties in cash.

*Keywords:* viticulture, cleruch, Coan, chiliarchy, Obestaetis (Bastet name), woman as lessee

*P.Tebt.* 1.137      H × W = 34.9 × 13.8 cm      Thegonis, June 27, 217 BCE

This light-brown papyrus was recovered on December 21, 1899, at Tebtunis, and bears the processing number T.128 (the so-called “T-number”: T for Tebtunis) on the *verso*.<sup>2</sup> Based on this number, *P.Tebt.* 1.137 could have come from the temple or a house.<sup>3</sup> It is long, with fifty lines on the *recto* and three on the *verso*, and preserves the right portion of a six-witness

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Todd Hickey for allowing me to work on this papyrus and for his patience and generous feedback over the years. I thank Charikleia Armoni, Willy Clarysse, Todd Hickey, Demokritos Kaltsas, James Keenan, Arthur Verhoogt, Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, and participants of the 28th International Congress of Papyrology for their help with the transcription, Andreas Winkler and Andrew Monson for reading the Demotic line, and Andrew Hogan for the high-resolution, multispectral image. Michael Zellmann-Rohrer’s detailed eye was a tremendous help in preparing the edition. I am grateful to Peter van Minnen, the editorial board, and the anonymous reviewers of *BASP* for their constructive criticism. This edition is truly a product of *amicitia papyrologorum*, but any errors are my own.

<sup>2</sup> E. O’Connell, “Recontextualizing Berkeley’s Tebtunis Papyri,” in *Pap.Congr.XXIV* (2007) 2.816–817 discusses how the papyri were packed and labeled with dates; T128 is listed under December 21, 1899.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. O’Connell (n. 2) 807–826 for history of the excavation and methodology and recovery of artifacts and papyri from Tebtunis by Grenfell and Hunt. T128 is labeled as “found in town,” and O’Connell places only papyri with T80 or lower securely in the temple of Soknebtunis. Also cf. C. Gallazzi, “Fouilles anciennes et nouvelles sur le site de Tebtynis,” *BIFAO* 89 (1989) 179–191 for another overview of excavations at Tebtunis; on pp. 5–6 he claims all Ptolemaic texts come from the temple, while C. Gallazzi (ed.), *Tebtynis VI* (Cairo 2018) 118 walks away from that claim.



contract (*hexamartyros syngraphe*) in the form of a double-document (*Doppelurkunde*), in which the contract is written out twice.<sup>4</sup> The internal document, also known as *scriptura interior*, was written in the upper section of the papyrus sheet, which was folded, then sealed by the witnesses to prevent the text from being altered.<sup>5</sup> The external document written on the lower half of the papyrus sheet, also known as the *scriptura exterior*, was left open so people could consult the text. The papyrus appears to conform to what we find in contemporary double-documents: the *scriptura interior* and *scriptura exterior* are most likely verbatim copies. The majority of double-documents ended with the name of the witnesses and the record-keeper (συγγραφοφύλαξ), who was responsible for safekeeping the document as well as for making it available for consultation.

The original document would have been ca. 35 cm tall by at least 30 cm wide. Thanks to the formulaic nature of the titulature found in official documents, we can estimate that two thirds of the text is missing: ca. 90 letters are missing per line of the upper text and ca. 40–50 letters per line of the lower text. At the top of the *recto* (with ll. 1–36 on it), the fibers run horizontally, while at the bottom (with ll. 37–50 on it) they run vertically, with l. 37 written along a horizontal *kollesis*;<sup>6</sup> the changes in the direction of the fibers and the *kollesis* are more clearly visible on the *verso*. There are two possible explanations for why not all fibers run horizontally or vertically. One is that the *kollesis* indicates that this sheet was cut from the very beginning of the roll, which would also explain the unusual height of the papyrus. A *kollema* of the papyrus roll from which this sheet was cut would have been ca. 25–30 × 22 cm (H × W), comparable to large bookrolls of this period.<sup>7</sup> The horizontal *kollesis* joins a sheet with horizontal fibers to a sheet with vertical fibers. The uppermost part of the document was reinforced on the back with a horizontal strip of papyrus to prevent the fibers from fraying. The other possibility is that the sheet on which the text was written was too short, and the scribe appended another sheet, with the Demotic text on the back.<sup>8</sup> There are a few minor holes throughout

<sup>4</sup> H.J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer und des Prinzipats* 2 (Munich 1978) 57–73.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. [https://www.trismegistos.org/seals/overview\\_A.html](https://www.trismegistos.org/seals/overview_A.html); K. Vandorpe, “Seals in and on the Papyri of Greco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt,” in M.-Fr. Boussac and A. Invernizzi (eds.), *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique* (Paris 1997) 231–291; K. Vandorpe, *Breaking the Seal of Secrecy. Sealing-Practices in Greco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt Based on Greek, Demotic and Latin Papyrological Evidence* (Leiden 1995) 3–6.

<sup>6</sup> I thank Andrew Monson for bringing this to my attention.

<sup>7</sup> W.A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004) 141–143, 216.

<sup>8</sup> I thank Peter van Minnen for this suggestion.

the document, but the holes just after the *scriptura interior* may have been from folding the papyrus or, more likely, from the strings that tied the rolled-up top part of the document. A small, non-joining fragment of six lines has been mounted next to the main piece. Offsets (unintentionally transferred ink) are present on the front and back of the document, suggesting that the papyrus came in contact with moisture.

The scribe wrote the *scriptura interior* in a compressed manner and in a cursive hand, writing the last few lines with extreme *Verschleifung*.<sup>9</sup> In the *scriptura exterior*, however, the ductus is slower, letters are more rounded, and ligatures are avoided. The hand is comparable to that of *P.Hamb.* 1.24 and *P.Mil.Vogl.* 8.309. The scribe left some spaces between words in the external document, but spaces are not consistently used. On the front, the scribe left a margin at the top of the document (ca. 1.5 cm) as well as at the bottom (ca. 3 cm). The right side of the papyrus is less uniform. The right margin is irregular, ranging from 2 cm to hardly any space at all. The scribe also left ca. 3 cm between the internal and external documents, and there is a line of wear, approximately 0.25–0.5 cm above the external document, probably from folding the top part of the document. On the basis of the overlap in ll. 1, 23; 3, 26; 5, 28; 10, 35; 11, 36; 12, 37; 13, 39; 14, 40; 18, 45; and possibly 19, 46, the upper and lower texts appear to be verbatim copies. They list the terms of the lease, rent payment, and penalty fines and concluded with a list of six witnesses.

Grenfell and Hunt provided a description of the papyrus in the first volume of the *Tebtunis Papyri*, noting that the papyrus contained a lease agreement between a Greek soldier, Sosos, and a local Arsinoite woman, and that it involved several soldiers as witnesses. Information regarding the duration of the lease and details of the leased property, such as the amount and type of land, is lost. The mentions of seeds and vines, however, suggest that this land may have been used for the cultivation of vines and another crop.<sup>10</sup> Because of the inclusion of wine jars, measures of wine, payment for each *artaba* of grain, a bronze measure, and three different forms of payment (in wine, grain, and cash), this lease was most

<sup>9</sup> U. Yiftach-Firanko, "Who Killed the Double Document in Ptolemaic Egypt?," *APF* 54 (2008) 203–218 argues that the cursive nature of the internal document did not mean that the script was illegible. Instead, the dense cursive was a professional script that scribes were trained to use and read. E. Meyer, *Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World: Tabulae in Roman Belief and Practice* (Cambridge 2004) 187–205 points out that Roman period double-documents, although related in use, developed separately and are therefore different from those found in Ptolemaic Egypt.

<sup>10</sup> K. Ruffing, *Weinbau im römischen Ägypten* (St. Katharinen 1999) 53–89; M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Munich 1925) 253–254.

likely for a property consisting of both vineland and arable land. It is unclear whether the tenant was also supposed to produce wine. Rents in kind were specified, but the penalties seem to have been in cash.

This papyrus is the earliest datable double-document of a lease concerning a vineyard. Although the Arsinoite nome was known for its viticulture, only a few vineyard leases from the Ptolemaic period have been published.<sup>11</sup> *P.Pintaudi* 34 (after 235 BCE) is a six-witness contract of a vineyard lease, and there are only three other leases drawn up in the form of double-documents: *P.Ryl.* 4.583 (170 BCE), a vineyard lease; *P.Monts.Roca* 4.77 (148 BCE),<sup>12</sup> a land lease in which payment in wheat is expected; and *P.Tebt.* 1.105 (103/102 BCE), a lease of arable land.<sup>13</sup> *P.Tebt.* 1.137 itself concerns a property in Ibion Eikosipentarouron and was drawn up in Thegonis, both of which featured numerous vineyards in the first century CE.<sup>14</sup> The deposition of the lease in the temple of Soknebtunis or a house at Tebtunis could indicate that Thegonis was dependent on Tebtunis and its *grapheion* during the Ptolemaic period;<sup>15</sup> as Keenan notes, “loans originally drawn up at the Thegonis *grapheion* were sometimes repaid at Tebtunis, with attendant contracts being drawn up and registered by the Tebtunis *grapheion*.”<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> D. Dzierzbicka, Οἶνος: *Production and Import of Wine in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Warsaw 2018) 75–80 reviews the evidence for viticulture in the Fayum Oasis. Evidence during the third century BCE is extremely rare, but the region was conducive to viticulture because of its mild climate, the many Hellenic immigrants settled on reclaimed land, and the region’s abundance of both high and low land. See M. Langellotti, *Village Life in Roman Egypt: Tebtunis in the First Century AD* (Oxford 2020) 188–193, and K. Vandorpe and W. Clarysse, “Viticulture and Wine Consumption in the Arsinoite Nome (P.Köln. V 221),” *Ancient Society* 28 (1997) 67–73.

<sup>12</sup> Also published as S. Torallas Tovar and K.A. Worp, “A Ptolemaic Vineyard Lease: *P.Monts. Roca* inv. No. 381 + 569 + 578 + 649,” in *Pap.Congr.XXV* (2010) 763–776.

<sup>13</sup> On land leases in general, see D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten* (Munich 1967), especially pp. 173–178 for a list of land leases in the Arsinoite nome during the third century BCE.

<sup>14</sup> Langellotti (n. 11) 188–191.

<sup>15</sup> There are numerous, mostly still unpublished, land survey texts recording cleruchic and other plots from this period; cf. A. Monson, “Harvest Taxes on Cleruchic Land in the Third Century BCE,” in *Pap.Congr.XXVII* (2016) 3.1615–1631.

<sup>16</sup> J. Keenan, “Two Loan Payments from Second-Century Tebtunis,” *ZPE* 9 (1972) 87; G.S. Crotti, “Rapporti tra Θεογονίς e Τεβτύνις,” *Aegyptus* 42 (1962) 103–113. For a diachronic study of the administration of the Arsinoite nome, cf. T. Derda, Ἀρσινόιτης νομός: *Administration of the Fayum under Roman Rule* (Warsaw 2006), especially p. 162 for the joint *komogrammateus* between Thegonis and Kerkeosiris during the Roman period, as attested in *BGU* 2.484.

On the *verso* are three lines of text that run in opposite directions: a line along the fibers in Demotic and two short lines in Greek against the fibers. The Demotic line mentions “the vineyard fields.” The Greek lines consist of the names of two witnesses in the genitive, which accompanied the impressions of their clay seals (now missing). The original document would have had three additional sets of names for the other four witnesses and the two parties.<sup>17</sup> Eight individuals sealed such contracts: the two parties, here the Greek soldier Sosos as lessor and the Egyptian woman Obestaetis as lessee, and the six witnesses, here all military men.

The papyrus contains several noteworthy features, including a new Egyptian name and at least two Ptolemaic soldiers attested elsewhere. The onomastic repertory of the text includes, besides the aforementioned Sosos and Obestaetis, Peto(y)s (the name of both Obestatetis’s husband and her father); the witnesses: Dioskourides, son of Ptolemaios; Dionysios, son of Asklepiades; and a Menandros. Read with less certainty is Diphilos, the recordkeeper and possible witness. In view of the fragmentary nature of the text and the lack of parallels, which limit the scope for restorations, the translation offered below is incomplete, but the commentary (B) offers further discussion. To accommodate the complexity of this text, the commentary for the *recto* is divided into two sections. The first section (commentary A), further divided between the interior and exterior texts, discusses the readings, and the second section (commentary B) discusses the content of the interior and exterior texts together.

### *Summary of the Text*

Lines 1–3, 23–25: Dating formula of Ptolemy IV Philopator and Berenike, with eponymous priests;

Lines 3, 25: Day date, 15 Panemos = 15 Pachon, and place, the village of Theogonis in the Arsinoite nome;

Lines 3–5, 25–28: Opening of the document with description of the two parties:

(1) Sosos, a Coan soldier of the fifth *hipparchy*

(2) Obestaetis, daughter of Peto(y)s, an Arsinoite

Lines 6–9, 29–34: General terms of the lease

<sup>17</sup> Vantorpe, *Breaking the Seal of Secrecy* (n. 5) 3–6.

Lines 10–11, 34–5: Sowing and planting the land (perhaps a discussion of the obligations of the lessee?)

Lines 11–14, 36–41: Warranty of the lessor

Lines 15–17, 41–44: Payment (in the form of grapes or a grape product, wheat, and cash)

Lines 18–20, 44–47: *Praxis* and *kyria* clauses

Lines 20–22, 47–50: List of the six witnesses: NN (presumably Diphilos, the keeper of the contract); NN; Dioskourides, son of Ptolemaios, an Arkadian; Dionysios, son of Asklepiades, a Chalkidian; NN, Argakideus(?); NN. Identification of the keeper of the contract: Diphilos.

Front (parallel to the fibers up to l. 36, remainder of the text perpendicular to the fibers)

*Scriptura interior* (the corresponding lines of the *scriptura exterior* are given in parentheses)

- 1 (23–24) [βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Βερενίκης θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν ἔτους πέμπτου ἐφ' ἱερέως Μνασιάδου τοῦ Πολυκράτους Ἀλεξάνδρου  
2 (24–25) [καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Φιλίννης τῆς Σωστράτου Παχῶν πεν]τεκα[δε]κάτη, Πανήμου πεντεκαίδεκάτη ἐν Θεογονίδι  
3 (25–26) [τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ. ἐμίσθωσεν Σῶσος Κώιος τῆς εἰς ἵππαρχίας ἑκατοντάρου]υρος Ὀβεσταῆτι Πετώτος Ἀρσινοίτιδι μετὰ κυρίου  
4 (27) [τοῦ αὐτῆς ἀνδρὸς Πετώτος - - - - - ἐν Ἰβιδνι Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος - - - - - ] . . . . . τῶν γεωργῶν τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος πρὸς ταῖς  
5 (28) [- - - - - εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόν]ον κατὰ συγ[γ]ραφὴν [[τὴν κειμένην παρὰ συγγραφοφύλακι]]  
6 (29–31) [- - - - - γένωνται ἦν καὶ πρὸς περι - - - - - εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον - - - - - μ]ετ'εγγύσασα μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς γῆς Ὀβεσταῆ . -  
7 (31–32) [- - - καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἀκίνδυνον καὶ ἂν τι - - - - - ] . . [ . . ] . .  
τ . σις τὴν γῆν· ἀπολαβεῖν δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρ' ὅς Πετώτος  
8 (32) [- - - - - καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος οἶνου χοδὸς ἐνὸς - - - - - ]μενος [[ . . ]] `τοῦ πέμπτου ἐπιβάλλοντος τῆς σταφυλῆς

- 9 (33) [- - μέρους - - - - - ις, βεβαι-  
ούτω δὲ Σῶσος - - - - - Ὁ]βεσταῖται εἰς τὴν μίσθωσιν  
εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον
- 10 (34–35) [- - - . . ς σπειρούσῃ καὶ φυτευούσῃ τὴν γῆν οἷς ἂν σπέρ-  
μασι - - - - - ] καὶ πάντως χρωμένῃ  
εἰς ὃ ἂν βούληται καὶ διοδευούσῃ
- 11 (36–37) [καὶ ὕδωρ - - - - -  
- - - - - ἐὰν δὲ] μὴ βεβαι[οῖ] ἢ ἐπέλθῃ ἔτι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν  
ἢ ἐπὶ μέρος τι αὐτῆς
- 12 (37–38) [- - - - - ἢ ἄλλος τις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἢ τε] ἔφοδος τῷ  
ἐπιπορευομένῳ ἄκυρος ἔστω καὶ ἀποτεισάτω Σῶσος
- 13 (38–39) [δραχμὰς χιλίας καὶ μηθὲν ἦσσαν ἢ συγγραφὴ κυρία·  
βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς] μισθώσεως ἀποδιδότω Ὁβεστά-  
ητις Σώσῳ
- 14 (40) [τὸ ἐκφόριον καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος - - - - -  
- - - - - ] . μέτρῳ τῷ πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν καὶ  
ἀποκαθιστάτω
- 15 (41) [ca. 90 τῆ]ν τρύγησιν ὃ καὶ σχῆι τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῳ τῷ
- 16 (41–42) [- - - οἷς ἂν . . Σῶσος βούληται μέτροις - - - - - δι ὡς  
γέγραπται ἀπο - - ]ις τῶν μὲν πυρῶν τῆς ἀρτάβης ἐκά-  
στης τιμὴν
- 17 (43) [- - - - - οἴνου τοῦ χοὸς τιμὴν  
δραχμὰς - - - - - ] ἐν τῇ ἐτέραι  
συγγ<ρ>αφῇ διασεσάφηται· τὰ δὲ ἐπι-
- 18 (44–45) [- - - - - γινόμενα ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν φυτεύσῃ - - - - -  
- - - - - ] . . . . . μὲν τὴν μί<σ>θωσιν·  
ἐὰν δὲ ἀπολίπηι ἐξουσία ἔστω
- 19 (45–46) [Σώσῳ - - - - -  
- - - - - κατ' ἐνιαυτὸ]ν Σῶσος ἕως ἂν τὰ  
κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν κομίσῃται
- 20 (47) [- - - - - μάρτυρες· - - - - - ]δρῶν,  
Διοσκουρίδης Πτολεμαίου Ἀρκὰς
- 21 (47–48) [- - - τῶν οὐπὼ ὑπὸ ἱπάρχη τῆς τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καὶ  
τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἱπαρχίας τῆς αὐτῆς ἐβδόμης  
χιλιαρ]χίας τριακοντάρουρος, Διονύσιος Ἀσκληπιό-  
δῶρου Χαλκιδεὺς
- [22] (49–50) [- - - - - Ἀσκληπιοδώρου Ἀργακιδεὺς οἱ τρεῖς τῆς ἐπιγονῆς  
- - - - - συγγραφοφύλαξ· Δίφιλος]

*Scriptura exterior* (lines of the *scriptura interior* indicated in parentheses)

- 23 (1) [βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Βερενίκης  
θ]εῶν Εὐεργετῶν ἔτους πέμπτου
- 24 (1–2) [ἐφ’ ἱερέως Μνασιάδου τοῦ Πολυκράτους Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ  
θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν κα]γῆφόρου Ἀρσι-  
νόης Φιλαδέλφου Φιλίννης
- 25 (2–3) [τῆς Σωστράτου Παχῶν πεντεκαίδεκάτη, Πανήμου πεντε-  
καίδεκάτη ἐν Θεογονίδι τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος τοῦ  
Ἀρσινοίτου] γ[ο]μοῦ. *vac.* ἐμίσθωσεν Σῶσος Κώιος
- 26 (3–4) [τῆς εἰπαρχίας ἑκατοντάρουρος Ὀβεσταῆται Πετώτος  
Ἀρσινο]ίτιδι μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ αὐτῆς ἀν-
- 27 (4) [δρὸς Πετώτος - - - - - ἐν Ἰβιδῶνι  
Εἰκο]σιπενταρούρων τῆς Πολέμωνος
- 28 (5?) [μερίδος - - - τῶν γεωργῶν τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος πρὸς  
ταῖς - - - εἰς τὸν ἅπα]ντα χρόνον κατὰ συγγραφὴν
- 29 (5–6?) [ca. 40–50] . . . γένωνται ἦν καὶ πρὸς περι-
- 30 (6) [- - - - -  
- - - - -] . εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον
- 31 (6–7) [- - μετεγχύσασα μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς γῆς Ὀβεσταη - - - - -  
- - - καθ’ ἕκασ]τον ἔτος ἀκίνδυνον καὶ ἐάν τι
- 32 (7–8) [- - - - - τὴν γῆν. ἀπολαβεῖν δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Πετώτος - - -  
- - - καθ’ ἕκα]στον ἔτος οἶν[ο]υ χοῦ[ς] ἐνὸς
- 33 (8) [- - - - - -μενος πέμπτου ἐπιβάλλοντος τῆς σταφυ-  
λῆς - - μέρους- - - - -]ις *vac.* βεβαιούτω δὲ  
Σῶσος
- 34 (9) [- - - - - Ὀβεσταῆται εἰς τὴν μίσθωσιν εἰς τὸν  
ἅπαντα χρόνον - - - - -] . . σθ . σπειροῦσιν καὶ φυτευ-  
ούσιν τὴν γῆν οἷς
- 35 (10–11) [ἂν σπέρμασι - - - - - καὶ πάντως χρωμένῃ εἰ]ς ὃ ἂν  
[βού]ληται *vac.* καὶ διοδεύουσιν καὶ ὕδωρ
- 36 (11–12) [- - - - - ἐὰν δὲ  
μῇ] βεβαιοῖ ἢ ἐπέλθῃ ἔτι ἐπὶ τὴν
- 37 (12) [γῆν ἢ ἐπὶ μέρος τι αὐτῆς - - - - - ἢ  
ἄλ]λος τις [ύπ]ερ αὐτοῦ ἢ τε ἔφοδος
- 38 (12) [τῶ ἐπιπορευομένῳ ἄκυρος ἔστω καὶ ἀποτεισάτω Σῶσος  
δρα]χμ[ά]ς] χιλίας καὶ μηθὲν ἥσσον
- 39 (13) [ἡ συγγραφὴ κυρία· βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς μισθώσεως  
ἀποδιδότω Ὀβεσταῆτι]ς Σ[ώ]σῳ τὸ ἐκφόριον καθ’  
ἕκαστον



- 40 (14) [ἔτος ----- μέ]τρῳ τῷ πρὸς τὸ  
χαλκοῦν καὶ ἀπο-
- 41 (15) [καθιστάτω ----- τὴν τρύγησιν ὃ καὶ σχῆι  
τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτου τῷ -- οἷ]ς ἄν .. Σῶσος βούλη-  
ται μέτροις
- 42 (15) [- -----] ... [ . ]δι  
ὥς γέγραπται ἀπο-
- 43 (16) [- ----- -ις τῶν μὲν πυρῶν τῆς ἀρτάβης  
ἐκάστης τιμὴν --- οἷ]νου τοῦ χοδὸς τιμὴν δρα-
- 44 (17) [χμὰς ----- ἐν τῇ ἐτέραι συγγραφῇ  
διασεσάφηται· τὰ δὲ ἐπι- ----- γι]γνόμενα ὑπὲρ  
ῶν ἂν φυτεύ-
- 45 (18) [σι ----- μὲν τὴν μίσθωσιν· ἐὰν  
δὲ ἀπο]λίπη ἐξουσία ἔστω Σώσῳ
- 46 (19) [- ----- Σῶσος ---] κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν  
ἕως ἂν τὰ κατὰ
- 47 (20) [τὴν συγγραφὴν κομίσηται· μάρτυρες· - - - - - δρου,  
Διοσκουρίδης Πτολεμαίου Ἀρκὰς - - τῶν οὕτω ὑπὸ  
ἱπ]πάρχην τῆς τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καὶ
- 48 (21) [τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἱππαρχίας τῆς] αὐτῆς ἐβδόμης χιλι-  
αρχίας τριακοντά-
- 49 (21) [ρουρος, Διονύσιος Ἀσκληπιοδώρου Χαλκιδεὺς - - -  
Ἀσκλ]ηπιοδώρου Ἀργακιδεὺς οἱ τρεῖς τῆς ἐπιγο-
- 50 (22) [νῆς -----]  
συγγραφοφύλαξ· Δίφιλος

Fragment (parallel to the fibers)

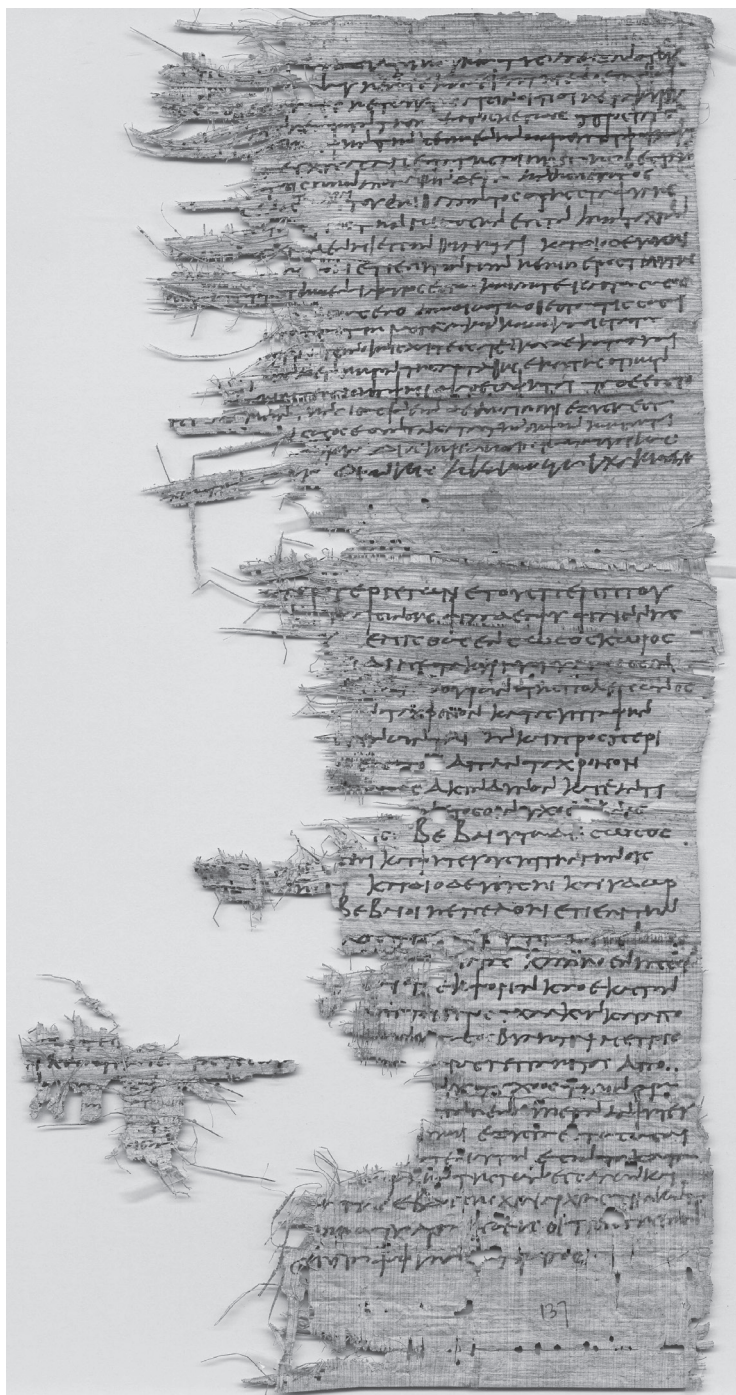
- 1 ] . φυτεῦ . [  
2 ]σι καθότι και . εὐτοσεσῶρ[  
3 ]φη[] Σῶσο[ ] . . φ . . . . . [  
4 ] ο [ . . ] . [ . . ] . . . [ . . . ] . αρ . . . [  
5 ] . . . . . [  
6 ] . σῖ συνα[

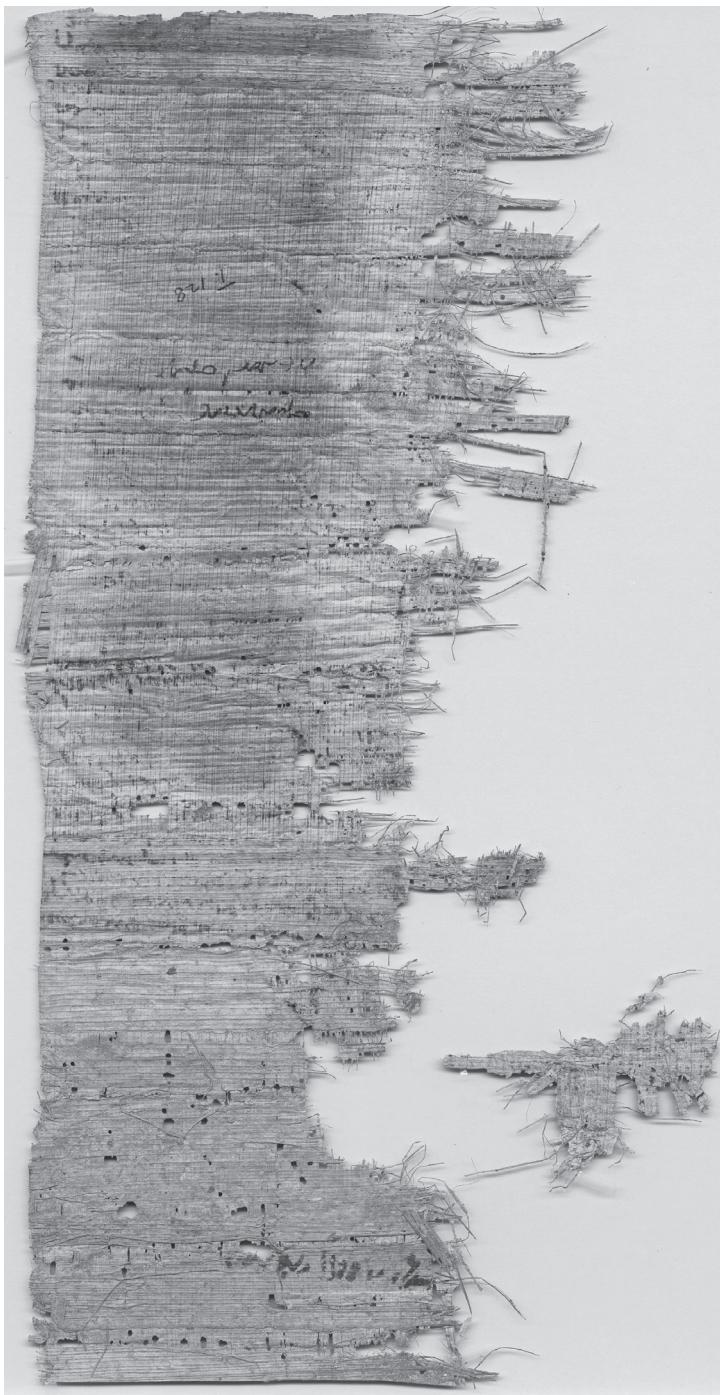
Back (Demotic parallel to the fibers, Greek perpendicular to the fibers)

... n3 3h.w n 3rly¹ ...

Διονυσίου

Μενάνδρου





*Combined Translation*  
(*scriptura interior, scriptura exterior*)

“(1, 23) In the fifth year of the reign of Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy, and Berenike, the gods Euergetai, Mnasiadas, son of Polykrates, being the priest of Alexander and the gods Adelphoi and the gods Euergetai, the *kanephoros* of Arsinoe Philadelphos being Philinna, daughter of Sostratos, on the fifteenth of Pachon, the fifteenth of Panemos, at Theogonis in the division of Polemon in the Arsinoite nome.

Sosos, Coan, [of the fifth *hipparchy*, holder of 100 *arourai*] has leased to Obestaetis, daughter of Peto(y)s, Arsinoite, with her guardian her husband Peto(y)s, [...] in Ibion Eikosipentarouron in the division of Polemon ... of the peasants of the division of Polemon (5, 28) [...] for the entire time according to the contract [[kept by the record-keeper]] ... for the entire time ... Obestaetis, having poured from one vessel into another along with the rest of the land ... every year risk-free and if ... the land (of Obestaetis?) and to receive [...] of (from?) the husband Peto(y)s ... every year a jar of wine ... the fifth share of grapes ... and let Sosos guarantee ... for Obestaetis in regard to the lease for the entire time (10, 34) ... sowing and planting the land with whatever seeds (she wishes?) ... and altogether making use for whatever she wishes and passing through and ... (...ing?) water ... and if he does not guarantee [it] or if he brings suit upon the land or some part of it ... or anyone else on his behalf, let the suit be invalid for the one who makes it, and let Sosos pay a thousand drachmas and let the contract be no less valid. If the lease is confirmed, let Obestaetis pay the rent to Sosos each year ... according to the bronze (measure?) and let (Obestaetis?) hand over ... (15, 41) the vintage, whatever s/he has of the fourteenth ... by whatever measures Sosos would like ... as it is written ... the price of each artaba of wheat ... the price of a jar of wine, [...] drachmas ... [as] it was explained in the other contract. And the ... the things that are produced beyond whatever [she/was] planted ... the lease. But if there is a shortfall, let Sosos have the power to ... Sosos every year until he receives the amount according to the contract ...

(20, 47) The witnesses being: NN, son of ...dros; Dioskourides, son of Ptolemaios, the Arkadian, ... of those not yet under a *hipparchy* of the *hipparchy* of the Thessalians and the other Greeks of the same seventh *chiliarchy*, a thirty-*arourai* holder; Dionysios, son of Asklepiades, the Chalkidian; NN, son of Asklepiodoros, Argakideus(?), the three of the *epigone*; NN, ...; NN ... Keeper of the contract, Diphilos.



(On the back:) The vineyard fields  
Of Dionysios  
Of Menandros”

### Commentary A

#### *Scriptura interior*

1 The titlature is restored on the basis of BGU 6.1274, a loan from Takona (218/217 BCE). The traces preserve the bottom part of an *omicron* and most of an *upsilon* followed by the bottom half of an *epsilon* (without the crossbar) and a *phi*. The *iota*, *epsilon*, the bar of the *rho*, and the *sigma* of  $\xi\rho\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  are clear, but only the lower traces of the second *epsilon* and *omega* remain. W. Clarysse, “Two Notes on Eponymous Priests,” *Enchoria* 6 (1976) 1–5 was the first to read  $\text{Μ}γασιάδου$ .

2 Παχών is supplied, because this month corresponds to Πανήμιον. Although Πανήμιον is in the genitive, Egyptian month names are usually not declined, and Παχώνος is very rare, appearing in only six texts.

3 τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος is restored because Theogonis is in that *meris*; cf. P.IFAO 1.1, a landlease (27 CE), P.Mich. 5.293, the sale of a house and courtyard (1-25 CE), SB 10.10539, repayment of a loan (104 CE).

– Ὅβεσταῖται: the *eta* is uncertain. Either the *alpha* is compressed and is followed by an *eta* or the scribe wrote the *alpha* with a flourish. The *scriptura exterior* does not allow a clearer reading. See discussion of this line in commentary B.

– Πετώτος (from Πετῶς) is a variant for Πετῶτος found elsewhere in the document.

4 τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος is restored because Ibion Eikosipentarouron is in that *meris*; cf. P.Leid.Inst. 21, a tax receipt for the sale of a vineyard from the Arsinoite nome (78 BCE); P.Mich. 5.340, a property settlement from the Arsinoite nome (45/46 CE); P.Ryl. 2.158, a document for the sale of a donkey from Ibion Eikosipentarouron (157/158 CE); SB 6.9405, a receipt of a loan also from Ibion Eikosipentarouron (75/74 BCE).

5 The scribe deliberately crossed out the last part of the statement, τὴν κειμένην παρὰ συγγραφοφύλακι, which I have indicated by the double square brackets.

6 [μ]ετεγχύσσαα: after the lacuna the top and bottom portions of a rounded letter, likely from an *epsilon*, are visible. The second preserved letter is likely a *tau*.

– Ὀβεσταη . - : the *eta* is uncertain, and could have also been a *tau*; it is unclear whether the final mark is a letter (*tau*? *iota*?) or an offset.

7 ] . . [ . . ] . . τ . σῖς: the reading is difficult, although the *tau* is certain. The first *sigma* could be an *omicron* instead, and one possible reading is αὐτοῖς. The other, more likely possibility is Ὀβεστάητις, where the first two letter traces of the line preserve the lower strokes of an *omicron* and *beta*, followed by *epsilon* and *sigma* missing in the lacuna. The rest of the letter traces preserve the bottom part of the first *tau*, followed by an *alpha*, *tau*, *iota* (with a flourish on the left, similar to how the scribe rendered her name in l. 13), and *sigma*.

– τῆν γῆν. The reading is uncertain but works in terms of the spacing and context. Another paleographical possibility is τομήν, but it would not make sense in this context or in this part of the lease.

– τῶν: the reading seems to fit the spacing, but does not make sense grammatically. Another possible reading is a very compressed παρά, which would make grammatical sense; ἀπολαβεῖν should be followed by an accusative as the subject or a group such as παρὰ NN.

– ἀνδρ' ὅς is an uncertain reading, but would make sense with Πετῶτος. The *alpha*, *nu*, and *sigma* seem certain, but the letters read as *delta* and *rho* deviate from the scribe's typical, distinct letters. His *delta* is usually more triangular (see δέ in the same line), and the vertical stroke of the *rho* usually extends below the baseline (see πρὸς in line 4 for an example of a typical *rho*). The letter read as *omicron* could have been a compressed *eta*.

– Πετῶτος might have a compressed *upsilon* connected to the *tau*, yielding Πετώτος instead.

8 ]μενος: the letter interpreted as *mu* could also be a *sigma*. The next couple of letters have been washed or rubbed off.

– The *tau* of τῆς was written over an *omicron* (seen on the left side of the crossbar) and a *sigma* (in the top center of *tau*).

11 The first two letters are almost illegible, but the preserved letter traces could be from μή, which would align well with warranty clauses; cf. *P.Monts Roca* 4.77.15.

– βεβαι[οῖ]: although difficult to read, the traces almost certainly contain the scribe's distinctive *beta*.

13 ἡ συγγραφὴ κυρία· βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς is assured by many other leases with the same clause following the penalty; cf. *P.Dryton* 1.11.19 (loan of wheat, 174 BCE), *BGU* 6.1271.2 (lease of urban property, 180–145 BCE), and *P.Freib.* 3.34.32 (contract, 173 BCE); the adopted text works with the spacing, although there might have been a few more words.

15 τρύγησιν: only the last three letters are certain, but the first two letters are almost certain, and the word makes good sense in its context.

– τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτου: the last two letters are difficult to discern, and the final letter could be an *upsilon* or *nu*. The normal Greek for 1/14, if that is meant here, would be τεάρτου καὶ δεκάτου. The form with double *sigma*, τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατος, is found in nearly three hundred papyri; *sigma-sigma* is often used in place of *tau-tau* in Ptolemaic texts, and forms of τέσσαρες, rather than τέτταρες, are common.<sup>18</sup>

17 The end of the line features either a flourish (as indicated in the transcription) or another letter, possibly an *omicron*.

18 The ending of φυτεύσηι is supplied because a subjunctive is expected, although a plural ending (e.g. φυτεύσωσι) or a medio-passive form (e.g. φυτεύσεται) is also possible.

– μί<σ>θωσιν: the first *sigma* is not discernible and might have been compressed or accidentally omitted. There are only a couple of examples in which the first *sigma* of this word is left out: *O.Wilck.* 1256, a receipt from Thebes (second century BCE), and *P.Lond.* 3.1168, a contract and receipt from Hermopolis (44 CE).

20 -]ῶρου: this could be the ending of the patronymic of the first witness, whose name is not preserved. Other possibilities – requiring revision of the reading – include the last few letters of an ethnic (such as Χαλκιδεύς, mentioned later) or a term designating the soldier's property allotment that would end in -άρουρος.

21 τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἱπαρχίας is restored because it is found in other texts that mention the hipparchy: *CPR* 18.10, a receipt for the advance payment of rent from Thegonis (231–206 BCE); *P.Amh.* 2.42,

<sup>18</sup> E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit, mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften: Laut- und Wortlehre* (Leipzig 1906) 224.



a repayment of a loan from Soknopaiou Nesos (179 BCE); *P.Enteux*. 15, the renewal of a mortgage from Magdola (218 BCE); *P.Freib.* 3.34 and 36+37, two contracts from Philadelphieia (173 and 179/178 BCE respectively); *P.Petr.* 3.112, a list of military taxes from the Arsinoite nome (221/220 BCE). The amount of land allotted to Thessalian cavalry during this period was seventy *arourai*, which is attested in several papyri (*P.Amh.* 2.42, *P.Enteux* 15; included as abbreviations in *P.Freib.* 3.36+37, *CPR* 18.10). Here it is only 30 *arourai*.

– τριακοντάρουπος was read by Grenfell and Hunt. The *tau*, *rho*, and *iota* are certain. The rest of the word terminates in a *Verschleifung*, as do most of the words in this line. The term τριακοντάρουπος is often abbreviated, but it is fully written out in a number of contemporary leases, agreements, and receipts from the Oxyrhynchite and Arsinoite nomes: *BGU* 6.1265, 6.1274, 6.1276, 10.1943, 10.1945, 10.1958, 10.1959, 14.2394, 14.2397; *P.Frankf.* 1, 4; *P.Genova* 3.104, 3.105; *P.Köln.* 5.218; and *SB* 12.11061.

### *Scriptura exterior*

25 υ[ο]μϑϑ: the first letter is almost certainly a *nu*, although *mu* is also possible, but that makes no sense.

28 Because of the discrepancy in the alignment of the texts (lines in the *scriptura interior* are more compressed and contain more text), perhaps there was a mistake in the *scriptura interior*. The scribe erased the final phrase at the end of l. 5 there.

32 χοϑ[ς] ἐνός: the reading χοϑ[ς] is almost certain, but another possible, if less likely, reading would be χοξ[ας]: cf. two contemporary delivery purchases of wine from Theogonis, *CPR* 18.30.122-123 and *CPR* 18.5.92. We might expect an accusative plural here, but the modifying adjective is in the genitive. The sequence ενος is certain, but it might have belonged to κενός or καινός, if we interpret the bit of ink in the top margin to be part of a *kappa* and, for καινός, the oblique stroke at the end of the lacuna as the top of an *alpha*; on the other hand, the ink could belong to the terminal *sigma* if the scribe added some flourish. The lacuna between the *omicron* and *epsilon* is large enough for two letters, *sigma* and *kappa*, or a letter and word space.

33 The first two letter traces are followed by holes in the papyrus.

34 ϑπερϑύσηι: only the *rho* and final three letters are certain, but the word makes sense in this context.

39 Ὀβεστάητις Σ[ώ]σφι: the *sigmas* and *omega* and *iota* ligature are clear. The reading is further supported by l. 13.

40 μέ]τρωι is supported by the tentative reading of l. 14.

42 ὥς γέγραπται is likely followed by ἀποτεισάτω.

46 Restoration of Sosos' name in the lacuna is tentative. See discussion in l. 20 in commentary B.

49 Ἀργακιδεύς: the first two letters are *alpha* and *rho* or *iota*, and the next two letters are hard to identify (the third letter could be an *alpha*, *gamma*, or *tau*; if there is a fourth letter, it is likely an *alpha*), and the word almost certainly terminates in -κιδευς. Another possibility is Ἀρτακιδεύς or Αἰακιδεύς, which may be too short; see discussion in commentary B.

50 Αἰφίλος: the name of the record-keeper is difficult to make out and seems to consist of six to eight letters. Other possible readings include Τρωῖλος and Ἀράγρος, but Αἰφίλος is the best reading. The final two letters are certain, and the ligatures here are similar to ligatures of *delta iota* and *iota lambda* found elsewhere in the document.

#### Fragment

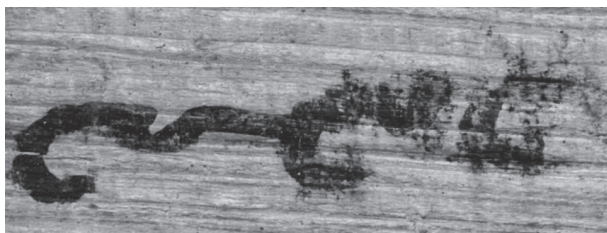
1 φυτεῦ . [: the *phi* is almost certain, with a prominent vertical stroke still visible. If the fifth letter is an *upsilon* (the upper left part seems to have been mostly rubbed off; what little remains is seen just above where the *epsilon* and *upsilon* join in ligature), this could be the beginning of the word φυτευούση, which suggests this fragment could be the missing part of the *scriptura interior* at ll. 10-15. The *upsilon* could instead be an *omicron*, and if so, perhaps the scribe accidentally omitted the second *upsilon* of the word, but the *omicron* seems too narrow and not rounded enough for the scribe's hand and would not make sense. What looks like an *omicron* is probably an *upsilon* ligatured to the left half of an angular letter.



2 ]ϣι: the first letter preserved could also be an *epsilon*. The next two words seem secure, as does the *epsilon* of the next word. The *upsilon* is not certain: another possibility is *omicron*.

– τϣϣεϣϣρ: the *tau* is uncertain and may be a *gamma*. The *omicron* could have been an *alpha*. The final letters are even more difficult to read.

3 The first partially preserved letter seems to be the top of a *phi*, followed by what may be an *eta*. There is a hole in the papyrus, in which there were probably one or two letters. The next word, Σϣϣϣ[ ], seems to be certain and is written the same way as appears at the end of l. 12.



6 Only the faintest traces of the bottom right of the first letter remains. The second letter could be a *sigma*, *omicron*, or *theta*. The third letter is a secure *iota*. συν could also be εαν.

### *Commentary B* (*scriptura exterior* in parentheses)

1 (23–24) The lease was written in the fifth year of Ptolemy IV Philopator's reign, giving this papyrus the date of 218/217 BCE.<sup>19</sup> Clarysse's identification of the priest Mnasiades with the eponymous priest of the Demotic

<sup>19</sup> W. Clarysse and G. Van der Veken, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt* (Leiden 1983).

papyrus *P.Philad.* 26 renders Grenfell and Hunt's dating of this papyrus to the second half of the second century BCE obsolete. Mnasiades also occurs in *P.Hawara* 5, *Gött.Misz.* 254 (2018) 71, *BGU* 6.1274, and *P.Phil. Dem.* 26 (TM Per 10379). Mnasiades was probably the father of Polykrates, whom Polybius mentions as an important general in the reorganization of the Ptolemaic army (5.63–64, 18.55).

2 (24–25) The lacuna of this line would have also included the information regarding the eponymous priests and the date on which the document was drawn up. The incomplete word starting this line would be the Macedonian month Panemos; the corresponding Egyptian month (Pachon) would have preceded it in the lacuna. The 15th of Panemos corresponds to June 27.

3 (25–26) A Coan man named Sosos is leasing property to an Arsinoite woman named Obestaetis, the daughter of Peto(y)s. Since the Sosos here is identified with an ethnic, and not a patronymic, he is probably a soldier, and we should expect a military title and the eponymous officer of his unit after the ethnic on the basis of the *Nomenklaturregel*.<sup>20</sup> A Coan hundred-*aroura* man of the fifth hipparchy (τῆς εἰς ἑκκατontapούρου) named Sosos, who was involved in a legal dispute about a loan dated to 232/231 BCE and also drawn up in Theogonis (*Chr.Mitt.* 28 = *P.Petrie* 2.21), must be the same Sosos as here, as suggested in Trismegistos (TM Per 02825 = 08739; E1307). The title τῆς εἰς ἑκκατontapούρου, which fits the available space, is therefore supplied in the lacuna. Relatives of Sosos appear in several papyri: a Coan Proteas, the son of a Sosos, leased a vineyard to a woman named Olympias (*CPR* 18.30); a Sosos, son of Sosos (possibly the same Sosos in *CPR* 18.30), made a contract with a flute player (*CPR* 18.1).

The lessee is an Arsinoite woman named Obestaetis, daughter of Peto(y)s. The name Obestaetis is unique. It appears to be a theophoric name derived from Bastet similar to other such names: Obestes, Obestertais (*P.Gur.* 22, a list of sheep and goats from Memphis [third century BCE]; *P.Petrie* 3.124, a tax list from Krokodilopolis [228/7 BCE]), Obesterous, Obestertaios, and Obostortais (*SB* 10.10447, a third century BCE list of different tax payments from the Herakleopolite nome; *P.Count* 6, a Greek household record from the Arsinoite nome). The name is probably *B3st.t-īy.ʕ*, a name attested in the Fayum only in Demotic;<sup>21</sup> the expected

<sup>20</sup> F. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen Aegyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern* (Berlin 1968). Also *BGU* 14.2367.

<sup>21</sup> *Demotisches Namenbuch* 1.136.

Greek equivalent is Obestetis, which is close to Obestaetis. Egyptians are not commonly found in Greek contracts during this period, and when they are, their provenance is typically indicated by the phrase τῶν ἀπό. In this document, the designation “Arsinoite” gives Obestaetis a pseudo-ethnic; this usage is rare, with only a few examples from this period: Therous the Arsinoite (*P.Tebt.* 3.814, a record of sales of forfeited property, 227 BCE), Petesouchos the Arsinoite (*P.Monts Roca* 4.77, a double-document lease for a grain field), and Anosis the Saite (*P.Col.* 3.54, a lawsuit in the Zenon archive).

The name of this village, “Ibion of the twenty-five-*arourai* men,” suggests that it was occupied by a large number of infantry cleruchs who had been allotted twenty-five *arourai* of land.<sup>22</sup> The inclusion of the phrase πρὸς ταῖς suggests that this lease was for property in addition to that Sosos already leased to Obestaetis in a previous arrangement. At certain points in the text, this lease seems to refer to the previous one, reiterating its terms (see also ll. 17, 44).

4 (27) In the lacuna there would have been the description of what was being leased, i.e. what type of land and the size of the plot, and probably the price.

– τῶν γεωργῶν: it is unclear to whom “the peasants” refers in this lease. Perhaps it referred to Obestaetis and her husband or to the workforce she would employ to work the land while she held the lease. Many landleases outlined the lessee’s responsibility to acquire his or her own capital, i.e. laborers and draught animals; cf. *P.Mich.* 13.666.<sup>23</sup>

5 (28) ἅπαντα χρόνον κατὰ is expected to precede συγγραφὴν τὴν κειμένην παρὰ συγγραφοφύλακι, “for the entire time of the contract kept with the record keeper.” Perhaps the scribe made an error and left out τῆς μισθώσεως before the phrase (cf. *P.Tebt.* 3.1.815.40–41; *BGU* 6.1280.9–10; *BGU* 6.1265.10–11).

6 (31) [μ]ετεγχύσσασα, from μετεγχέω, “transvase” or “pour from one vessel into another,” is a rare verb and not attested in published papyri. In this context it probably refers to pouring grapes, or perhaps raisins, cultivated on the leased land that was sown with vines. Wine could be

<sup>22</sup> C. Fischer-Bovet, *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Cambridge 2014) 120 and 208.

<sup>23</sup> For discussion regarding similar arrangement of capital with tenant farmers in Italy, cf. D. Kehoe, “Approaches to Economic Problems in the Letters of Pliny the Younger: The Question of Risk in Agriculture,” in *ANRW* II 33.1 (1989) 555–590.

another possibility, but it would require more time to produce. The preserved document does not explicitly name wine as one of the products, and viticulture was still a Greek practice, often of wealthy Greek landowners, and uncommon in the Fayum during this time.<sup>24</sup> If wine was made, the Greek landowner might have been responsible for the processing of the grapes, or he might have made an arrangement with someone other than the lessee; cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* 2.19 (141 CE), *P.Oxy.* 47.3354 (257 CE).<sup>25</sup>

8 (32) It is common for documents concerning wine production to discuss the procurement of jars, and some texts distinguish empty (κενός) and new (καινός) jars. During the Roman period, the term κοῦφος signified “empty,” perhaps to avoid the ambiguity between κενός (empty) and the *koine* pronunciation of καινός (new) as κενός.<sup>26</sup> This is probably the clause in the lease stating that the lessee was expected to bring her own jars. The word οἶνου immediately precedes χοὺς ἐνός, specifying the type of vessel and perhaps also its content.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps this jar of wine was a gift from the lessee, and not necessarily a direct payment for the rent; for an example of jars of wine as gifts, see *PSI* 6.594.<sup>28</sup>

— τὸ ὅ πέμπτου ἐπιβάλλοντος τῆς σταφυλῆς: the beginning of the line is difficult to read, and the scribe inserted some text above. If we take the insertion as part of the word on the line, then the preserved portion seems to refer to “the fifth share of grapes.” Without more context, it is difficult to know to what this phrase refers, but it is possible that this is about sharecropping.

9 (33) Although much of this line is missing, the text provides the beginning of a warranty of the lessor to the lessee.

10 (34–35) ἄν σπέρμασι has been supplied because it would make sense in this context and grammatically. Obestaetis could choose what seeds, and hence crops, to sow and plant on the leased land. The last part

<sup>24</sup> Langellotti (n. 11) 188–193. Vandorpe and Clarysse (n. 11) 67–73. J. Rowlandson, “Agricultural Tenancy and Village Society in Roman Egypt,” in A.K. Bowman and E. Rogan (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt* (Oxford 1999) 139–518.

<sup>25</sup> J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt: The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (Oxford 1996) 231–236; J. Kloppenborg, *The Tenants in the Vineyard: Ideology, Economics and Agrarian Conflict in Jewish Palestine* (Tübingen 2010) 516–521, 528–534.

<sup>26</sup> P. Mayerson, “A Note on κοῦφα, ‘Empties,’” *BASP* 34 (1997) 47–52.

<sup>27</sup> S. Gallimore, “A Contract for the Advanced Sale of Wine,” *BASP* 49 (2012) 151–165.

<sup>28</sup> Kloppenborg (n. 25) 370–373.

of the line seems to discuss the rights of lessee, perhaps pertaining her right to use equipment on site and to access the site (εἴσοδος and ἐξοδος).<sup>29</sup>

11 (36–37) [καὶ ὕδωρ - -]: there is probably another participle in the same construction governing this word, in the lacuna, that would have meant: (to her), doing something with “water,” perhaps referring to irrigation, which was important for vinelands; cf. *PSI* 6.554.<sup>30</sup>

– The end of this line seems to be the beginning of the penalty clause for Sosos if he does not follow the terms of the lease.

12 (37–38) Many contracts and leases include a penalty clause stipulating the conditions that break the contract and require a penalty.<sup>31</sup> Contemporary examples include *P.Grad.* 10 (215/4 BCE), a contract, and *BGU* 10.1964 (221–214 BCE), a loan, both from the Oxyrhynchite nome. In line 12 of *P.Tebt.* 137, the final -ος of ἐφοδος (“suit”), which was a way one party could bring a legal dispute against the other, can be discerned just right of the break. Following this line was information regarding the ἐπίτιμον Sosos would have been required to pay (one thousand *drachmas*). By 100 BCE, the formula is standardized; cf. *BGU* 6.1260, a cancellation of a security purchase from Pathyris dated to 101 BCE. One thousand *drachmas* is a hefty amount, and seems to have been the maximum penalty amount stipulated for a lessor.<sup>32</sup> Penalty amounts for the lessor could have been fixed penalty amounts, ranging between one hundred and one thousand *drachmas*, or the highest market price. Contemporary leases drawn up in Tholthis (Oxyrhynchite nome) show high penalty prices during this period: the amount for an *artaba* of wheat was 10 *drachmas* and that for an *artaba* of olyra 4 *drachmas*, while the market price for a *metretes* of wine was 14 *drachmas*.<sup>33</sup>

13 (38–39) The second half of the line is the beginning of the clause concerning what Obestaetis owes Sosos. Information that would clarify the exact payments and other stipulations has mostly been lost.

14 (40) πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν: this phrase, “according to the bronze (measure),” is used in measuring grain, and thus provides another clue as

<sup>29</sup> R. Taubenschlag, “Das Recht auf εἴσοδος und ἐξοδος in den Papyri,” *APF* 8 (1927) 25–33.

<sup>30</sup> Kloppenborg (n. 25) 359–364.

<sup>31</sup> For list of penalties, see Hennig (n. 13) 80–81, 91–92.

<sup>32</sup> Hennig (n. 13) 73–74.

<sup>33</sup> S. von Reden, *Money in Ptolemaic Egypt: From the Macedonian Conquest to the End of the Third Century BC* (Cambridge 2007) 73.



to what was being leased.<sup>34</sup> It is likely that Sosos leased a field for grain cultivation (perhaps in a separate contract) or expected Obestaetis to grow grain on the property in addition to vines; with other terms in the lease, it seems as though this land had both cereals and vine growing; cf. *P.Pintaudi* 34, a Ptolemaic lease of land for both vines and other crops including grains (post 235 BCE). The terminology for vineland and arable land is ambiguous, and the two activities could occur on the same plot of land.<sup>35</sup>

15 (41) τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτον: it is unclear what the “fourteenth” refers to. Because it follows [τῇ] γ τρύγησιν, perhaps it refers to the vintage or the date for the delivery of the grape products on the fourteenth of the month. If a share of one-fourteenth is meant, it would be a small amount, but not if other forms of payment (in cash or kind) are also expected.

16 (42) A type of measure might have followed μέτροις, perhaps Ἀρσινοϊκοῖς to specify the regional measure; cf., e.g., two registers regarding wine delivery, *CPR* 18.30.128 (231–206 BCE) and *CPR* 18.5.98 (232–206 BCE); Ἀρσινοϊκοῖς is rare and modifies measures in several third century BCE documents concerning wine; cf. *CPR* 18.7 (οἶνον μετρητῶν Ἀρσινοϊκῶν), *CPR* 18.30 (οἶνον ἀρεστὸν μέτροις Ἀρσινοϊκοῖς), and *P.Col.* 3.55 (μετρητὴν Ἀρσινοϊκόν). With οἷς ἅν . . . Σῶσος βούληται μέτροις preserved, perhaps Sosos was allowed to pick the type of measures, but there are no parallels I am aware of that show this practice.

– πυρῶν. After this line would probably have been the price or value for each artaba of grain.

17 (43) ἐν τῇ ἐτέραι συγγ<ρ>αφῇ διασεσάφηται suggests there was a previous lease between Sosos and Obestaetis that was a model for the terms of this lease.

<sup>34</sup> Some bronze measures have been found in excavations of the Athenian Agora: Agora Inv. B1082; Agora Inv. B2094. For archaeological evidence of measures, see M. Lang and M. Crosby, *The Athenian Agora X: Weights, Measures, and Tokens* (Princeton 1964); D.A. Walthall, “Magistrate Stamps on Grain Measures in Early Hellenistic Sicily,” *ZPE* 179 (2011) 159–169; D.A. Walthall, *Sicily and the Hellenistic Mediterranean World: Economy and Administration during the Reign of Hieron II* (forthcoming); J. Schilbach, “Massbecher aus Olympia,” in A. Mallwitz (ed.), *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia 11, Frühjahr 1977 bis Herbst 1981* (Berlin 1999) 324–356.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. T.M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt: The House of Apion at Oxyrhynchus* (Ann Arbor 2012) 39–44 for terminology of viticulture in the papyrological record.

18 (44–45) γιγνόμενα ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν φυτεύσῃ: this passage is difficult to understand without more context. Could the lease at this point be discussing other crops? Intercultivation or intercropping, the practice of growing two or more crops simultaneously on the same field, was a common practice in Egypt at this time;<sup>36</sup> cf. *P.Cair.Zen* 3.59300.<sup>37</sup> In the Fayum, farmers commonly grew onions, cucumbers, and squash together, as well as fruit trees with vines.<sup>38</sup> Intercultivation could have been a strategy for tenants to grow crops to feed themselves; vines could be trained on the trees.<sup>39</sup>

– ἐὰν δὲ ἀπολίπηι ἐξουσία ἔστω seems to be the beginning of the penalty clause for Obستاetis.

20 (47) The list of witnesses begins here, if not in the previous line. The name of the first witness is missing, and only the ending of his patronymic is preserved. Usually the first witness listed in a six-witness contract is also the keeper of the contract, and here that would be Diphilos, mentioned in l. 50. As will be discussed below, a Thracian Diphilos of the seventy *aroura*-holding hipparchy of the Thessalians and other Greeks is attested (*CPR* 18.10) and would fit here also.

– Διοσκουρίδης Πτολεμαίου Ἀρκάς: the second witness is Dioskourides, son of Ptolemaios, an Arkadian. No other Dioskourides, son of Ptolemaios, is attested in published papyri of this period. He is a member of the cavalry of the Thessalians and other Greeks, who are otherwise known to have received seventy *arourai* of land. He is himself a thirty-*arourai* holder.<sup>40</sup>

21 (47–48) ἐβδόμη χιλιαρχία: this is one of only three instances in which the system of numbering the chiliarchies (the unit of infantry) is seen (*P.Petr.* 3.112(h).1–2, *PP* 2.3536 = Uebel [n. 20] no. 1023), all of which name only the seventh chiliarchy.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, this papyrus is the only published example in which the amount of land (thirty *arourai*) granted to a member of the chiliarchy is specified, and supports the view

<sup>36</sup> Ruffing (n. 10), 53–89; Kloppenborg (n. 25) 329; Schnebel (n. 10) 253–254.

<sup>37</sup> Kloppenborg (n. 25) 397–400.

<sup>38</sup> Schnebel (n. 10) 253–254.

<sup>39</sup> Kloppenborg (n. 25) 329, 418–421. On types of supports for vines, see Varro, *De re rustica* 1.8; Columella, *De re rustica* 4.1.4–6; Cato, *De agricultura* 1.7.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Uebel (n. 20); D.J. Thompson, “The Cleruchy in Hellenistic Egypt” (forthcoming).

<sup>41</sup> Fischer-Bovet (n. 22) 133–135.

that infantry cleruchs received less than cavalrymen, usually only twenty-five or thirty *arourai* as opposed to seventy to one hundred *arourai*.<sup>42</sup>

– Διονύσιος Ἀσκληπιοδώρα Χάλκιδευς: a Dionysios son of Asklepiodoros from the Arsinoite nome is found in a receipt (*Chr.Wilck.* 250, a tax account and receipt from the Arsinoite nome, dated to 225/224 BCE), and may be the same individual as the one found in this text.

22 (49–50) Ἀργακιδεύς: the word is difficult to read, although we expect an ethnic. Ἀργακιδεύς is rare, and no examples are recorded in Trismegistos. Another possible reading is Ἀρτακιδεύς, an ethnic term for the Phrygian town Ἀρτάκη, but that would have been Ἀρτακηνός. The word could also be read as Αἰακιδεύς, to note membership in an Alexandrian deme, but this seems too short for the spacing. Another possibility is that the scribe made an error and meant to write an ethnic term and conflated Ἀργαῖος and Χάλκιδευς.

– συγγραφοφύλαξ Δίφιλος: there is a Thracian Diphilos of the seventy-*aroura*-holding hipparchy of the Thessalians and other Greeks (*CPR* 18.10). It is very tempting, given the temporal and geographical overlap, to identify Diphilos of *CPR* 18.10 with the cleruch of our text. It is also tempting to supply his name as that of the first witness: because no other information for the recordkeeper, such as a patronymic, military title, or ethnic is given, he must have been mentioned before; cf. *P.Monts. Roca* 4.77.

#### Fragment

3 Σῶσος[ ]: if this reading is correct, and if this fragment belongs to ll. 10-15, then Sosos' name would appear in l. 12, just before ἢ ἄλλος τις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, in the warranty of the lessor.

#### Verso

1 ... *n3 3h.w n 3rly* ... : this Demotic line is written upside down relative to the Greek text of both *recto* and *verso*. It could have been part of a longer line or it might have belonged to the bottom of the palimpsest text on the verso. There are a couple of possibilities for what preceded the preserved text: 42 1/2 *st3* (“42 1/2 *arourai*”) or, less likely, 42 *r st3* (“42 per *aroura*”); 42 1/2 *arourai* seems very large for leased land, but

<sup>42</sup> Fischer-Bovet (n. 22) 120–121; W. Clarysse and D. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt* 2 (Cambridge 2006) 153.

might explain the high penalty of one thousand drachmas, and 42 is too much for a tax or rent per *aroura*.<sup>43</sup> Egyptian private estates of the Ptolemaic period were rarely larger than thirty *arourai* and larger vineyards could be divided into smaller plots and leased out to different tenants.<sup>44</sup> Leasing vineyard land was not common before the Roman period and the vineyards were usually small, only about a few *arourai*.<sup>45</sup> A village land survey from the Fayum dated to the third or second century BCE, however, shows that landholdings could be quite large (31 1/4, 33 5/8, 42, and 108 25/32 *arourai*).<sup>46</sup> 42 1/2 *arouras* was not impossible, and several papyri record large vineyards during the third century BCE: *P.Cair.Zen.* 2.59269 (252 BCE) records a vineyard of 37 1/2 *arourai*; *CPJ* 1.14 (241 BCE) records a vineyard of 60 *arourai*; *P.Cair.Zen.* 4.59752 (before 248/7 BCE) records a vineyard of 100 *arourai*; *P.Petr.* 2.67 (after 238/237 BCE) records a vineyard that yielded 898 1/6 *metretai* of wine, approximately 45 *arourai*.<sup>47</sup> There might not have been a  $\gamma$  following  $\beta\rho\lambda$ , which is common, and it is possible there was no text after this; the reading would have been either “1/8 (*aroura*)” or *dmd* “total/end of account,” but the lack of context means these are only conjectures.

2 Διονυσίου must be the same Dionysios as in l. 21 of the *scriptura exterior*.

3 Μενάνδρου may be another witness named somewhere in the lacuna. Here there is no further information, such as patronymic or ethnic, that would help identify him.

<sup>43</sup> I thank Andrew Monson for these suggestions.

<sup>44</sup> W. Clarysse, “Egyptian Estate-Holders in the Ptolemaic Period,” in E. Lipiński (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East* (Leuven 1979) 731–743; Kloppenborg (n. 25) 299–301; Langelotti (n. 11) 188–193: vineyards around Tebtunis, Thegonis, and Ibion Eikosipentarouron in the second quarter of the first century CE ranged between 1/2 and 3 7/8 *arourai*.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Ruffing (n. 10) 234–262.

<sup>46</sup> A. Monson, “Landholders, Rents, and Crops in a Ptolemaic Village: P. Heid. Dem. Inv. 46,” in A.M. Dodson, J.J. Johnston, and W. Monkhouse (eds.), *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man: Studies in Honour of W.J. Tait* (London 2014) 229–239.

<sup>47</sup> Kloppenborg (n. 25) 448.

## UN INEDITO FRAMMENTO MILITARE IN LINGUA LATINA<sup>1</sup>

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*Abstract.* — Edition of a first-century Latin document (*ChLA* 47.1445 *descr.*), related to the Roman army in Egypt.

*Keywords:* Roman army, Latin, strength report

P.Duke inv. 968  
TM 70142

H × W = 9.4 × 4 cm

Egitto, I d.C.

Presso la D.M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library della Duke University di Durham si conserva un frammento papiraceo inventariato come 968, sul quale è trascritto un documento connesso con le truppe romane d'Egitto. Il frammento in questione, acquistato nel 1972 insieme ad altri papiri, è stato descritto da T. Dorandi nel 1997, all'interno del vol. 47 delle *Chartae Latinae antiquiores*, ma ad oggi non ha attirato l'interesse degli studiosi anche per il suo esiguo stato di conservazione.<sup>2</sup> Nell'insieme, restituisce 13 linee di scrittura di una colonna, vergata lungo la direzione delle fibre e mutila su tutti i lati. Nelle ultime linee la lettura è ostacolata quasi del tutto sia dalle condizioni della superficie sia dallo svanimento dell'inchiostro. Si conserva anche un frustulo di dimensioni minime, con resti di due lettere soltanto.<sup>3</sup>

Il papiro è riferibile al I d.C. unicamente sulla base delle caratteristiche grafiche: la scrittura è una corsiva romana antica di buona esecuzione, tracciata con un calamo a punta larga e contraddistinta da *ductus* posato,

<sup>1</sup> La ricerca che ha portato a tali risultati è stata finanziata dall'European Research Council (ERC) all'interno del Programma di Ricerca e Innovazione Horizon2020 (Grant agreement n° 636983), ERC-PLATINUM project “Papyri and LATin Texts: INsights and Updated Methodologies. Towards a philological, literary, and historical approach to Latin papyri, Università degli Studi di Napoli ‘Federico II’ – PI Maria Chiara Scappaticcio.”

<sup>2</sup> Cf. T. Dorandi and J.-O. Tjäder, *Chartae Latinae antiquiores* 47 (Dietikon-Zürich 1997) 94. Ulteriori informazioni, con una riproduzione fotografica del reperto, sono reperibili al seguente link: <https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/records/968.html>.

<sup>3</sup> Le due lettere in questione appartengono a due distinte linee di scrittura: la prima è costituita da un tratto verticale, decorato alle estremità da *emphatements*; la seconda contiene un elemento obliquo che procede da sinistra verso destra, forse di *a* oppure di *n*.

asse diritto, spessore dei tratti. Una certa tendenza decorativa si riconosce nel prolungamento degli elementi obliqui verso l'alto (si veda in particolare il secondo tratto di *a* e di *n*),<sup>4</sup> come pure nella presenza di apici ed uncini alle estremità dei tratti verticali (cf. ad esempio *n*, *p*, *r*, *t*, ma anche le cifre al termine delle ll. 2–3). Ulteriori caratteristiche, quali la forma delle lettere e l'assenza di *interpunctio*,<sup>5</sup> suggeriscono di restringere ulteriormente l'orizzonte cronologico alla seconda metà, se non forse agli ultimi decenni, del secolo: in tal senso sono da notare *a* priva del tratto mediano, *e* stretta, *n* realizzata in tre tempi, *p* provvista di occhiello, *r* ben distinta da *a* per il secondo elemento fortemente ondulato, *u* ampia e di forma arrotondata. A tale datazione conduce anche il confronto con altri esemplari di scrittura, forniti da P.Harris inv. 183e r° (si vedano soprattutto le forme di *e*, *n*, *u*)<sup>6</sup> e da ChLA 10.424. Qualche somiglianza si ravvisa inoltre con la scrittura di Rom.Mil.Rec. 69 (cf. *a*, *n*, *r*)<sup>7</sup>.

- - - - -

1	] I[
2	] . . [ . . ] . ę III
3	]aṛo I
4	]ato Propertian(o) III I[
	<i>vacat</i>
5	de]çesserunt [
6	fru]mentu N[capol-
7	] . ʋ pṛo[
8	]ʋṛn . [
9	]aṃa . [
10	] . . iṽ[
11	] . ṛʋ . [
12	] . . . [
13	] . . [

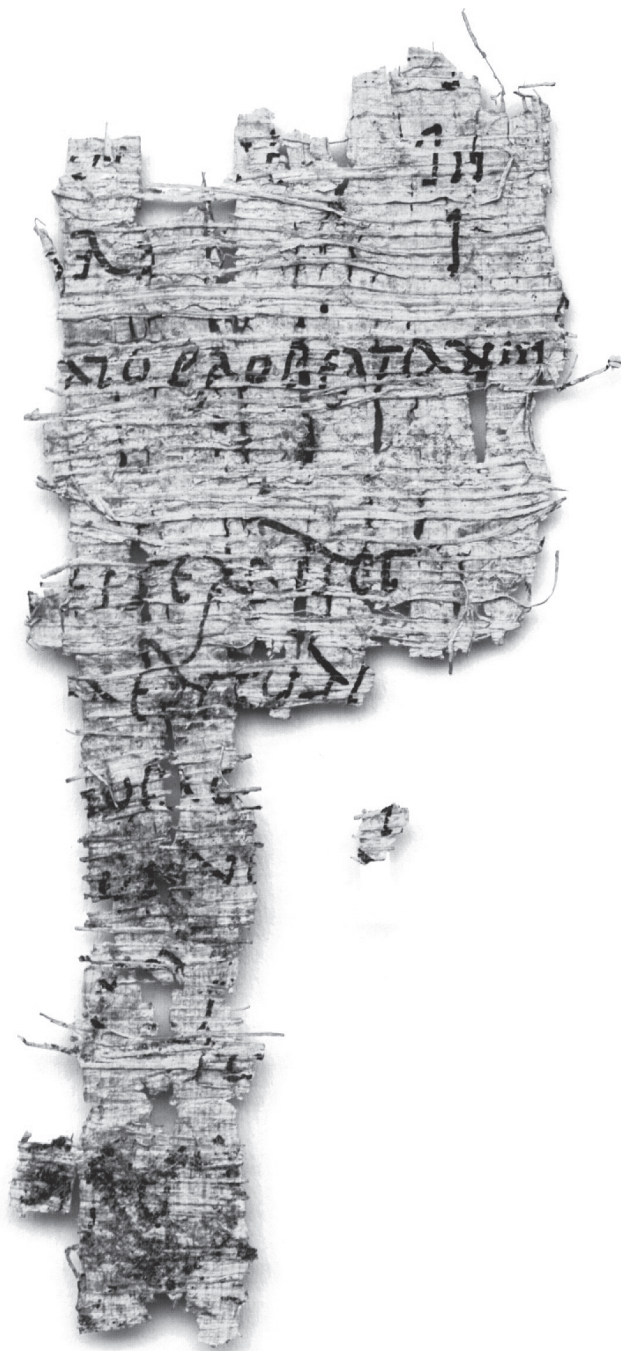
- - - - -

<sup>4</sup> In basso il bilineo appare rotto unicamente dal tratto verticale di *r*.

<sup>5</sup> Sui limiti cronologici dell'*interpunctio* nella documentazione papiracea d'Egitto cf., da ultimo, S. Ammirati, *Sul libro latino antico. Ricerche bibliologiche e paleografiche* (Pisa-Roma 2015) 32–33, 43.

<sup>6</sup> TM 110834. Per l'*editio princeps* cf. O. Salati, "New Evidence on Latin Military Pay-Records: P.Harr. inv. 183e recto," *ZPE* 203 (2017) 263–271.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. rispettivamente TM 69868 e TM 69924. Al di fuori dell'ambito militare cf. anche ChLA 10.417 (TM 69919), soprattutto per il disegno di *a*, *e*, *n*, *r*, *u*.





4 *Jato Propertian(o) III II*: l'interpretazione di tale linea pone alcuni problemi anzitutto per la divisione delle lettere. Una prima possibilità è quella di intendere *Propertian-* come una sequenza unica, riportata in forma abbreviata dato il precedente *-ato*. *Propertian(o)*, a sua volta, potrebbe intendersi sia come *nomen*, per quanto scarsamente attestato,<sup>8</sup> sia come un aggettivo derivato da *Propertius*.<sup>9</sup> Inoltre, nella linea in questione, *Propertianus* potrebbe indicare non il singolo uomo, ma l'intero squadrone così denominato dal nome del suo comandante: un uso di questo tipo è, ad esempio, documentato da *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 34, lista di legionari, elencati in base alla centuria di appartenenza.<sup>10</sup> Di conseguenza, si dovrebbe immaginare che il reparto di *Propertianus/Propertius* fosse stato interessato da qualche modifica nel numero delle forze interne, forse a seguito di aggiunte o perdite. Tale modifica sarebbe appunto indicata per mezzo della terminazione *-ato*, da intendersi come la fine di un participio<sup>11</sup>; il dettaglio numerico sarebbe poi espresso tramite la cifra *III* che segue. Di ostacolo a questa ipotesi è, tuttavia, l'assenza nella linea in questione del simbolo tipico per indicare il reparto (centuria o turma) e che, secondo la prassi documentaria, avrebbe dovuto precedere il nome del comandante.

In alternativa, ma meno probabile, si può leggere il genitivo *Properti* isolando la sequenza *an-*: questa corrisponderebbe all'abbreviazione di *annus*, seguita quindi dalla cifra indicante gli anni di servizio di *Propertius* (arruolato evidentemente da poco). Tale uso di *annus*, come sinonimo di *stipendium*, è ad esempio documentato dalla lista trasmessa da *ChLA* 11.468 + *ChLA* 10.456 (TM 69960).<sup>12</sup> Contro una simile ipotesi vi è, tuttavia, la mancata concordanza tra la sequenza *-ato* e il genitivo di *Propertius*. Da ultimo, va comunque osservato che un omonimo *Propertius*

<sup>8</sup> Per un'attestazione del *nomen Propertianus* cf. *ILS* 1447. Usato come denominazione di un *fundus* ricorre anche in *ILS* 6675, 8585 e *CIL* 4.55246.

<sup>9</sup> Un parallelo per quest'uso è offerto *ChLA* 42.1225 (TM 70017), rapporto militare relativo ad alcuni centurioni e a personale ausiliario: nel documento, insieme alla coppia consolare, come di consueto, è specificato anche il nome del prefetto d'Egitto in carica, riportato appunto nella forma aggettivale Cf. e.g. col. II, l. 4: *Petronian(o)* e l. 6: *Munatian(o)*.

<sup>10</sup> TM 70034. Cf. nello specifico *recto* col. I, l. 10: (*centuria*) *Subureana* e col. II, l. 10: (*centuria*) *Capitoana*, da leggersi *Capitoniana*. Sul modo di denominare le divisioni interne alle singole unità è sufficiente rinviare a quanto osservato da R.O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus* (Cleveland 1971) 4.

<sup>11</sup> Si veda l'ampio uso di participi come *datus* (e.g. in *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 63 col. II, l. 4, TM 69875; *P.Brookl.* 24 col. II, l. 1, TM 18058), *translatus* (e.g. in *Rom.mil.Rec.* 63 col. II, l. 8), *missus* (e.g. in *ChLA* 11.479 fr. a, l. 17, TM 69971), *factus* (e.g. in *ChLA* 10.454, l. 25, TM 69952).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. anche *P.Dura* 116 col. I, l. 8 e col. II, l. 7 (TM 44848), dove la medesima indicazione è espressa tramite la forma abbreviata *stip(-)*.

compare come destinatario di *ChLA* 10.424 (TM 69924), *epistula commendaticia* di I sec. d.C. a lui inviata da *Priscus* in favore del *duplicarius Carus*. Data la qualifica del raccomandato, si può essere certi che la lettera provenga dall'ambiente militare. Tuttavia, in assenza di ulteriori dati, relativi a provenienza di *ChLA* 10.424 e al tipo di unità di mittente e destinatario, non è possibile in alcun modo giungere a un'identificazione definitiva tra i due personaggi.

5 *de]çesserunt*: sul bordo di lacuna si scorge una minima traccia appoggiata sulla linea di base, impossibile da decifrare. Ad ogni modo, la sequenza *-esserunt*, chiaramente leggibile, deve appartenere ad una voce tecnica quale *decesserunt* o, in alternativa, *accesserunt* o, ancora, *recesserunt*. In tutti i casi si tratta di vocaboli attestati all'interno di *pridiana* e rapporti affini (*pridianum-detulit* o *interim-pridiana*).<sup>13</sup> Tra queste possibilità, tutte paleograficamente plausibili, l'integrazione *decesserunt* appare comunque preferibile per ragioni di senso: nell'evidenza papiracea, il verbo ricorre unicamente in *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 63 col. II, ll. 3 e 12 (TM 69875) e in *P.Brookl.* 24 col. II, l. 7 (TM 18058), all'interno di sezioni relative alle perdite, dove assume quindi il valore preciso di "morire." Tuttavia, almeno in uno di questi luoghi (cf. *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 63 col. II, l. 3) *decedunt* apre l'elenco di soldati che per altre ragioni, come a seguito di un trasferimento, avevano lasciato l'unità e assume dunque il significato più generale di "allontanarsi, partire".<sup>14</sup> Tale valore appare coerente con il contenuto della linea immediatamente successiva, che lascia supporre che tutta questa sezione elencasse le forze impegnate in incarichi esterni alla

<sup>13</sup> Per caratteristiche, affinità e differenze tra un *pridianum* e un *pridianum-detulit* cf. K. Stauner, *Das offizielle Schriftwesen des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Gallienus* (27 v.Chr.-268 n.Chr.). *Eine Untersuchung zu Struktur, Funktion und Bedeutung der offiziellen militärischen Verwaltungen* (Bonn 2004) 100–101, 105–112; S.E. Phang, "Military Documents. Languages, and Literacy," in P. Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army* (Main Street 2007) 293, 295. Ad oggi soltanto *BGU* 2.696 (TM 69913), redatto il 31 agosto 156 d.C. e connesso con la *cohors I Augusta praetoria Lusitanorum equitata*, è certamente classificabile come *pridianum* per la presenza del titolo in col. I r. 1 e l'alto livello di formalità e di precisione nei dettagli. Esempi di rapporti affini a un *pridianum* sono costituiti da *ChLA* 11.501 (TM 69987), dove compare proprio la formula *pridianum detulit* (l. 2) e dai già citati *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 63, e *P.Brookl.* 24. In particolare su questi ultimi due documenti si veda quanto osservato da M.A. Speidel, "Einheit und Vielfalt in der römischen Heeresverwaltung. 'Pridiana', 'diaria' und weitere Urkundentypen," in R. Haensch e J. Heinrichs (eds.), *Herrschen und Verwalten. Der Alltag der römischen Administration in der hohen Kaiserzeit* (Köln-Wien 2007) 178, 180–181 (ripr. in R. Haensch e J. Heinrichs (eds.), *Heer und Herrschaft im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit* (Stuttgart 2009) 288, 290–291).

<sup>14</sup> Su questo valore di *decedere*, equivalente ad *abscedere*, *abire*, *separari* cf. *ThLL* 5.1 s.v., in particolare 121, II A.

base. Al contrario, il verbo *accedere* si riferisce all'immissione di nuovo personale, secondo gli esempi di *BGU* 2.696 col. I, l. 16 (TM 69913), *Rom. Mil.Rec.* 63 col. I, l. 29 e l. 35 e, ancora una volta, *P.Brookl.* 24 col. I, l. 1,<sup>15</sup> e contrasta quindi con quanto registrato al r. 6 del nostro testo. Troppo specifico appare, infine, il valore di "congedarsi ritirando i propri risparmi" con cui *recedere* ricorre nella documentazione militare, così come testimoniato dall'unica occorrenza trasmessa da *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 63 col. I, l. 20.<sup>16</sup>

6 *fru]mentu N[eaopolis*: la forma *frumentu* andrebbe corretta in *frumento* oppure, come è più probabile, in *frumentum*, postulando in lacuna la presenza della preposizione *ad* e la caduta di *m* al termine del sostantivo. Del resto, *ad* + accusativo è il modo consueto di indicare i compiti a cui i *milites* erano assegnati.<sup>17</sup> Anche l'omissione di *m* finale è un fenomeno linguistico comune e largamente attestato nella lingua latina d'Egitto.<sup>18</sup> In generale, l'impiego di soldati, tanto singoli quanto in gruppo, nel processo di raccolta e smistamento di frumento (e granaglie in generale) è ben documentato dalle relazioni papiracee d'Egitto, soprattutto da quel genere di rapporti mattutini classificati come *acta diurna* o, secondo la terminologia moderna, *morning reports*.<sup>19</sup> Si veda in tal senso *PSI* 13.1307 r° col. II, l. 23 (TM 25148). Ulteriori rimandi di questo tipo si leggono, inoltre, nella lista di legionari di *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 10 (TM 69867)<sup>20</sup> e, più in generale, nel

<sup>15</sup> Cf. anche *O.Bu Njem* 4, l. 4 (TM 73154).

<sup>16</sup> Questo è il significato da attribuire al verbo in ambito militare, così come chiarito da R.W. Davies "Optatus and the Roman Army: P. Lond. 2851, 1–22," *BASP* 5 (1968) 125.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. e.g. *ad signa* in *ChLA* 11.502 l. 4 (TM 69988), *ad custodias* in *Rom.Mil.Rec.* 67, l. 5 (TM 69882), *ad pecunias* in *P.Brookl.* 24 col. III, l. 3.

<sup>18</sup> Sulla caduta di *m* in fine di parola, attestata fin dall'epoca repubblicana, cf. M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* (München 1977) 224–225. Su tale fenomeno, frequente anche a Pompei, cf. V. Väänänen, *Le Latin vulgaire des inscriptions Pompéiennes* (Helsinki 1966) 71.

<sup>19</sup> Come è noto, la definizione di *acta diurna* o *quotidiana*, non attestata nelle fonti letterarie, si deve a M.I. Rostovtzeff, "Les archives militaires de Doura," *CRAI* 72 (1933) 313; id., "Das Militärarchiv von Dura," *Pap.Congr.III* (1934) 367. La definizione alternativa di *morning report* risale invece a Fink (n. 9) 2. Sui contenuti tipici della tipologia cf. lo schema delineato da J.F. Gilliam, "Military Papyri from Dura. I. Texts Relating to Cavalry Horses. II. The Acta Diurna," *YCS* 9 (1950) 209, e, più di recente, S. Daris, "I papiri e gli ostraca latini d'Egitto," *A&R* 124 (2000) 153, Stauner (n. 12) 75, 77; Phang (n. 12) 292. Per l'insieme delle caratteristiche formali, di layout e scrittura, cf. O. Salati, "Roman Military Documentation in the Light of Latin Papyri from Egypt," *Rivista di Studi Militari* (in corso di stampa).

<sup>20</sup> In tale elenco è peraltro fatta menzione dell'altro granaio alessandrino di *Mercurius* (cf. e.g. ll. 2 e 8). In generale, per una trattazione su tipologia, lessico e personale dei granai si rinvia a G. Geraci, "Granai nell'Egitto ellenistico e romano: problemi tipologici, lessicali, funzionali e metodologici," *MEFRA* 120–122 (2008) 307–322, con precedente bibliografia.

rapporto trasmesso da *ChLA* 10.454, l. 14 (TM 69952). Per un confronto con la documentazione extra-egiziana si veda, infine, *P.Dura* 82, l. 13 (TM 44813).

7–13 Date le scarse sequenze di lettere che sopravvivono, si può soltanto avanzare l'ipotesi che nelle linee in questione continuasse il dettaglio su *absentes* e relativi incarichi. Se così fosse, tutta questa sezione, iniziata alla l. 5, troverebbe somiglianze in alcuni tipi di rapporti oggi solitamente definiti dalla bibliografia specifica come *strength* o *interim report*, che danno appunto indicazione su consistenza e operatività dei singoli reparti.<sup>21</sup> Esempi di questo tipo sono offerti da *ChLA* 11.479 (TM 69971) e *ChLA* 10.454 (TM 69952) e, al di fuori della documentazione d'Egitto, da *O.Bu Njem* 1–62.<sup>22</sup>

Nello specifico, alla l. 8 del nostro testo, la sequenza *-urn-*, seguita da un tratto verticale che sul finire si incurva a destra (*u, o?*), potrebbe forse appartenere a *furnus*: nella documentazione da Bu Njem, la manutenzione della fornace è tra i compiti svolti quotidianamente dai soldati: cf. e.g. *O.Bu Njem* 3, l. 14 (TM 73153); *O.Bu Njem* 8, l. 14 (TM 73158); *O.Bu Njem* 10, l. 19 (TM 73160). In alternativa, tale sequenza potrebbe anche appartenere a un nome personale, come *Saturninus* o *Calpurnius*.

<sup>21</sup> La classificazione delle tipologie documentarie in uso all'interno dell'esercito è stata alquanto discussa, con diverse proposte. In particolare sulla categoria dei *strength reports* e su loro caratteristiche si rinvia a A.K. Bowman e J.D. Thomas, "A Military Strength Report from Vindolanda," *JRS* 81 (1991) 63. Cf. inoltre N.J.E. Austin e N.B. Rankov, *Exploratio: Military and Political Intelligence in the Roman World from the Second Punic War to the Battle of Adrianople* (London-New York 1995) 155, che pure individuano, tra i vari tipi di registrazioni, *interim* e *daily reports*.

<sup>22</sup> Sulle caratteristiche complessive di tali rapporti cf. le osservazioni di R. Marichal, *editor princeps*, in *Les ostraca de Bu Njem* (Tripoli 1992) 49–56. Per tali documenti, tuttavia, sono impiegate definizioni diverse: oltre a *rapports journaliers* usato da Marichal, *Morgenappellberichte* è proposto da Stauner (n. 12) 78–81 e *duty rosters* da Phang (n. 12) 291. Infine, A.K. Bowman e J.D. Thomas, *Vindolanda: The Latin Writing Tablets (Tabulae Vindolandenses II)* (London 1994) 98 li definiscono *daily reports*.

## TWO ARCHIVES OF OSTRAKA FROM AIN ES-SABIL

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*Abstract.* — Excavations by the Islamic and Coptic Inspectorate of Antiquities for the Dakhla Oasis at a small settlement about two kilometers from Kellis have through 2019 yielded two small archives of ostraka from houses. The larger of these, belonging to a man named Tithoes, has many connections with the papyri (both Greek and Coptic) and ostraka from Kellis. Both contain receipts, orders, and accounts concerning agricultural produce, including oil, wine, hay, and chickens. They are probably to be dated to the third quarter of the fourth century CE.

*Keywords:* Ain es-Sabil, Kellis, Dakhla Oasis, ostraka, Manichaeans

### 1. *The Site of Ain es-Sabil*

The ostraka presented below were found in two groups in two houses in Ain es-Sabil (Fig. 1), a settlement of almost 2 hectares located at 25.502652° N and 29.083609° E, about two kilometers southwest of Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab) in the Dakhla Oasis and about 10 km to the southeast of the capital city of Mut (ancient Mothis).<sup>1</sup>

This site is listed in the survey of the Dakhleh Oasis Project as 31/420-C7-1 and described as a settlement with “brick buildings, buried to wall

<sup>1</sup> The description of the archaeology of the site is the work of D. Mahmoud Masoud, General Director of the Islamic Inspectorate for the Dakhla Oasis of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities). The photographs of the ostraka are by Ahmed Refaay, acquired with the kind assistance of Heidelberg University’s *Sonderforschungsbereich* 933, “Materiale Textkulturen. Materialität und Präsenz der Geschriebenen in non-typographischen Gesellschaften,” which is sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Ast and Bagnall express their thanks to Kamel Bayoumi (now retired as Director) for the opportunity to study the ostraka from 2009 and 2019 on the originals; those from 2010 and 2011 have been seen only in photographs. They also thank Dr. Nashwa Gaber (Office of Foreign Missions, MoTA) and Mary Sadek (ARCE) for their invaluable help in the process of obtaining permission to publish, and their colleagues Ashraf Barakat and Gaber Murad for innumerable acts of practical assistance.



Fig. 1: View of the site of Ain es-Sabil

tops, 300+ rooms 87,500 m<sup>2</sup>, and dated to the Roman and Byzantine periods.”<sup>2</sup> It has been excavated by the Islamic and Coptic Inspectorate of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities for the Dakhla Oasis, under the direction of Kamel Bayoumi, in two phases. In the first, in 2009–2011, a house (Fig. 2) located adjacent to a fourth-century church (Fig. 3) was excavated; this yielded the archive of Tithoes son of Pantonymos, published in the first part of this article. The church was also excavated in this period.

In the second, in 2019, another house nearby (Fig. 4) yielded the little archive of Taa son of Pebos (Fig. 5). Both are published here. The two are similar in contents and reflect the daily operations of agricultural estates in satellite settlements around larger centers, in this case around the large village of Kellis, which was probably, like the so-far unlocated Mesobe, the capital of a toparchy in the Roman period and remained a regional center in the fourth century.<sup>3</sup> Excavations continued in 2020, and we hope to be able to publish the ostraka found in them at a later date.

<sup>2</sup> C.S. Churcher and A.J. Mills, eds., *Reports from the Survey of the Dakhleh Oasis 1977–1987* (Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph 2, Oxford 1999) 261; it is not named there.

<sup>3</sup> A comprehensive bibliography of the work of the Dakhleh Oasis Project may be found at <https://www.monash.edu/arts/philosophical-historical-international-studies/dakhleh-oasi-project/publications>.





Fig. 2: House excavated in 2009



Fig. 3: Church excavated in 2009





Fig. 4: House excavated in 2019



Fig. 5: Ostrakon in context, 2019

This site consists of mud-brick houses and buildings, which are nowadays covered by sand and debris. Only the tops of some walls are visible, but most of the town is hidden below ground level. The ruins of these buildings suggested an integrated village with streets, passages, and paths that divide the town into quarters.

Until 2008, this town was unknown apart from the Dakhleh Oasis Project survey, and there were no excavations done there by the SCA or by any foreign mission. The inspectorate of Dakhla therefore wished to excavate the site scientifically in order to discover the buildings and their plans, so as to understand the history and architecture of the site. We always had the hope to reveal buildings with a distinctive and special character and to find written texts that could fill out our information about the site.

In all, excavation work continued at the site for five seasons, of which three were consecutive, 2009, 2010, and 2011. During these three years, the work focused on the southern part of the town, where a well-developed house composed of central hall, bedrooms, kitchen room, staircase, and a rectangular entrance lobby was discovered. The basilica-style church of the town was also found. This church is built of mud brick, plastered with mud, which is covered with a layer of white lime plaster. It is a rectangular building divided by 2 rows of columns into 3 aisles. At the end of these aisles, at the east end of the building, is the sanctuary of the church, with an altar in front. This church is, together with the other buildings, of great importance for our understanding of the site, as it shows that we have a substantial settlement here with houses, a church or churches, and other Christian buildings. The church has three appendages on the south, west, and east.

In 2019, work started in the northeastern part of the town, revealing an important building which might have been the residence of a senior official. It is possible that this house was used later as a church. In the most recent season, 2020, a complex of buildings, perhaps of an official character, was discovered. Here the rooms are bigger and the entrances are similar to those of the building excavated in 2019. No detailed report of the archaeological finds has been published so far.

Of the finds from the site, the most important are:

1. A group of bronze coins, which help considerably in dating the excavated areas. Some of these coins go back to the early third century (AD 206 and 208 occur), and another group to the period 324 to 328. The most interesting coin, which dates to AD 348, is of a common style of the period, showing a horseman in combat. This coin is very important as it was found in the mud mortar inside the wall of the church, which proves that the church cannot have been built before this date.

2. Ten golden coins, dating from 337–361, from the time of Constantius II, most of them minted between 347 and 350 in Antioch, Syria, and Nicomedia, Turkey.
3. A considerable quantity of pottery in common wares, with typical shapes such as dishes, pots, and bottles.
4. Many ostraka, the focus of the present article, which were found in the buildings of the town, and which were written in Greek. Exact find-spots were not recorded.

According to the topography of the site and the objects found, especially the ostraka, the standing remains of Ain es-Sabil can be dated to the period between the end of the third century and the end of the fourth. The Greek ostraka give us important information about the economic, social, religious, and political life of the Oasis.

## 2. *Ostraka from Ain es-Sabil*

### 2.1. *Poultry in the Ostraka*

The documents from the Dakhla Oasis contain numerous references to poultry. In these, we find three words used to refer to the birds: ὄρνις, ὄρνειον, and ὄρνιθιον. The root form ὄρνις appears in the Ain es-Sabil ostraka only in **2**, in the genitive plural. It is also to be found in the genitive singular in *SB* 24.15919, a wooden tablet from the Tutu temple at Kellis in the genitive singular, where it is spelled ὄρνιθας for ὄρνιθος (ὕπερ τιμῆς ὄρνιθας, ll. 5–6). The other two forms are far more common. The first large body of material was the *Kellis Agricultural Account Book* (*KAB*<sup>4</sup>), where the word is abbreviated ορ in almost all instances. But the forms ὄρνέω(ν) (l. 450) and ὄρνέων (l. 1354) at the head of lengthy sections in which the abbreviation is used for individual entries, showed that the standard term in this account was ὄρνειον. The six occurrences of τοῖς ὄρνιθίοις in the volume were therefore taken to refer to poultrymen rather than the birds themselves (see note on p. 187 to l. 100). They occur in accounts of disbursements of *matia* of barley or (in l. 1267) of cumin, and as most of the disbursements in these sections are to individuals or for goods or services, this was not unreasonable. But the subsequent occurrences of ὄρνιθιον in Oasis texts makes it now more likely that in fact these payments are for use as chicken feed, analogous to the entries for barley given for the donkey.

<sup>4</sup> Because of its widespread use, *KAB* is given instead of *P.Kellis* 4.96, the publication name recommended by the Checklist of Editions (<http://www.papyri.info/docs/checklist>).

When the Kellis ostraka became available, it was evident that the writers of these texts used ὄρνεον and ὄρνιθιον indifferently, the first in *O.Kellis* 61, 62, 85, 287, and 288, the second in *O.Kellis* 64 and 65, while abbreviated forms appear in *O.Kellis* 63 and 84.<sup>5</sup> In the Trimithis ostraka, only ὄρνιθιον is found written in full (*O.Trim.* 1.18, 287), while the abbreviated form is found in other cases (*O.Trim.* 1.63, 68; 2.527, 669). The abbreviated forms have been resolved in the editions to conform to the two cases where the word is written in full, but there can be no certainty about the correctness of this resolution.

In the ostraka published here, the two forms again seem to appear with complete indifference: ὄρνεον is found in **1, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14,** and **38**, while ὄρνιθιον appears in **3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 12,** and **16**; abbreviated forms are used in **11** and **15**.

That the birds in question are chickens can be seen from the considerable faunal remains of chickens at Kellis. To quote already from C.S. Churcher's description of the finds (*KAB*, p. 41), "Pinion and covert or breast feathers, desiccated heads, legs still with some tendon and scales, and almost all parts of the skeleton have been found. Both sexes are present, but cocks are definitely rare, suggesting egg-production as the main purpose. The birds are small and evidently of a single breed, probably much like the small fowl in the oasis today." Very large numbers of chicken bones, as well as of "domestic fowl-sized bird" not well enough preserved for precise identification, have also been found in Area 2 at Trimithis,<sup>6</sup> largely in areas where other food remains have been found: dining areas, in other words. That eggs were important, as Churcher already surmised, may be seen from their occasional mentions in the ostraka (here, **36**; also *O.Kellis* 89 and a number of texts in the *O.Bahria* groups). But eggs were individually not of high enough value ordinarily to warrant documentation; from the poultry archive from Edfa (*SB* 10.10270) one can find many receipts for larger numbers of eggs, along with laying hens (τοκάδες). Clearly chickens were also consumed as meat in considerable quantities.

Given the lack of refrigeration equipment in antiquity, it seems certain that the chickens mentioned in these ostraka were delivered alive. Whether the landlords receiving them kept them for eggs or only until they were ready for chicken dinner, we cannot say.

<sup>5</sup> It is also worth observing that all occurrences of poultry in the ostraka from the Small Oasis published in *O.Bahria* are abbreviated, as is also true in *O.Waqfa* 73.

<sup>6</sup> See preliminarily P. Crabtree and D.V. Campana in A.L. Boozer, *Amheida II: A Late Romano-Egyptian House in the Dakhla Oasis, Amheida House B2* (New York 2015) 371; a fuller presentation will appear in *Amheida VII*.

## 2.2. *The Archive of Tithoes Son of Pantonymos*

The texts comprise receipts – mainly for chickens, oil, and dates – and orders to pay, along with some accounts. Almost all of them concern, in some way, a deacon named Tithoes son of Pantonymos (Toni for short), who is identified as a lessee (*georgos*) in a couple of orders to pay (26, 28). Most of the transactions are conducted by Tithoes himself, but in one case his unnamed wife appears. They span what are likely consecutive first to fifteenth indictions, but of course they need not all belong to the same cycle; they could run from the fourteenth of one cycle to the thirteenth of the next, for example. More texts are signed by Gaius (3, 5, 9, 12, 15, cf. 46) and Timotheos (1, 6, 7, 10, 14; he appears without signing in 15, 16, 26, 27, 33) than anyone else, but a considerable number of other signers also appear, whom we discuss below. Taken together they help to secure a date for these texts in the third quarter of the fourth century, which is generally consistent with the evidence of the coins as well.

The unusual name Pantonymos was previously attested in the Oasis in *P.Kellis* 5.36.41–42; 7.94.20; the editors speculated that he may have been a “fellow Manichaean” of the correspondents in those texts (*P.Kellis* 5, p. 36). The short form Τωνι appears in a number of the texts in the archive, in keeping with a fondness for such shortened names commonly found in the texts from Dakhla, such as Μωνι for Ἀμμώνιος; see *O.Trim.* 2, pp. 102–103. An intermediate form, Παντωνι, also appears in *P.Kellis* 7.94.20, confirming the connection. The name Toni occurs in *P.Kellis* 5.50.33, as the father of a Timotheos, a point not irrelevant for our archive, given the centrality of one Timotheos as a signer of receipts. Tithoes itself is a common name at Kellis, where the principal temple was devoted to Tutu, although the name is not particularly frequent in the Coptic texts.<sup>7</sup>

A number of the individuals who appear in the ostraka may be identified with people known from Kellis and Trimithis texts.<sup>8</sup> Both Gaius and Timotheos belong to this group, appearing together in 15 and perhaps 27, as they do also in *P.Kellis* 1.5, and both appear in the ostraka from Ain el-Gedida (*O.AinGed.* 6 and 7). As these people are generally designated by a single name in all or most of their appearances, it is difficult to be certain that the same individuals are always involved, especially

<sup>7</sup> For this god, see O.E. Kaper, *The Egyptian God Tutu: A Study of the Sphinx-God and Master of Demons with a Corpus of Monuments* (Leuven 2003).

<sup>8</sup> For the presence of names from classical Greek culture among the elite of the oases, see R.S. Bagnall, N. Aravecchia, R. Cribiore, P. Davoli, O.E. Kaper, and S. McFadden, *An Oasis City* (New York 2015) 212–216.

because it is clear from the Kellis papyri that names were, not surprisingly, reused from generation to generation. The connection of Pantonymos to the Coptic papyri has already been mentioned; Charis (24), identified as his daughter, also appears in the Manichaean circle of the Coptic papyri. And in the archive of Taa we find another member of that circle, Partheni (40). There are also some significant, although weaker, connections to *KAB*, notably Faustianus (27, and 44 in the archive of Taa), who has a reasonable chance to be the landlord of *KAB*, but Chares son of Lois (31; see *KAB*, p. 63) may be even more diagnostic, given the rarity of the patronymic and the combination of names. Both Kome (12) and Timotheos also appear in *KAB*, where Timotheos is the son of Kome (see *KAB*, p. 69). But in that text they are tenants, not estate managers, and it does not seem safe to suppose that either is the same as in the present archive. Papnouthes (2, cf. 27?) could be the estate agent, presumably a pronotes, in *KAB* (see pp. 71–72).

Other estate management personnel, who either sign receipts or are the senders of letters and orders, are the following (from both archives):

Apollon	11	(Aurelius) Ophellianos	24
Artemidoros?	4	Pausanias	40
Ar...ianos	48	Peisistratos	39
Dioskorammon	28	Psais	20, 23, 25
Eucharistos	38	(Aurelius) Psenpnouthes	22, 26
Harpokration, ἡρξας (former magistrate)		Sarapammon	13
	30; cf. 18, 42	Sarapion, ἡρξας	8, 18 (son of Harpokration), 25 (also <i>praepositus pagi</i> )
Isidoros	42	Sarapodoros	28
Leonides, ἡρξας	35	Valerius	21, 37, 41
Monaxios son of Leonides	35		

Of these, Artemidoros, Dioskorammon, Eucharistos, Monaxios, and Sarapammon cannot be identified elsewhere in the documents from the Oasis. Of course it is possible that Sarapammon is referred to by the hypocoristic form Sarapas in other contexts. Here is what we know about the other individuals.

*Apollon*: Men named Apollon appear in a number of Kellis texts; the signer of *O.Kellis* 102, a receipt for oil for the tenth indiction, might be a good candidate for being the same person.

*Harpokration*: The name occurs several times at Trimithis, and once at Kellis in *P.Gascou* 80. It is unclear if any of these may be the same as the former magistrate here, who is the father of Sarapion.



*Isidoros*: The name is common at Kellis in the third century, but we have not found a likely candidate in the fourth-century documents from either Kellis or Trimithis.

*Kapiton*: See *P.Kellis* 1.71.39n. for men named Kapiton around Kellis in this period. *P.Kellis* 7 contains many references to a Kapiton. He figures prominently in the correspondence in which Partheni (40) and Charis both appear.

*Leonides*: Aurelius Leonides was *strategos/exactor* of the Great Oasis in 369/370, the thirteenth indiction; *SB* 18.13252 is addressed to him. Aurelius Leonidas (with -ας) appears in *O.Ain Ged.* 5 as former magistrate and *epimeletes*, also in the 13th indiction. At first glance, it might seem incongruous for the same man to have served simultaneously as both *epimeletes* and *exactor*. Despite the cumulation of offices that an identification would presuppose, however, it is likely that the man is the same and that the present ostrakon (35) was drawn up between the conclusion of his local sequence of magistracies and his assumption of the roles of *exactor* and *epimeletes*. We should probably not make too much of the seeming irregularity of this cumulation of offices; in editing *SB* 18.13252, B. Kramer (*APF* 32 [1986] 41) described the terminology of the text as “ungewöhnlich,” given the self-identification of the sender as *phylarches* (an office otherwise unknown for more than a century), and commented that the idiosyncratic style of the writer was surely to be attributed to the distinctive setting of the Oasis and that “It is surely because of the remote setting of the Great Oasis that old titles and offices survived longer than in the Nile Valley (“Es ist sicher der Abgelegenheit der Großen Oase zuzuschreiben, da sich dort alte Titel und Ämter länger gehalten haben als im Niltal”). Even though normally the *epimeletes* would report to the *exactor/strategos* (see already J.D. Thomas, *CdÉ* 34 [1959] 127), in an area with a small supply of suitable liturgists, it is entirely understandable that on occasion one person might occupy multiple roles. Finally, even if the *exactor* and the *epimeletes* are to be distinguished, the man here is surely one of them. Monaxios, which is the name of Leonides’ son, was not previously known in Egypt other than in dating formulas as the consul of 419.

*Ophellianos*: A man of this name, if the resolution is correct, appears in *P.Bingen* 119B, Frag. B recto 17, which comes from Kellis, and also probably in *O.Kellis* 53 (which, like two of our ostraka, refers to Pmoun Eskoel), although with the name abbreviated. It is possible that the same man is involved. A homonym, but of an earlier generation, appears in *SEG* 52.1775, a dedication to Demeter found at Kellis.

*Pausanias* and *Peisistratos*: See below.



*Psais*: This name is extremely common at Kellis and Trimithis. If the instances listed above all concern the same individual, it should be noted that he serves as an agent of Sarapion in **25**, where he is described as the latter's "friend."

*Psempnouthes* is a significant figure in the Kellis Coptic papyri; cf. *P.Kellis* 5, p. 42.

*Sarapodoros*: A Sarapodoros son of Eros appears in *P.Kellis* 1.23.25 (353) as a witness cited in a petition.

*Sarapion*, former magistrate and *praepositus pagi*, is presumably the same in all three attestations, and presumably the son of Harpokration, also a former magistrate (**30**). Although the name is hardly rare, it is worth considering the possibility that he is the same as the Sarapion who collected military rations as *exactor* in *O.Trim.* 2.524, 525, and 528. None of these has an exact date, but all belong to the period of occupation of the house of Serenos, thus approximately 350–370. As in the Ain es-Sabil texts edited here, the Trimithis ostraka were probably written and signed by Sarapion himself. Unfortunately, however, paleographical considerations do not aid identification of the individual, because the script is too generic to say whether it is the product of a single person. A probable parallel for the sequence from municipal offices to *exactor* is furnished by Leonides, in **35**.

*Valerius*: The name is not uncommon at Kellis. The Valerius who writes the order *O.Kellis* 86, for hay for the 13th indiction, might be the same man. A former magistrate of that name, son of Sarapion, is found in *P.Kellis* 1.48 (355); he may also be a possibility. There are also a priest named Valerius in *KAB* 707 and men with this name in *P.Gascou* 71 and 78 and various other Kellis papyri and ostraka. The name also appears on the verso of *P.Kellis* 5.43 in the context of a prior address; cf. p. 34.

That there is a connection among these individuals is strengthened by the fact that the only other previous attestation of the place-name Pmoun Berri Borinou, which occurs in our no. **5**, is *P.Kellis* 1.5, a letter in which the writer, Gena, refers to Timotheos and Gaius, the former as "brother," and instructs his correspondent Pausanias to write to Gaius to send him a donkey. The occurrence of both Timotheos and Pausanias in the Ain el-Gedida ostraka is noteworthy. Other connections are harder to pin down; one senses, for example, that the collocation of Pausanias, Peisistratos, and Kome in *O.Kellis* 85 is unlikely to be pure coincidence with respect to the appearance of all three in these archives from Ain es-Sabil, with Peisistratos in **39**, Pausanias in **40**, and Kome in **12**.

The editor of *P.Kellis* 1.5, however, dated that text to *ca.* 330, and we need to see if this dating should stand in order to tell how Pausanias and Peisistratos fit into the picture. The reason for this date is the existence of a Pausanias, son of Valerius active in 331 to 337 (*P.Kellis* 1.4 and 38a/b; *P.Gascou* 71), denoted a magistrate of Mothis in *P.Kellis* 1.4. It is reasonable to ask whether the nexus we are dealing with above should be dated to an earlier generation than that we have suggested, perhaps two indiction cycles earlier. The scarcity of attested indictional dating at Kellis that can be put securely before the middle of the fourth century could give one pause in putting in the 330s a body of material in which the indiction is used throughout. But that is not decisive, because we also have little material securely datable to the second quarter of the fourth century at Kellis in which regnal years are used. One key question is whether the links to *KAB* are solid, because this text cannot be dated earlier than the 360s. Or rather, what relative solidity should one attribute to the links to *KAB* and the identity of Pausanias in *P.Kellis* 1.4 and 5? In this respect, the appearance of Pausanias and Peisistratos together as addressees of *P.Kellis* 1.63 is noteworthy. This is a Manichaean letter, which the editor dates to the first half of the fourth century on the basis of identifying Pausanias with the individual in *P.Kellis* 1.5 (see note to line 3). But the Manichaean correspondence at Kellis is in general dated with some certainty to the third quarter of the century, so in fact the letter lends some mild support to the idea that a Pausanias was active in the 360s.<sup>9</sup> Pausanias and Peisistratos appear together in *O.Kellis* 85, as we have noted, along with Kome.

The case for the unity of the occurrences of Pausanias is thus not as strong as it looked at the time *P.Kellis* 1 was published; both *KAB* and the ostraka, including now *O.Ain Ged.* 6, have provided a fair weight of evidence for a date three decades or so after the man of *P.Kellis* 1.4. The juncture, direct and indirect, of Kome and Timotheos is probably the strongest single element in the picture; they were actually father and son, not “brothers,” and Kome is an uncommon name. A final proof of the later date is provided by 28, in which an amount of 600 talents is ordered to be paid, something scarcely likely to be found in an ostrakon from before 353.

<sup>9</sup> On Manichaean correspondence, see *P.Kellis* 2, 5, 6 and 7, as well as I. Gardner, “A Letter from the Teacher: Some Comments on Letter-Writing and the Manichaean Community of IVth Century Egypt,” in L. Painchaud, P.H. Poirier (eds), *Coptica - Gnostica - Manichaica. Mélanges offerts à Wolf-Peter Funk* (Québec 2006) 317–323.

Additional evidence comes from the second archive published here, which for reasons discussed below seems very likely to belong to the 360s. In it, a Peisistratos, former magistrate, appears as signatory to one text. It is thus necessary to recognize that the Peisistratos of *O.Kellis* 85 and *P.Kellis* 1.63 easily could, and most economically do, belong to the same decade. We conclude, therefore, that both archives belong to the third quarter of the fourth century. We cannot, however, be sure in individual cases whether the specific indiction years belong to the fifteen-year cycle beginning in 342 or that starting in 357.

### 1–16. *Account and Receipts for Chickens*

The Kellis texts attest both objective formulas with δέδωκεν (*O.Kellis* 63) or ἔδωκεν (65) and subjective formulas using ἔσχον (61, 62, 64). We find both in our small sample from Ain es-Sabil, and indeed both from Gaius. The Kellis texts otherwise follow no standard pattern and range in time from the late 250s (*O. Kellis* 63) down probably to about a century later, the period from which most of the ostraka from the West Church and its annex seem to come (62, 64, the latter dated to a sixth indiction).

The ostraka edited in this section are organized by indiction number, without any claim that they must all come from the same indiction cycle. All dimensions are W × H.

#### 1. *Receipt for Two Chickens*

SCA 15/791/2011 (5). Fig. 6.

Ca. 7 × 6 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

α' ἰνδικτίωνος  
 ἔσχον δι(ὰ) Τιθοῆτος . . . . .  
 ὄρνεα δ[ύ]ο, γί(νεται) ὄρ(νεα) β.  
 4 σεσημ(εῖωμαι) Τιμόθεος.

2 δι/ 3 γτ- ορ^ 4 σεσημ

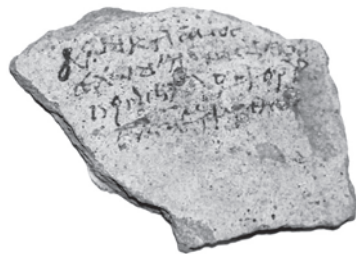


Fig. 6: *O.Sabil* 1

“1st indiction. I received through Tithoes ... two chickens, total, 2 chickens. I, Timotheos, have signed.”

2 What follows Τιθοῆτος is not very clear. The most likely reading may be διακόνου (cf. **5** and **10**), his church office. We have also considered ἐξ ἐκτίμ(ήσεως), but the preposition ἐξ is difficult to see.

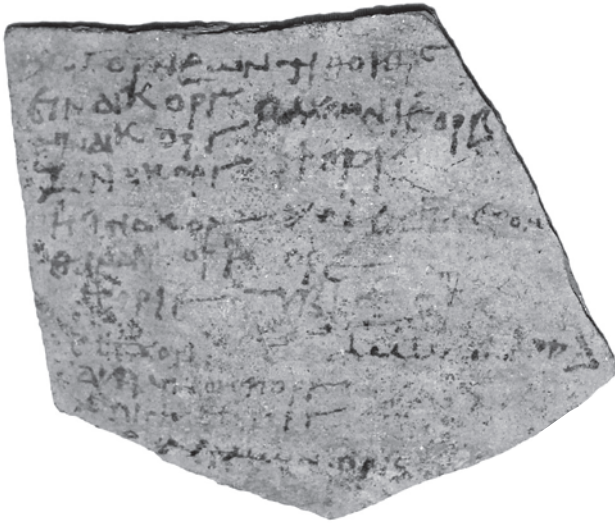
## 2. Account of Deliveries of Chickens by Tithoes

SCA 15/791/2011 (1). Fig. 7.

Ca. 9.2 × 7.6 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

The ostrakon preserves a main or primary text that accounts for deliveries of chickens over a period of five indictions, from the fifth through the ninth. To the right of this in a darker script is a text that appears to have been written later. It begins between the second and third line of the primary account and records payments of chickens on Pachon 15 of an undisclosed indiction. It is unclear if the reference to Tybi 3 on line 8 goes with the primary or subsequent text. The color and consistency of the ink as well as the position of the words in the line (note that Τυβι is further left of the initial words of each line of the secondary text – Παχων, γίνεται etc.) suggest that this date goes with the primary account. Another indication of this can perhaps be found in the sums of chickens recorded in the text on the right. There, we read that on Pachon 15 there were two chickens delivered, which gave a total of eleven chickens. The next lines say that on the same day(?) five chickens were delivered, and the line below that, that Ammon either received or gave four chickens. If we add these numbers – two, five, and four – we get the total of eleven chickens.

	λόγ(ος) ὀρνίθων Τιθοῆτος	
	εἰς ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ὀρ(νίθια) γ	
		Παχων ιε ὀρ(νίθια) β
4	ζ' ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ὀρ(νίθια) γ	
	ζ' ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ὀρ(νίθια) γ	γί(νεται) ὀρ(νίθια) ια
	η' ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ὀρ(νίθια) γ	ἄν . ( . ) ημερον
	θ ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ὀρ(νίθια) γ	ὀρ(νίθια) ε
8	γί(νεται) ὀρ(νίθια) ιε Τυβι γ ὀρ(νίθια) β	
	ζ ἔσχον ὀρ(νίθια) ζ vacat	Ἄμμωνι ὀρ(νίθια) δ
	δι(ὰ) Παπνούθη ὀρ(νίθια) γ	
	Ἄπις Ψα . . . ὀρ(νίθια) γ	
12	] . Ἄμμων ὀρ(νίθια) ις	

Fig. 7: *O.Sabil 2*

Primary text (lines 1–2, 4–12): “Account of chickens of Tithoes. 5th indiction, 3 chickens; 6th indiction, 3 chickens; 7th indiction, 3 chickens; 8th indiction, 3 chickens; 9th indiction, 3 chickens. Total, 15 chickens. Tybi 3, 2 chickens. 7th, I got 6 chickens. Through Papnouthes, 3 chickens, Apis ... 3 chickens. Ammon, 16 chickens.”

Later text in right margin (lines 3, 5–7, 9): “Pachon 15th, 2 chickens; total, 11 chickens; on the same day(?) 5 chickens. Ammon, 4 chickens.”

5 ιξ is also possible at the end of the line.

6 ἀν.(.)ημερον: there are not many Greek words that end in -ημερον. σήμερον and αὐθημερόν are the most common, but neither of these fits the traces very well: if the former was written, then something else was written before it, while the latter possibility, αὐθημερόν, is not attractive on paleographic grounds, as the traces do not totally align with αυθ-. The first letter of the word or words is quite likely *alpha*, but the second looks much more like *nu*; compare the *nu* of Παχων three lines above. Thus, paleographically, ἀνθήμερον seems better than the other two words, even if we need to suppose that there was a small gap between *theta* and *eta*. It turns out too that ἀνθήμερον is an attested word, which Hesychius glosses with <τῆ> σήμερον ἡμέρα, “today” (cf. LSJ ad loc.), a meaning that would be fine in this context if we assume that it refers to Pachon 15 in line 3. The problem with this reading is that the word is

very rarely attested. Hesychius' entry concerns a passage in Sophocles (*Danae*, fr. 171). The term is not known to have been used outside this one Sophoclean play. For this reason and because of uncertainty surrounding *theta*, we are reluctant to insist much on the reading. It is perhaps worth noting, however, that the preposition ἀντί occurs in other constructions denoting time within which, e.g., ἀντὶ νυκτός, "the same night" (LSJ s.v. ἀντί II); cf. also ἀντετοῦς, LSJ s.v.

10 Παπνούθου would be the correct form.

11 The unread letters may be αὐτῇ.

### 3. Receipt for Two Chickens

SCA 2/725/2009. Fig. 8.

8.8 × 7.2 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

ἔσχον διὰ σοῦ Τιθοῆτος  
ὑπὲρ πέμπτης ἰνδικτίονος  
ὀρνίθια δύο, γί(νεται) ὀρ(νίθια) β.

4 σεσημείωμαι Γάιος.

2 *l.* πέμπτης 3 γι ορ<sup>α</sup> 4 *l.* σεσημείωμαι, γαῖος

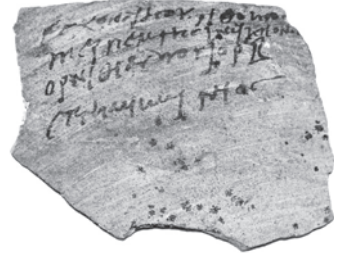


Fig. 8: *O.Sabil* 3

"I received through you, Tithoes, for the fifth indiction, two chickens, total 2 chickens. I, Gaius, have signed."

4 Faint diaeresis marks are visible over the ι in Γάιος.

### 4. Receipt for a Chicken

SCA 14/770/2010 (1). Fig. 9.

Ca. 5.8 × 6 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

δέδωκεν Τιθοῆς  
Παντων[ύμου] ὀρνίθ-  
ιν ἔν ὑπ[έρ] ἑ ἰνδικ(τίωνος).

4 πεπλήρωμαι παρὰ  
σοῦ παντοίων εἰδῶν.  
[σ]εσημείωμαι Ἀρ-  
τεμίδωρος.

2–3 *l.* ὀρνίθιον 3 ἰνδικ<sup>κ</sup> 4 *l.* σεσημείωμαι

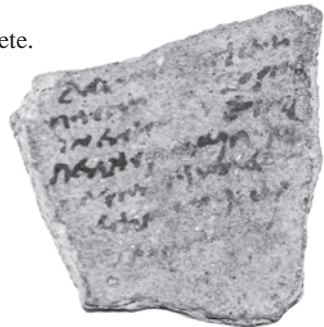


Fig. 9: *O.Sabil* 4

“Tithoes son of Pantonymos has paid one chicken for the 5th indiction. I have been paid by you in full for all types of taxes. I, Artemidoros (?), have signed.”

5 The absence of a preposition is awkward; we have therefore also considered ὑπὲρ θείων. But the *upsilon* and *rho* of ὑπὲρ would be difficult to make out, and we do not know a good parallel for the phrase, even if it is readily intelligible. On the contrary, the phrase παντοίων εἰδῶν can be paralleled by a number of passages in *P.Panop.Beatty* 1 and by *P.Col.* 7.182 and 184.

6–7 Artemidoros, if the reading is correct, is new to the onomastic repertory of Kellis and its region.

### 5. Receipt for Two Chickens

SCA 5/728/2009. Fig. 10.

7 × 7 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

- δέδωκεν Τιθο-  
 ῆς διακόνου  
 ὑπὲρ Πμου Βερρι  
 4 Βορινοῦ ὄρνεα  
 δύο, γί(νεται) ὄρ(νεα) β. σεσημίω(μαι)  
 Γάιος ς ἰνδικ(τίωνος).

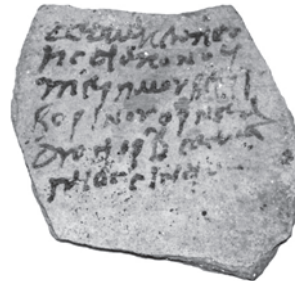


Fig. 10: *O.Sabil* 5

2 ἰ. διάκονος 5 γι ορ<sup>α</sup>, σεσημι<sup>ω</sup>, *l.* σεσημείω(μαι) 6 ἰνδικ-

“Tithoes the deacon has paid for Pmoun Berri North two chickens, total 2 chickens. I, Gaius, have signed, 6th indiction.”

2 Only one deacon appears in *KAB* (Petros, line 1576), and two in the first volume of Kellis papyri (Pkoureus(?) and Cholos, *P.Kellis* 1.24.11, dated to 352); there are none in the Kellis ostraka. Two or three deacons appear in the Trimithis ostraka (*O.Trim.* 1.26, 76, 269, 272, 383, several referring to a man named Psais). The genitive of διακόνου here and in **10** might suggest that Tithoes was the son of the deacon, but in that case we would expect the patronymic to appear as well, and in any event case errors are hardly uncommon in the fourth-century Oasis ostraka.

3 For discussion of the Πμου Βερρι Βορινοῦ, see the introduction above.



6 The sixth indiction could be 317/318, 332/333, 347/348, or 362/463; for reasons discussed in the introduction, the last of these is the most likely.

## 6. Receipt for a Chicken

SCA 4/727/2009. Fig. 11.

6.8 × 6.6 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

δέδωκεν Τιθοῆς  
 Τῶνι ὑπὲρ τ . ενε  
 ὄρνεον ἔν, γί(νεται) ὄρ(νεον) α  
 4 ζ' ἰνδικ(τίωνος). σεσημ(είωμαι) Τιμόθεο(ς).

3 ἔν γι' ορ' 4 ἰνδ<sup>κ</sup> σεσημ<sup>μ</sup> τιμοθεο̄

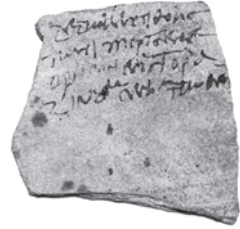


Fig. 11: *O.Sabil* 6

“Tithoes son of Toni has paid for ... one chicken, total one chicken, for the 7th indiction. I, Timotheos, have signed.”

2 It is not clear if τ . ενε is a personal name, geographical name, or purpose for the payment. The second letter of the word is likely a *tau*. We have thus considered the possibility that there is a reference to the Coptic word *ΤΗΝΕ*, meaning dam or dike, e.g., ὑπὲρ τ (or γ) Τενε, but that is masculine and Crum (*Coptic Dictionary* 418b) gives no occurrence with *epsilon* instead of *eta*. The second letter could also be *sigma*, if the lighter curved stroke before the vertical is intentional, leading perhaps to a name Τσενη, but then there would be no good explanation of the heavier vertical stroke. A final possibility is *omicron*, but this has not led us to any plausible explanation. One should perhaps also consider a relationship to the enigmatic *τενιου* in 7.3 and 10.2.

3 There is a stroke over the *nu* in ἔν that does not belong to the horizontal line indicating the abbreviation of the following γί(νεται). While one might take it to be a raised *alpha* for the masculine accusative ἔνα, which would be wrong here since the word that it modifies is neuter, we believe that it is likely a *spiritus asper*. It was not uncommon in this period for writers to record rough breathing marks in documents, especially in very common words such as ἔν (to distinguish it from ἐν). But the practice was not systematic or predictable; see R. Ast, “Signs of Learning in Greek Documents: the Case of *spiritus asper*,” in G. Nocchi Macedo and M.C. Scappaticcio (eds.), *Signes dans les textes, textes sur les signes* (Liège 2017) 143–157. We see rough breathing marks in other ostraka from Ain es-Sabil (cf. 16, 18, 21).

## 7. Receipt for a Chicken

SCA 8/731/2009. Fig. 12.

6.8 × 6.5 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

- δέδωκεν Τιθοῆς Τῶνι  
 ὄρνειον ἓν, γί(νεται) ὄρ(νεον) α ὑπέ[ρ]  
 τενίου Πμ(ουν) Ἑσκοελ.  
 4 σεσημ(είωμαι) Τιμόθεος  
 ζ ἰνδικ(τίωνος).

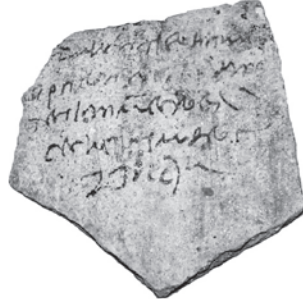
2 ορ<sup>ο</sup> 3 πμ̄ εσκοελ<sup>λ</sup> 4 σεσημ<sup>μ</sup> 5 ινδ<sup>κ</sup>

Fig. 12: O.Sabil 7

“Tithoes son of Toni has paid one chicken, total 1 chicken, for ... of Pmoun Eskoel. I, Timotheos, have signed, 7th indiction.”

3 For τενίου see 10.2, where it is also connected with Pmoun Eskoel. Πμουν Ἑσκοελ<sup>λ</sup> was previously attested only in *O.Kellis* 53.3. The λ is followed here by what looks like a reverse apostrophe (cf. the apostrophe-like stroke after the same name in 10.3 and after Κουλ in 37.1). τενίου has the form of a proper Greek genitive after ὑπέρ, but we do not know any Greek word that it could represent.

## 8. Receipt for Four Chickens

SCA 8/731/2009. Fig. 13.

7.7 × 5.7 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

- δέδωκε(ν) Τιθοῆς Τῶνι .  
 τῆς θ ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ὀρνίθ(ια) τέσσαρ(α)  
 γί(νεται) ὀρνίθ(ια) δ. σεσημείωμαι  
 4 Σαραπίων ἄρξ(ας).

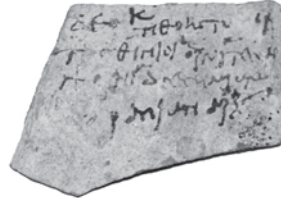


Fig. 13: O.Sabil 8

1 δεδω<sup>κ</sup> 2 ινδ<sup>κ</sup>, l. ἰνδικ(τίωνος), ορν<sup>θ</sup> 3 γι— ορν<sup>θ</sup> τεσσαρ, l. σεσημείωμαι  
 4 αρξ/

“Tithoes son of Toni has paid for the 9th indiction four chickens, total 4 chickens. I, Sarapion, former magistrate, have signed.”

1 There seem to be traces of ink after Τῶνι, perhaps from the letters υπ/ (l. ὑπέρ).

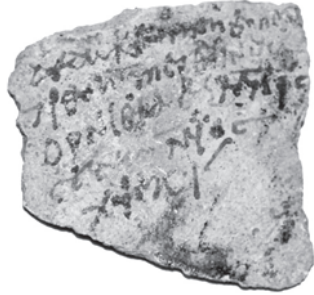
### 9. Receipt for Six Chickens

SCA 1/724/2009. Fig. 14.

6.6 × 6.8 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

δέδωκεν γυνή βο . . . .  
Τιθοῦτ(ος) ὑπὲρ θ' ἰνδικ(τίωνος)  
ὀρνίθια ἕξ, γεί(νεται) ὀρ(νίθια) ζ.

4 σεσημ(είωμαι) Γάιος  
Χοιακ ι'.



2 τιθοῦτ, ἰνδικ- 3 γεί, ι. γί(νεται), ὀρ' 4 σεσημ, γάιος Fig. 14: *O.Sabil* 9

“The wife of ... of Tithoes has paid for the 9th indiction, six chickens, total 6 chickens. I, Gaius, have signed, Choiak 10th.”

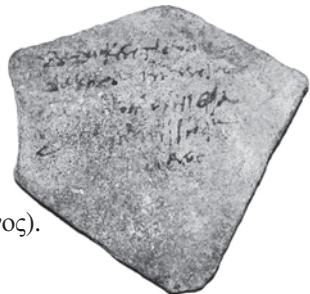
1 What follows γυνή is a puzzle. We may have the name Bo (found in *KAB* 600, 901, and 1276). He was the son of Pebos, and the name is likely to be a shortened form of that. What follows that could possibly be *eta*, leading to βοηθ-, but neither the *eta* nor the *theta* is very persuasive, and what follows does not seem like any ending that would work with that start. Another possibility would be to read πεδί(ου) (i. παιδί(ου)). But this reading is also not wholly convincing, and inventing the wife of a slave is a doubtful means to solve a difficult reading. Finally, we cannot entirely exclude the reading Πεβῶτ, in which case we would be dealing with the wife of Bo, son of Pebos and grandson of Tithoes. But it seems odd for there to be a papponym here.

### 10. Receipt for Six Chickens

SCA 13/769/2010 (1). Fig. 15.

Ca. 9 × 8.8 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

δέδωκεν Τιθοῦς  
διακόνου ὑπ(ὲρ) τενίου  
Πμ(ου)ν Εσκοελ ὀρνίθια  
4 δύο γί(νεται) ὀρ(νίθια) β ὑπ(ὲρ) ι ἰνδικ(τίωνος).  
σεσημ(είωμαι) Τιμόθεος.



2 ι. διάκονος, υπ̄ 3 πμ̄ εσκοελ' 4 γι ὀρ^, υπ), ἰνδικ Fig. 15: *O.Sabil* 10

“Tithoes the deacon has paid for ... of Pmoun Eskoel two chickens, total 2 chickens, for the 10th indiction. I, Timotheos, have signed.”

1–2 On the appearance of διακόνου here, see 5.2n.

2–3 For τενιου Πμ(ου)ν Εσκοελ see 7.3.

### 11. Receipt for a Chicken

SCA 7/730/2009. Fig. 16.

7 × 6.6 cm. Written on concave side. Complete.

δέδωκ(εν) Τιθ(οῆς) Τωνι  
ὄρ(νίθιον) α. σεσημίωμαι  
Ἀπόλλων  
4 ια' ἰνδικ(τίωνος).

1 δεδωκ τιθ/ 2 ορ^, ι. σεσημείωμαι 4 ινδικ^

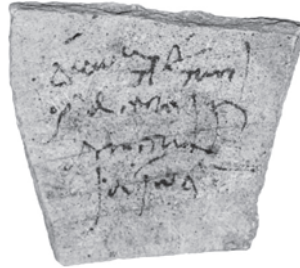


Fig. 16: O.Sabil 11

“Tithoes son of Toni has paid one chicken. I, Apollon, have signed, 11th indiction.”

### 12. Receipt for Four Chickens

SCA 11/767/2010 (2). Fig. 17.

Ca. 7.6 × 5.6 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

δέδωκεν Κομε Μόνι Κόρακ(ος)  
ὑπὲρ ιδ' ἰνδικτίωνος ὀρνίθια  
τέσσαρα, γί(νεται) ὄρ(νίθια) δ. σεσημίωμαι  
4 Γάιος  
Φαωφι ια.

1 Κορακ^ 3 ι. τέσσαρα, γι ορ^, ι. σεσημείωμαι

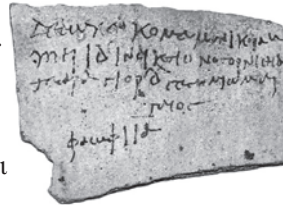


Fig. 17: O.Sabil 12

“Kome son of Moni, grandson of Korax, has paid four chickens for the 14th indiction, total 4 chickens. I, Gaius, have signed, Phaophi 11.”

1 As far as we know, the payer is not elsewhere attested, although his and the other two names are found at Kellis. Moni, usually spelled

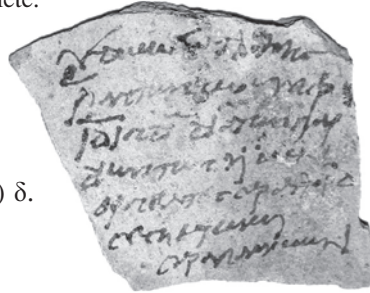
Μωνι, is a short form of Ἀμμώνιος. He appears in **30** and could be the Moni in **31**. A Korax, possibly the same one as here, appears in **27** and **33**.

### 13. Receipt for Four Chickens

SCA 9/732/2009. Fig. 18.

6.5 × 6 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

δέδωκεν Τιθοῆς  
 Παντωνύμου ὑπὲρ  
 ἰδ̄ ἰνδικ(τίωνος) διὰ τῶν παι-  
 4 δίων τῶν υἱῶν  
 ὄρνεα τέσσαρα, γί(νεται) ὄρ(νεα) δ.  
 σεσημῖωμαι  
 Σαραπάμμων.



3 ἰνδ<sup>ικ</sup> 4 υἱῶν 5 γῑ ορ<sup>α</sup> 6 ἰ. σεσημῖωμαι

Fig. 18: O.Sabil 13

“Tithoes son of Pantonymos has paid for the 14th indiction through the slaves of his sons four chickens, total, 4 chickens. I, Sarapammon, have signed.”

3–4 The slaves of the sons (of Tithoes?) are obscure to us.

### 14. Receipt for Four Chickens

SCA 3/726/2009. Fig. 19.

8.8 × 5.5 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

ἔσχον ὑ(πὲρ) ἰδ̄ καὶ ἰε̄  
 ἰνδ(ικτιώνων) ὄρνεα τέσσαρας  
 δι(ὰ) Τιθοῆς Τωνι. σεσημ(εῖ)ωμαι  
 4 Τιμόθεος.

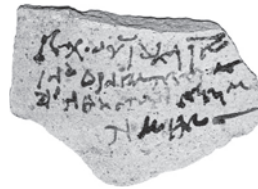


Fig. 19: O.Sabil 14

1 ῡ 2 ἰν<sup>δ</sup>, ἰ. τέσσαρα 3 δι/, ἰ. Τιθοῆτος or Τιθοῆους, σεσημ<sup>η</sup>

“I received for the 14th and 15th indictions four chickens through Tithoes son of Toni. I, Timotheos, have signed.”

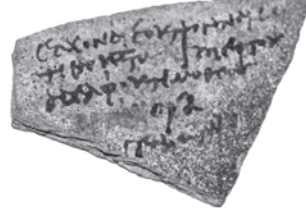
15. *Receipt for a Chicken*

SCA 2/725/2009. Fig. 20.

8.2 × 5.7 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

ἔσχον δι(ὰ) σοῦ τῇ γυναικὶ  
Τιθοῦτ(ος) Τωνι ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
ἀδελφοῦ Τιμοθέου

- 4 [[ ορ . . . ] ὄρ(νεον) α.  
σεσημ(είωμαι) Γάιος.

Fig. 20: *O.Sabil* 15

1 δι', l. τῆς γυναικός 2 τιθοῦτ 4 ορ' 5 σεσημ, γάιος

“I received through you the wife of Tithoes son of Toni, on behalf of (my) colleague Timotheos, 1 chicken. I, Gaius, have signed.”

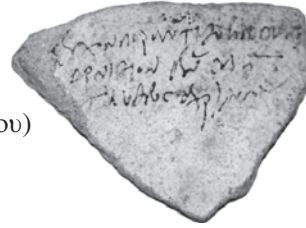
16. *Receipt for a Chicken*

SCA 7/730/2009. Fig. 21.

8.2 × 6.5 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

ἔσχον παρὰ σοῦ Τιθοῦτος Παγτ(ωνύμου)  
ὀρνίθιον ἓν. σεσημ(είωμαι)

- 3 Τιμόθεος ἄχρι λόγου.

Fig. 21: *O.Sabil* 16

1 παντ 2 ἓν σεσημ

“I received from you, Tithoes son of Pantonymos, one chicken. I, Timotheos, have signed, pending (a settling of) the account.”

2 On the recording of spiritus asper, see above 6.3n.

3 ἄχρι λόγ(ου) occurs also in *O.Waqfa* 20.6 (2nd half of fourth century) and *P.Oxy.* 20.2269v.6 (AD 269, July 14). Apparently an abbreviated form of the expression ἄχρι λόγου συνάρσεως (*O.Wilck.* 1135.5, AD 182 or 214; cf. *P.Amh.* 2.101.4 ἐκ συνάρσεως λόγων, early third century), sometimes given ἄχρι συνάρσεως (*P.Lips.* 1.97.5.[10] and 13.9, AD 338; *P.Oxy.* 17.2143.3, AD 293, Sept. 3; *SB* 16.12566.3, 16, late third/early fourth century), it designates an advance payment (Wilcken, *Ostr.* 1, 706; *O.Waqfa* 20.6n.).

## 17–25. Notes and Receipts for Dates, Oil, and Other Products

## 17. Delivery Note for Dates

SCA 9/732/2009. Fig. 22.

6.4 × 7.3 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

- εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς οἰκοδεσ-  
 ποίνης ἐν Τριμίθι φοινίκ(ων)  
 ἀρτάβας τρεῖς τῷ γ(εου)χ(ικῶ) μέτρῳ  
 4 δι(ὰ) Τιθοῆς Τωνι ὑπ(ὲρ) τῆς  
 ἱκασίας τῆς ζ' ἰνδικτίονος.  
 ἐὰν δὲ ἔλαβες αὐτά, γράψον μοι.

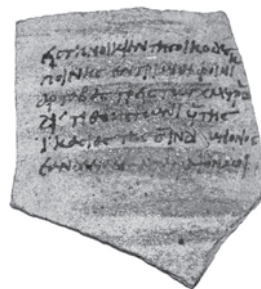


Fig. 22: O.Sabil 17

2 *l.* Τριμίθει, φοινι<sup>κ</sup> 3  $\overline{\gamma\chi}$  μετρώ<sup>ω</sup> 4 δι/, *l.* Τιθοῆτος, υ<sup>-</sup> 5 ἱκασίας, *l.* εἰκασίας

“To the house of the mistress of the household in Trimithis, three artabas of dates by the landlord’s measure, through Tithoes son of Toni on account of the estimate (?) of the 6th indiction. If you got them, write to me.”

2 The mistress of the household (οἰκοδέσποινα) is a title found in other ostraka associated with the Dakhla Oasis; see *O.Trim.* 1, p. 37 and *KAB*, p. 70.

3 For the abbreviation  $\overline{\gamma\chi}$  see 18.2n. It looks as if the *omega* in μέτρῳ was written in superscript above another *omega*.

5 The only attestation of the term εἰκασία for “estimate” from the Roman period appears to be *P.Oxy.* 49.3508.37. In the first edition (*ZPE* 24 [1977] 43–53) there is no comment on the term, which is otherwise known only from Ptolemaic, and in fact second century BC, papyri from the Arsinoite, particularly Tebtynis. The concept, however, is older; see J. Bingen, *Hellenistic Egypt* (Edinburgh 2007) 229–239, a classic treatment of a controversy over tenant payments on the basis of estimation documented in the Zenon archive. This text suggests that some such procedure was in use in the area of Kellis, but its precise workings are not documented. Moreover, the term ἐκτίμησις, which might be supposed to be synonymous, is used extensively in *KAB* to refer to a process that seems to involve the payment of cash instead of a commodity, i.e., what is commonly called *adaeratio* in Latin (*KAB*, pp. 60–61).



6 Of course we expect the subjunctive λάβῃς here, but δὲ is clearly followed by ἐ-. For ἐάν with aorist indicative, see Mayser, *Gramm.* 2.1.284, n. 4. Alternatively, {ἐ}λάβῃς is possible – the left side of the letter before ζ is a vertical upright that is perhaps closer to *eta* than to *epsilon*. If correct, then we would have to assume dittography in δεε.

It is unusual (and unfortunate) for there to be no signature on this receipt. The hand is not unlike that of the municipal official Serenos from Trimithis (Amheida), an interesting coincidence given the fact that this ostrakon concerns a delivery to Trimithis. But it may be no more than a coincidence. For discussion of Serenos' handwriting, see *O.Trim.* 2, pp. 98–102. *O.Trim.* 2.531 offers probably the closest parallel for the hand here (a link to the image is at [papyri.info/ddbdp/o.trim;2;531](http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.trim;2;531)), but note too the kop-pa-looking *upsilon* in the abbreviation for ὑπέρ both here in line 4 and in *O.Trim.* 1.323.4, a document that was suspected of being in Serenos' hand (see *O.Trim.* 2, p. 100; image available at [www.amheida.com](http://www.amheida.com), searching for inv. 11749).

### 18. Receipt for Oil

SCA 3/726/2009. Fig. 23.

8.4 × 8.3 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

- ζ̄ ἰνδικ(τίωνος) συνεφώνη-  
 σεν Τιθοῆς Τωνι γ(εου)χ(ικοῦ) μέρ(ους)  
 ἐλαίου χοῦν ἐν σὺν διαφό-  
 4 ρου. σεσημείωμαι  
 Σαραπίω(ν) Ἀρποκρατίωνος  
 ἄρξας.

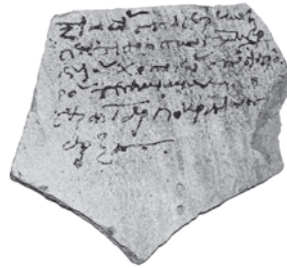


Fig. 23: *O.Sabil* 18

1 ἰνδικ̄ 2 γ̄χ̄ μερ/ 3 ἐν 3–4 l. διαφόρω 4 l. σεσημείωμαι 5 σαραπῑ

“7th indiction, Tithoes son of Toni has paid for the landlord’s share, one *chous* of oil, with *diaphoron*. I, Sarapion son of Harpokration, former magistrate, have signed.”

1 συνεφώνησεν means in these contexts “he paid,” see *KAB*, p. 32 and subsequently the publication of the Kellis ostraka (*O.Kellis* 72–74, 76–78, 267). Further examples appear below in **21**, **22**, and **24**, and in the archive of Taa, **35**, **39**, **40**, **44**, and **47**. As noted in *KAB*, the usage is almost entirely restricted to the Great Oasis, but one possible exception was

cited there from *P.Oxy.* 6.934.10, and perhaps the Ptolemaic *BGU* 7.1545 already shows this meaning. This usage in receipts, however, seems purely characteristic of the Oasis; cf. also *O.Trim.* 2.461.2–3n.

2 Payments for the landlord's share (γεουχικὸν μέρος) are found in the fourth century exclusively in documents from the Great Oasis; see *O.Kellis* 73 (319–320), 74 (318–319), 77 (318–319), *O.Waqfa* 51, 57, 61 (2nd half of fourth century). The abbreviation γ̄χ, usually in the context of the landlord's measure (γεουχικὸν μέτρον), also appears in *O.Trim.* 1.216 and numerous other oasite texts, including the Douch and Ain Waqfa ostraka and in *KAB* (341, 1136, 1336, 1399); cf 17.3 above.

3–4 διάφορον most commonly refers to a return on an amount lent, i.e., interest; in this case, however, it refers to a supplemental amount paid on a rent in kind. Cf. *BGU* 3.835 and many other examples. This can mean different things, but is often, as Preisigke states, an “Ausgleichszahlung (bei Umrechnung irgend welcher Art),” e.g., to make up for a difference imposed by the use of different metrological systems. Perhaps it should be rendered “compensation,” but we do not know for what.

For the interchange of -ου and -ω, most likely through syntactical confusion, see Gignac, *Gramm.* 1.208–210.

### 19. Receipt for Hay

SCA 11/767/2010 (1). Fig. 24.  
Ca. 7.8 × 7 cm. Written on convex side.

δι(ὰ) Τιθοῦτος Τῶνι  
χόρτ(ου) δέσμας ἑκατὸν  
πεντήκοντα γί(νονται)  
4 δέσ(μαι) ρν. Φαμενωθ  
κθ ιᾱ ἰνδικ(τίωνος).

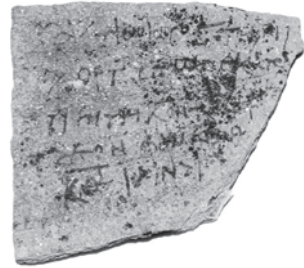


Fig. 24: *O.Sabil* 19

1 δι' 2 χορτ̄ 3 γι 4 δεσ 5 ινδικ̄

“Through Tithoes son of Toni, one hundred fifty bundles of hay, total 150 bundles. Phamenoth 29 of the 11th indiction.”

4 A donkey-load of hay was about 16 bundles, but as pointed out in the introduction to *O.Trim.* 2.468, 15 bundles seems to have been the normal base.

5 Here also there is no signature (cf. 17).

## 20. Receipt for Wheat

SCA 6/729/2009. Fig. 25.

9.2 × 6.3 cm. Written on convex side.

Complete but faded at right.

Φιλίππιω σίτ(ου) μ(άτια) δέκα  
δι(ᾶ) σοῦ Τιθ(οῦ)τος Τῶνι ιδ̄ ἰνδικ(τίωνος).  
3 σεσημείωμαι Ψάις.

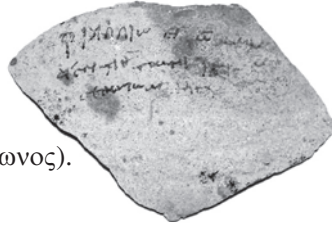


Fig. 25: O.Sabil 20

1 σι<sup>τ</sup> μ<sup>-</sup> 2 δι<sup>τ</sup> τι<sup>θ</sup>, ἰνδικ<sup>κ</sup> 3 ι. σεσημείωμαι

“To Philippios ten *matia* of wheat, through you Tithoes son of Toni, for the 14th indiction. I, Psais, have signed.”

1 Philippios is an exceptionally rare variant of Philippos; one fourth-century example occurs in *SPP* 20.85.16, described as a *hegemon*.

2 The fourteenth indiction is most likely 355/356 or 370/371.

## 21. Receipt for Must

SCA 6/729/2009. Fig. 26.

5.9 × 6.2 cm. Written on convex side. Broken at upper left.

[ . . . ]νδ(ικτίωνος) συνεφώ-  
[ν]ησεν Τιθοῦς  
Τῶνι γ(εου)χ(ικοῦ) μέρ(ους)  
4 γλεύκ(ου) κεράμια  
πέντε, δαπά(νης)  
κεράμιον ἕν.  
σεσημ(είωμαι) Οὐαλέριος.

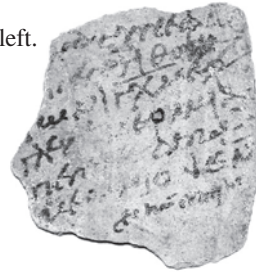


Fig. 26: O.Sabil 21

1 ι]ν<sup>δ</sup> 3 γχ̄ μερ/ 4 γλευ<sup>κ</sup> 5 δαπα<sup>τ</sup> 6 ἐν 7 σεσημ<sup>-</sup>

“...th indiction, Tithoes son of Toni has paid for the landlord’s share five *keramia* of must, and for the expense, one *keramion*. I, Valerius, have signed.”

1 For συνεφώνησεν see **18.1n**.

5 For the complexities of the use of δαπάνη, see *KAB*, pp. 32–35. It represents payment for services.

7 The signature is indented in this line.

## 22. Receipt for Dates

SCA 1/724/2009. Fig. 27.

7.5 × 7.7 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

- συνεφώνησεν Τιθοῆς  
 Παντώνυμος εἰς τὸ μέρος  
 τοῦ γ(εού)χ(ου) φοινίκων (ἄρτάβας) γ  
 4 γί(νονται) ἄρτάβας τρεῖς.  
 σεσημίωμαι τὴν  
 ἀποχὴν Αὐρή-  
 λιος Ψεμπ(νούθης)  
 8 προνο(ητής).

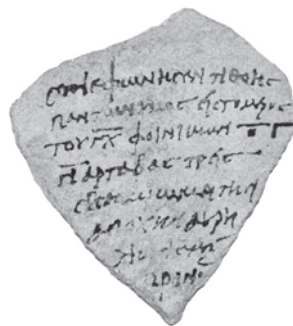


Fig. 27: O.Sabil 22

2 *l.* Παντωνύμου 3 γχ, ο̅ 4 γι̅, *l.* ἄρτάβαι 5 *l.* σεσημείωμαι 7 ψεμπ̅ 8 προνο̅

“Tithoes son of Pantonymos has paid toward the landlord’s share three artabas of dates, total, three artabas. I, Aurelius Psempnouthes, manager, have signed the receipt.”

- 1 For συνεφώνησεν see 18.1n.

## 23. Receipt for Oil

SCA 14/770/2010 (2). Fig. 28.

Ca. 7 × 8 cm. Written on concave side. Complete.

- ἐγὼ ἔχον Ψάις  
 ἐπειτ(ηρητής) ὑπὲρ Πσεν-  
 πεναθου διὰ  
 4 κενιτη ἐλαί-  
 ου χο(εῖς) ε/. ἐπλη-  
 ρώθην κε-  
 νιτη.  
 8 ἐγὼ Ψάις  
 Ἀμμωνίου  
 μαρτυρῶ.



Fig. 28: O.Sabil 23

1 *l.* ἔσχον 2 ἐπειτ, *l.* ἐπιτ(ηρητής) 4 *l.* ἐπικτηνίτης? 5 χ° 6–7 κενιτη/, *l.* ἐπι-  
 κτηνίτης?

“I, Psais, *epiteretes*, received for Psenpenathues through *tkenite* (the donkey-driver?) five *choeis* of oil. I, the donkey-driver (?), was paid in full (?). I, Psais son of Ammonios, witness.”

2–3 Πσεν- for Ψεν- occurs in *O.Douch* 2.136 and several other texts. The resulting name is not elsewhere attested. TM Names lists Ψενπε-νασουθις from *SB* 10.10270 (42).3; we have not been able to verify this reading. It is conceivable that we are dealing with a mangled version of Ψενπνούθης; the writer is not, we think, immune from metathesis and other faults.

4 τκενιτη, if we have read its ending correctly, is unintelligible to us as it stands. We suggest, with all reserve, that it may represent a garbling of κτηνίτης, for ἐπικτηνίτης. Cf. ll. 6–7.

6–7 This may represent another garbling of κτηνίτης, cf. l. 4.

## 24. Receipt for Oil and Dates

SCA 10/766/2010 (2). Figs. 29–30.

Ca. 7 × 6.8 cm. Written on both sides. Complete.

### Convex

- συνεφώνησεν  
 Χάρις δι(ὰ) Τωνι πατρός  
 ἐλαίου μάριον ἔν  
 4 χοεῖς δύο, φοίνικος  
 ἀρτάβας πέντε, καρυ-  
 τῶν μάτια πέντε χιμερι-  
 νῶν μάτια ὀκτώ καὶ ὕ-  
 8 πὲρ . . . . .



Fig. 29: *O.Sabil* 24 convex

### Concave

- ἐλαίου ἴγιον ἔν καὶ  
 φοίνικος ἀρτάβην  
 μίαν ζ' ἰνδικ(τίωνος). σε-  
 12 σημειῶμαι Αὐρήλιος  
 Ὀφελλιανὸς ἄρξας.

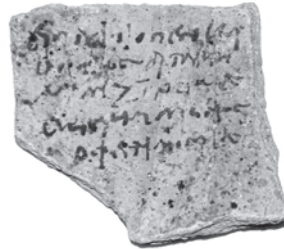


Fig. 30: *O.Sabil* 24 concave

2 δι/ 6 l. χιμερινῶν 11 ἰνδικ<sup>c</sup>

“Charis paid through Toni her father one *marion* and two *choeis* of oil, five artabas of dates, five *matia* of dates, eight *matia* of “winter,” and for ... one *hinion* of oil and one artaba of dates for the 7th indiction, I, Aurelius Ophellianos, former magistrate, have signed.”

1 For συνεφώνησεν see 18.1n.

2 For Charis see *O.Kellis* 113.5, 8, where she appears paying 1150 and 650 talents. This ostrakon, which comes from the West Church Annex, can be securely dated after 353 on the basis of the amounts of money. Worp took the uncertainly read Χαρης in l. 5 for the correct (masculine) form, but Χάριτος in l. 8 supports the feminine form instead. Since Chares is a well attested name at Kellis, his preference was not unreasonable. But he did not take into account the Kellis Coptic papyri published five years earlier, where it is clear that the person is female, as she is addressed as “sister” and “mother” (*P.Kellis* 5, p. 23). Confusingly, the name is sometimes spelled Χάρης. The editors there note that there were further instances in the unpublished Coptic papyri; these have now appeared as *P.Kellis* 7.64, 66, 67, 70, 76, 102, 105, and 122, with the spelling with *eta* used in most cases but again with relational terms making it clear she is a woman, perhaps (the editors suggest, vol. 1, pp. 38–39) the wife of Philammon. And from the present text it appears that she is the sister of Tithoes, the protagonist of the archive, at least if we take “father” at face value. It is striking that neither Charis nor Partheni (see 40) appears in the Greek papyri from Kellis.

3 The measure for oil in this line is the μάριον (= 20 ξέσται), while ἴνιον is recorded in line 9.

5–7 The καρπωτός (Lat. *caryota*), or nut-shaped date, is said by Pliny to have been famous for its juiciness (*NH* 13.44); see *RE* 20, 386–401. We have found no other evidence for winter dates, but winter figs (χειμερινὰ σῦκα) are referred to both in *P.Oxy.* 14.1631.25 (AD 280), where they are distinguished from summer figs (θερινὰ σῦκα, l. 24), and in Athenaeus, who cites the Alexandrian grammarian Pamphilus for a bit of learned trivia about winter figs being called κωδωναῖα by the Achaeans (3.77a). We believe χειμερινῶν to be the best reading here but cannot absolutely exclude χειμερινῆς.

9 The word ἴνιον is the diminutive of ἴν, Egyptian *hin*, a measure that appears to have been equivalent to the ξέστης; see *O.Kellis* 71.3–4n.

and N. Kruit and K.A. Worp, “Metrological Notes on Measures and Containers of Liquids in Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt,” *APF* 45 (1999) 121–123 with fn. 35, 40, 41. The Coptic word appears in texts from Kellis: *P.Kellis* 5.44.20 (fourth century) and 7.81.52; see A. Alcock, “Coptic Terms for Containers and Measures,” *Enchoria* 23 (1996) 5 and “Hin in Coptic Texts,” *APF* 45 (1999) 182.

13 For the name Ophellianos see the introduction, above.

## 25. Receipt for *epibole didrachmou*

SCA 12/768/2010 (1). Fig. 31.

Ca. 9.8 × 4.8 cm. Written on the convex side. Complete.

διέγραψαν Βησαῖς καὶ Ἡλίας  
ἀδελφὸς ὑπὲρ ἐπιβολῆς διδρά-  
χμου κατὰ τὸ ἔθος. σεσημίω-  
4 μαι Σαραπίων ἄρξας πραι-  
πόσιτος πάγου δι' ἐμοῦ  
Ψάιτος φίλου.

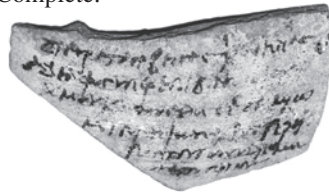


Fig. 31: *O.Sabil* 25

“Besas and Elias his brother have paid for *epibole didrachmou* in the customary way. I, Sarapion, former magistrate and *praepositus pagi* have signed through me, Psais his friend.”

2–3 On the *epibole*, mostly for two drachmas but sometimes six drachmas, see *O.Kellis*, pp. 29–31. *O.Kellis* 1–21 belong to the two-drachma tax. Except for *O.Kellis* 20, they can be dated to the second half of the third century and not later than 302. Even by that time, 2 drachmas was a trivial sum, and Worp remarks on the anachronistic references to obols and *chalkoi* in many of the texts. *O.Kellis* 20, unlike the others, refers to an indiction, the 13th, and therefore must be considerably later (324/325 is the first possibility). No amount is recorded in that text; like the present one, it refers only to κατὰ τὸ ἔθος. Although no indiction number is present in the receipt from Ain es-Sabil, the presence of a *praepositus pagi* puts it securely after 308, the date of *P.Cair.Isid.* 125; see T. Derda, “Pagi in the Arsinoite Nome: A Study in the Administration of the Fayum in the Early Byzantine Period, with an Appended Edition of P. Aberd. 164 descr. by Nikolaos Gonis,” *JJP* 31 (2001) 17–19.

4 For discussion of Sarapion see the introduction, above.

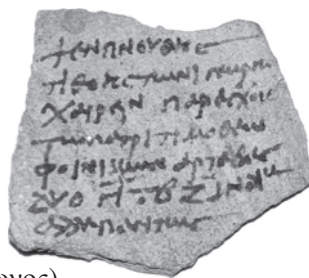


26–33. *Orders and Other Texts*26. *Order for Two Artabas of Dates*

SCA 4/727/2009. Fig. 32.

7.3 × 6 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

- Ψενπνούθης  
 Τιθοῆς Τῶνι γεωργῶ  
 χαίρειν. παράσχου  
 4 τῷ πατρὶ Τιμοθέῳ  
 φοινίκων ἀρτάβας  
 δύο, γί(νονται) (ἀρτάβαι) β, ζ̄ ἰνδικ(τίωνος).  
 ἀλλὰ πάντως.

Fig. 32: *O.Sabil* 262 ἰ. Τιθοῆτι 6 γι' ο̄, ἰνδικ<sup>κ</sup>

“Psenpnouthes to Tithoes son of Toni, lessee, greetings. Provide to father Timotheos two artabas of dates, total, 2 art., 7th indiction, and by all means.”

3 There is a small *vacat* after χαίρειν.

4 An entry for a disbursement πατρὶ Τιμοθέῳ appears in *KAB* 1307; whether with the definite article here it refers to this person or means “my father Timotheos” is unclear.

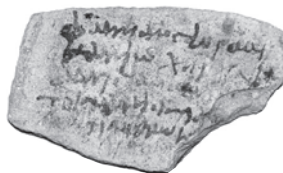
7 The phrase ἀλλὰ πάντως is used to express urgency in other fourth-century oasite texts, all of them containing some kind of request for payment or delivery: *Aegyptus* 90 (2010) 49; *P.Gascou* 72; *P.Giss.* 103; *O.Kellis* 86; *P.Kellis* 1.10, 1.17, 1.79, *O. Trim.* 1.316.

27. *Order for Two moia of Chaff*

SCA 15/791/2011 (3). Fig. 33.

Ca. 9.9 × 6 cm. Written on convex side. Broken at lower right.

- Φαυστιανὸς Κόρακι  
 ἀδελφῶ χαίρειν.  
 ἀχύρου μῶια δύο[ο δὸς]  
 4 τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Πα[ καὶ]  
 Τιμοθέῳ κ[αὶ ?]  
 ἐρρωσθαί σε [εὐχομαι.]

Fig. 33: *O.Sabil* 27

“Faustianus to Korax his colleague, greetings. Give two *moia* of chaff to our colleagues Pa- and Timotheos and ... I pray for your health.”

1 For discussion of Faustianus see the introduction, above. The name Korax is amply attested in the Great Oasis and comes up also in **12**, **30**, and **33**. It is possible that the person of the latter texts is the same as the one here.

4 Papnouthes (see **2**) is the only name of a receiver beginning in Πα- to appear in the other texts of the archive. However, a Paesis appears in the circle of Serenos as the recipient of a letter concerned with the payment of *moia* of chaff (*O.Trim.* 1.298) and as a signer of receipts (*O.Trim.* 1.292, 293), and the circle of Serenos is in turn linked to Faustianus. On the other hand, Pausanias appears as a signer in the archive of Taa. We do not venture to restore one of these here.

## 28. Order to Pay Money

SCA 5/728/2009. Figs. 34–35.

6.5 × 5 cm. Written on convex and concave sides. Complete.

### Convex

Σαραπόδωρος Τιθοῆς Τωνι  
γεωργῷ χαίρειν. ἀργυρίο(υ)  
τάλλαντα ἑξακόσια, γί(νεται)

- 4 τάλ(αντα) ς, δὸς τῷ κυρίῳ μου  
ἀδελφῷ Διοσκοράμμων(ι)  
στρατιώτῃ  
ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελήσῃς.

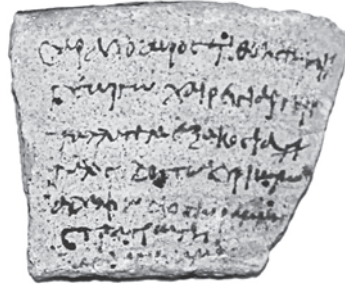


Fig. 34: *O.Sabil* 28 convex

### Concave

- 8 ξ̄ ἰνδικ(τίωνος).



Fig. 35: *O.Sabil* 28 concave

1 *l.* Τιθοῆτι 3 *l.* τάλαντα, γτ 4 *ταλ* 8 *ινδικ*<sup>κ</sup>

“Sarapodoros to Tithoes son of Toni, lessee, greetings. Deliver six hundred talents of money, total 6 (?) tal., to my lord brother Dioskorammon the soldier, and do not neglect this, 6th indiction.”

1 On Sarapodoros see the introduction, above.

4 We are baffled by the use of the numeral *sigma*, or *sti*, after the total sign following the clearly written six hundred. *Sti* with an apostrophe or diagonal mark would represent 6000, not six hundred, while *chi* would be the numeric representation of 600. We cannot tell what was intended.

5 Dioskorammon is not known from any other documents from the Oasis.

## 29. Lists of Names

SCA 10/766/2010 (1). Figs. 36–37.

Ca. 5.9 × 5.2 cm. Written on both sides. Complete.

Convex

[[Κοραυ]]

Κολ Πολλων

[[Ηου]]

4 [[ . . εαμερου]]

Ἄμμων

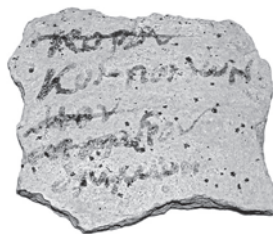


Fig. 36. *O.Sabil* 29 convex

1 The name Korau is unique to the Great Oasis, recurring throughout *KAB*, as well as in *O.Douch* 3.216.5, 11; 4.374.2.; *O.Trim.* 1.236; *P.Bingen* 120v col. 3, 39. Cf. 33.2 below.

2 A Κολος father of Παπολλων is known from *O.Douch* 5.605, though the editor was unsure if it was a proper name as opposed to, e.g., a sobriquet (for χωλός). The name Πολλων appears in *P.Kellis* 5.45.7; the editors take it to be a shortened form of Ἀπόλλων (*P.Kellis* 5, p. 40); cf. N. Litinas, “Bemerkungen zu Papyri VII,” *Tyche* 9 (1994) 219, no. 120, where the name is associated exclusively with the Hermopolite nome.

3 This is presumably the name Ηους, usually printed with a smooth breathing, rather than the aspirated Ἡυ familiar from *KAB*. TM Names

treats them as identical and derived from the Coptic for “useful,” see Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 729b, but we believe they are to be distinguished.

Concave

Βησουῖα

Τιθοῦς Ψάιτ(ος) . . του

3 σὰν

2 Ψαιτ

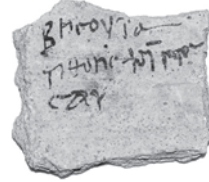


Fig. 37: *O.Sabil* 29 concave

1 Should we understand Βης <Λ>ουῖα?

2 Γαίου?

### 30. *Memorandum or Receipt for a Donkey*

SCA 12/768/2010 (2). Fig. 38.

Ca. 6.8 × 7 cm. Written on the concave side. Complete.

δι(ὰ) Μονι Κόρακος

ὑπὲρ κ . . [ . ] . . ρατιου (?)

τη . . κτην(ος) α.

4 σεσημ(είωμαι) Ἀρποκρατίων  
ἄρξ(ας).

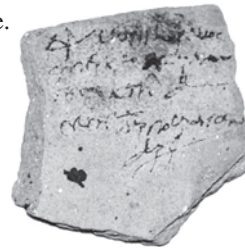


Fig. 38: *O.Sabil* 30

1 δι/ 3 κτην 4 σεσημ 5 αρξ/

“Through Moni son of Korax for ..., one donkey. I, Harpokration, former magistrate, have signed.”

1 This same Moni son of Korax is mentioned in **12**, where he is identified as the father of Kome. The name Korax occurs also in **12**, **27**, and **33**.

2 κερ can possibly be read after ὑπὲρ and before what looks like a letter that has been canceled.

### 31. *Lists of Names*

SCA 13/769/2010 (2). Figs. 39–40.

Ca. 7.6 × 6 cm. Written on both sides.

## Convex

It is difficult to say if this text was arranged in two separate columns or in a single continuous one. The fact that the first three lines on the left do not seem to align with the first three on the right suggests that there were two columns.

Κουλ' Ταα /	Παμύρωνος
Χάρης Λωιτο(ς) ἐκ	Μουν Σαραπίω(νος)
τιμ[ῆ]ς εἰς παγαρχ( )	Κοραυ
4 [ . . ]	μ . . ρ . σ . .
Τιθοῆς Ὡρο(υ)	φ . . . . .
traces of one line	

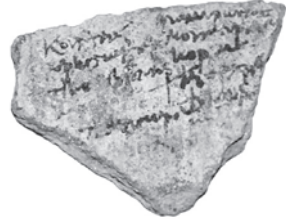


Fig. 39: O.Sabil 31 convex

2 λωιτ°, σαραπι° 3 παγαρχ/

1 The name Παμύρων is a hapax, but Μύρων is well attested in the Great Oasis, and the formation is commonplace.

2 Χάρης Λωιτ( ) appears in *KAB* 1101, 1274, and 1415, all for minor amounts of goods or money (see *KAB*, p. 63), perhaps also in l. 836. From the present text, it seems justified to resolve Λωιτ(ος) in *KAB*. A nominative Λωις appears in the Hermopolite *SB* 14.12002.4, 20.15061.21, but also in the Arsinoite and, with *omicron*, at Douch (TM Names 10235).

3 The letters παγαρχ( ) seem quite clear. Reference to a pagarch would seem surprising at this early date, but a few comparable occurrences from the fourth century have been interpreted by John Rea (*P.Oxy.* 63.4371.9n.) as references to the *praepositus pagi*. We suppose that we should resolve in this case παγαρχ(χίαν), all the more readily referring to the office of the *praepositus*.

## Concave

Πάπα Ἰωάννου  
Μῶνι  
Ψάις Καπίτωνος/  
4 Β . . . ( )

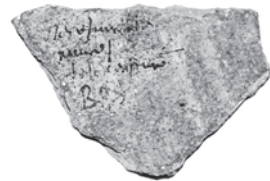


Fig. 40: O.Sabil 31 concave

1 Father Ioannes is not otherwise attested.

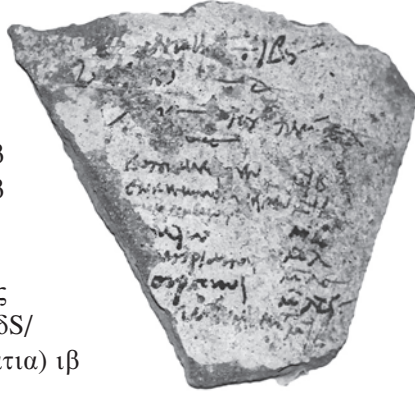
2 On Kapiton see the introduction, above.

## 32. Account

SCA 15/791/2011 (2). Fig. 41.

Ca. 10.4 × 10 cm. Written on the convex side. Broken at lower left.

ἀπὸ κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ιβS/  
 . . . . . (ἀρτ.) δ  
 . . . . . Ηύ Ταας/ μ(άτια) δ  
 4 [οὔ]τως  
 εντο . εκε . [ . ] . σεν μ(άτια) ιβ  
 ἐν ἐκτιμήσι . . . . . μ(άτια) ιβ  
 . . . . . κω . μ(άτια) δ  
 8 [Γ]ελασίφ μ(άτια) λ  
 μητρὶ αὐτοῦ μ(άτια) λς  
 . υρίωνι μ(άτια) λδS/  
 Πμοῦν . . . . . ( ) ἐκτ(ίμησιν) μ(άτια) ιβ



1 ο̄ 2 ο̄ 3 μ̄ 5–11 μ̄ 11 εκ̄

Fig. 41: O.Sabil 32

1 It is unclear if anything was written before ἀπό.

8 Gelasius may be the man of that name found in a number of Trimithis ostraka; see *O.Trim.* 2, p. 96.

10 The first letter of the name is circular, thus *theta*, *omicron*, or *sigma*. By far the commonest possible name is Συρίωνι, but *sigma* is difficult to accept because the letter presents a closed circle. Although Οὐρίων is rare, it is attested in at least one case where it is a variant of Ὠρίων (so TM Names 4746), in *P.Mich.* 20.813, where parallels guarantee the identification. All other instances, however, have been dismissed as mistaken readings for Συρίων; see F. Mitthof's comments in *CPR* 23, pp. 88–89. We have also considered the hapax Οὐραμοσι printed in *O.Kellis* 123.5, where we think that instead of σι we would read ν, but this does not (even with that alteration) fit the traces here. There are no instances of Θυρίων known to us.

## 33. Account of Donkeys

SCA 15/791/2011 (4). Fig. 42.

Ca. 9.4 × 11.2 cm. Written on the convex side. Complete.

	Τιμόθεος	κτῆ(νος) α
	Πετ . . . . .	κτῆ(νος) α
	Ψάις Λουῖα	κτῆ(νος) α
4	Ψάις Λικῶ	κτῆ(νος) α
	Κόραξ	κτῆ(νος) α
	Λαμμων	κτῆ(νος) α
	κ . . . εὐπαλαροῦ	κτῆ(νος) α
8	Τιθοῆς	κτῆ(νος) α
	Ψεναμοῦνις	κτῆ(νος) α

1-9 κτῆ

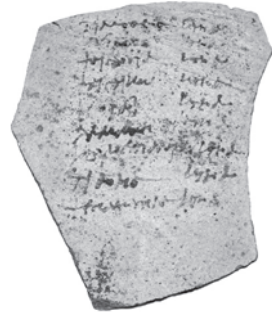


Fig. 42: *O.Sabil 33*

“Timotheos, 1 donkey; Pet-, 1 donkey; Psais Louia, 1 donkey; Psais Liko, 1 donkey; Korax, 1 donkey; Lammon, 1 donkey; ..., 1 donkey; Tithoes, 1 donkey; Psenamounis, 1 donkey.”

3 A Ψάις Λουῖα is attested in *O.Kellis* 113conv. 3, 7 and conc. 3; Ψάις Παλουῖα appears in *O.Kellis* 290.1.

4 We do not find Λικῶ or a name beginning with these letters elsewhere, and we do not think it useful to speculate about possible phonetic deformations.

6 There is a Λάμων in *O.Kellis* 206.

7 We are baffled by what we would assume is another name here. The first letter could also be an *upsilon*, but that has not led to any useful readings. The second letter seems most likely to be *delta*, and one might read κδ as a day number, but there are no other such in this text.

### 2.3. The Archive of Taa Son of Pebos

The central figure of this archive is not known from other sources. His patronymic, Pebos, is given in nos. [35], 38, 40 and 42(?), a name recorded by the *Onomasticon Oasiticum* of Salomons and Worp from ostraka found at Douch and Ain Waqfa, and even more abundantly from Kellis.<sup>10</sup> It is also found at Trimithis. His name, on the other hand, is very rare. It is listed as Ταῶς in TM Names (which wrongly regards it as feminine), with ten documents down to AD 325, ranging from the Arsinoite to the Oxyrhynchite, and with the genitive usually Ταατος, with Taa appearing only in *P.Petaus* 60.ii.31. At Kellis, the name appears as Taa in two

<sup>10</sup> R.P. Salomons and K.A. Worp, *Onomasticon Oasiticum* (Leiden 2007, rev. 2009), available at <http://etana.org/node/10500>.



papyri: (1) *P.Kellis* 1.24.18, where it occurs in a series of names cited by the petitioner in a declaration to the office of the *dux* in the year 352, the names standing between a pair of καί, in which it is difficult to tell if some of the names are patronymics or all individuals; (2) *P.Kellis* 1.23.6, a petition to the *praeses* of the Thebaid from 353, where it should grammatically be accusative (μόνον δὲ Ταα τινα τοῦνομα). Finally, TM Names lists the same form in *P.Lond.* 4.1430.65, in a canceled line and probably as a patronymic. In our ostraka, by contrast, the name is always simply Ταα, regardless of case, with the exception of no. 48.1, where Ταας appears in a place that grammatically requires a genitive. Finally, it should be noted that in some of our ostraka (nos. 34, 39, and 40) a sign like a shallow bowl or rough breathing mark appears above the end of the name, but it does not resemble any normal means of abbreviating with *tau*, or indeed anything else. It may therefore be no more than a rough breathing mark similar to that written above the name Ηῦ throughout *KAB* or a marking of a name viewed as indeclinable. This could also be true of the small diagonal sign in 37. Given the rarity of the name, the likelihood that the Taa(s) of this archive is the same as the man mentioned in the two Kellis petitions is very high. We do not know what its etymology is.

Dates by indictions appear frequently in this archive, including indictions 3 (45), 4 (38), 7 (39), 8 (41, 44), 10 (48), and 13 (42). Locating these indictions in absolute terms is helped not only by the mention of Faustianus (44), who may well be the absentee landlord of *KAB*, but by Leonides (35), there described as a former magistrate but also known as exactor and strategos of the Great Oasis in 369/370. His service in this higher office would thus furnish a *terminus ante quem* for his appearance here (which lacks an indiction), while economy would suggest that a span of 359/360 to 369/370 for the archive as a whole is probable. This would fit well with the possible identity of Taa with the man of this name in the Kellis papyri.

### 34. Memorandum about Hay

Inv. 2019–1 (SCA 16/738/2019). Fig. 43.  
6.8 × 4.9 cm. Written on concave side. Complete.

δι(ὰ) Ταα ἀπὸ χόρτ(ου) δεσμ(ῶν) ωῡ[ε]  
τὸ γ' χόρτ(ου) δέσμ(αι)

3

σπε

1 δι/ ταά, χορ<sup>τ</sup>, δεσ<sup>μ</sup>

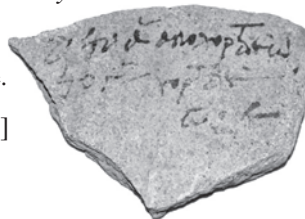


Fig. 43: *O.Sabil* 34

“Through Taa, from 855 bundles of hay, one third, 285 bundles of hay.”

1 For discussion of the name Taa see the introduction to the archive above. The bundles are a multiple of 15, on which see 19.4n. above.

### 35. Receipt for Oil and Dates

Inv. 2019–2 (SCA 17/939/2019). Fig. 44.

5.4 × 6.3 cm. Written on convex side. Broken at right.

συνεφώ[νησεν Ταα Πεβῶτος]  
 εἰς τὸ γ(εου)χ(ικὸν) μέρ(ος) [γ(εου)χ(ικῶ) ]  
 μέτρῳ ἐλαίου . [ ]  
 4 φοινίκων τῶπ[ ]  
 ἀρτάβας ἐννέα, γ[ί(νονται) (ἀρτάβαι) θ. σεση(μείωμαι)]  
 Λεωνίδης ἄρξας [δι(ᾷ)]  
 Μοναξίου υἱοῦ [

2 γγ μερ,

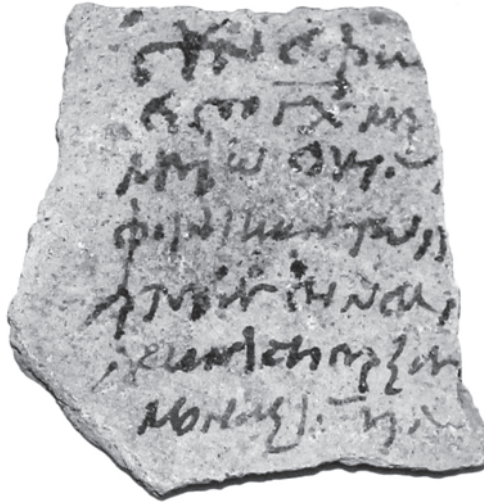


Fig. 44: *O.Sabil* 35

“Taa son of Pebos has paid for the landlord’s share ... of oil by the landlord’s measure and nine artabas of ... dates, total, 9 art. I, Leonides, former magistrate, signed through Monaxios my son.”

2 Given the likely length of the restorations in other lines, it is possible that there was no abbreviation here, although this abbreviation is already used earlier in the line. It is more likely, however, that an indication number stood here, rather than in line 4, the other possibility.

3 The amount, followed by γί(νεται) and restatement, stood in the lacuna. The trace just before the break is a diagonal at lower left, suggesting *chi* or *mu*, thus χοεῖς or μάρια.

4 Perhaps this is to be read, corrected, and restored as τοπ[ικῶ, possibly followed by μέτρῳ. For the “local” measure, referring to matia, see *KAB*, p. 48. Alternatively, one could imagine τῶν π[ατητῶν], an adjective modifying φοινίκων and meaning “bursting” or “juicy.” On this especially succulent type of date see P. Mayerson, “Pliny’s Pateta (φοῖνιξ πατητός) in Egypt, Palestine, and Arabia,” *ZPE* 136 (2001) 225–228. But we do not expect a definite article before the adjective, and reading a *nu* is doubtful.

### 36. Receipt for Straw and Eggs

Inv. 2019–3 (SCA 18/940/2019). Fig. 45.  
9.1 × 7.0 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

ἐδεξάμην δι(ἅ) σοῦ Ταα  
ἀχύρου μῶι(α) β̄ φᾶ κ̄.

3 σεσημείωμαι Ἐπα( ).

1 δι/ 2 μῶι 3 I. σεσημείωμαι

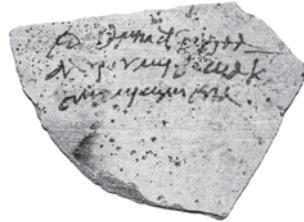


Fig. 45: *O.Sabil* 36

“I received 2 *moia* of straw and 20 eggs through you, Taa. I, Epα( ), have signed.”

3 The ending is puzzling. The letter read as *pi* could possibly be *nu*, but “one” would make no sense given the numbers in l. 2. What we expect is the name of the signer. Ἐπα is not a known name, so we suppose that it must be an abbreviated form of some name, despite the absence of any abbreviation mark. The most likely candidates with this beginning are Epaphroditos and Epagathos. By the fourth century Epaphroditos is rare, thus Epagathos is much likelier. We cannot identify him with confidence with anyone already known in the Dakhla Oasis, but an Epagathos does appear in the list *O.Kellis* 128. A similar abbreviation (Επᾱ) occurs

in *SEG* 49 2216 (fourth/fifth century) from El Bagawat in the Kharga Oasis (G. Wagner, “Les stèles funéraires de Bagawat (Oasis de Khageh),” *CRIPPEL* 20 (1999) 150–151, no. 3). Wagner assumes that it is for either Epaphroditos or Epagathos. Given the commonplace shortening of names in the Dakhla Oasis, it is not inconceivable that Ἐπα was a short form of Epagathos.

### 37. Order for Wine

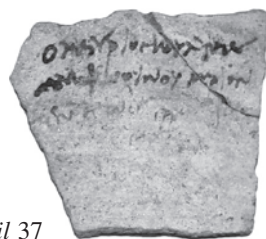
Inv. 2019–4 (SCA 19/941/2019). Fig. 46.

6.6 × 5.8 cm. Written on convex side. Complete in two joining fragments. The last two lines are much fainter than the first two.

Οὐαλέριος Κουλ Ταας  
ἀδελφῷ οἴνου μάριον  
ἐν ἡ ἰνδικ(τίωνος). ἐρρῶσθαί σε  
4 εὐχομαι.

1 κουλ' 3 ἰνδικ'

Fig. 46: *O.Sabil* 37



“Valerius to Koul son of Taa his colleague: one *marion* of wine for the 8th indiction. I pray for your health.”

1 Cf. 41, also written and sent by Valerius to Koul. Possibly Ταα' was written, not Ταας.

### 38. Receipt for Chicken

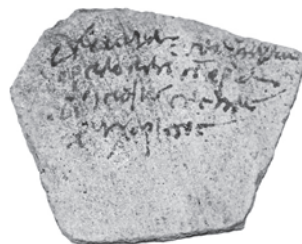
Inv. 2019–5 (SCA 20/942/2019). Fig. 47.

7.8 × 6.1 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

δέδωκαν Ταα Πεβῶτ(ος)  
ὄρνεον ἓν, γί(νεται) ὄρ(νεον) α  
δ ἰνδικ(τίωνος). σεσημ(είωμαι)  
4 Εὐχάριστος.

1 δέδωκε; πεβῶτ' 2 ἓν γι(νεται) 3 δ' ἰνδικ' σεσημ'

Fig. 47: *O.Sabil* 38



“Taa son of Pebos have (sic) given one chicken, that is, 1 chicken, for the 4th indiction. I, Eucharistos, have signed.”

4 Eucharistos is otherwise unattested in documents from the Oasis.

## 39. Receipt for Oil

Inv. 2019–6 (SCA 21/943/2019). Fig. 48.  
7.8 × 5.6 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

- συνεφώνησε Ταα  
γ(εου)χ(ικοῦ) μέρους ὑπὲρ ζ' ἰνδικ(τίωνος)  
ἐλαίου κεράμια ἕξ, γί(νεται)  
4 κερ(άμια) ζ. σεσημείωμαι  
Πισίστρατος ἄρξας.

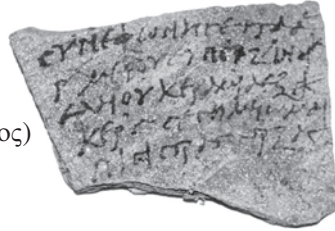


Fig. 48: O.Sabil 39

1 ταά 2 γ', ἰνδικ' 3 γι/ 4 κερ' 5 Ι. Πεισίστρατος

“Taa has paid for the landlord’s share for the 7th indiction, six *keramia* of oil, that is, 6 *keramia*. I, Peisistratos, former magistrate, have signed.”

5 On Peisistratos see the introduction, above.

## 40. Receipt for Oil

Inv. 2019–7 (SCA 22/944/2019). Fig. 49.  
6.7 × 5.1 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

- συνεφώνησ(εν) Ταα  
Πεβῶτος εἰς τὸ γ(εου)χ(ικόν)  
ὑπὲρ χωρίου τοῦ  
4 Ἱερατικοῦ ἐλαίου  
τῷ χοεῖ Παρθενι  
μάρια τέσσαρα γί(νεται) μάρ(ια) δ  
μόνα. σεσημείωμαι)  
8 [Π]αυσανίας.

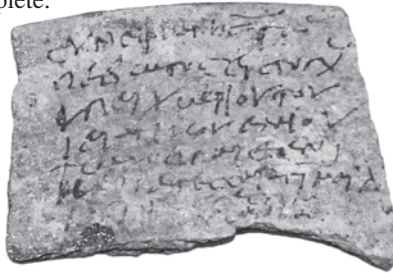


Fig. 49: O.Sabil 40

1 συνεφωνησ ταά 2 γχ 6 μάρια, μ corr.

“Taa son of Pebos has paid for the landlord’s (share) for the vineyard of the *hieratikon*, four *maria* of oil by the *chous*-measure of Partheni, that is, 4 *maria* only. I, Pausanias, have signed.”

4 A *hydreuma* ἱερατικ( ) appears in *O.Trim.* 2.465.3. In the note there, we discuss the rarity of such reference in the fourth century and the possibility that it was a fossilized usage in that case. If the adjective here modifies χωρίου directly, as it appears, it could again be an old name,

or it could be an indication that some temple estate still existed as an entity, even if its revenue did not go to any temple.

5 Partheni is found in the Coptic papyri from Kellis (*P.Kellis* 5.19, 25, 47; *P.Kellis* 7.64, 70, 71, 75, 76, 95, 102, 117). She is part of the Manichaean circle at Kellis.

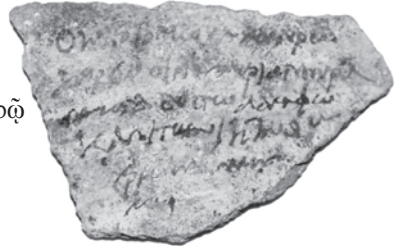
Other local *chous*-measures are attested in the Great Oasis, for example the *chous*-measure of Shoei in *P.Kellis* 7.123.15f. and the Hibite measure in *O.Kellis* 74.4 and *P.Kellis* 1.45.15. We do not accept Worp's view (*O.Kellis* 120, introd.) that the *chous* is no longer used after *ca.* AD 330; it appears commonly in *KAB*, as well as in *O.Kellis* 71–74, which we would date after the middle of the fourth century, and also in *P.Kellis* 5.45; the Coptic texts are also from the third quarter of the century.

#### 41. Order for Wine

Inv. 2019–8 (SCA 23/945/2019). Fig. 50.

7.8 × 5.0 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

- Οὐαλέριος Κουλ ἀδελφῶ  
χαίρειν· οἴνου μάρια τέσσαρα  
γί(νεται) μάρ(ια) δ δὸς τῷ ἀδελφῶ  
4 Καπίτωνι ἡ' ἰνδικ(τίωνος).  
ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὖχο-  
μαι.



3 γι' μαρ' 4 ἰνδικ'

Fig. 50: *O.Sabil* 41

“Valerius to Koul his brother greetings. Give four *maria* of wine, that is 4 *maria*, to our brother Kapiton for the 8th indiction. I pray for your health.”

1 Cf. 37, also written and sent by Valerius to Koul.

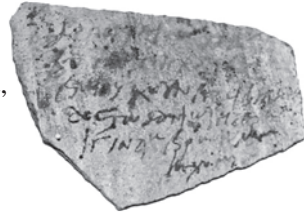
4 For Kapiton see the introduction, above.

#### 42. Order for Oil

Inv. 2019–9 (SCA 24/946/2019). Fig. 51.

9.3 × 7.0 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

- traces of one line  
 Ἀρποκρατίων(ος) Τᾱαζ  
 Πε[β]ῶτος χα[ί]ρειν.  
 4 ἐλαίου χοῦν ἕνα, (γίνεται) ἐλαίου χο(ῦς) α,  
 δὸς τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἰσιδώρῳ  
 ἰγ̄ ἰνδικ(τίωνος). ἐρρωσθαι ὑμᾶς  
 εὖχομαι.

Fig. 51: *O.Sabil* 42

4 / 6 ἰνδικ\*

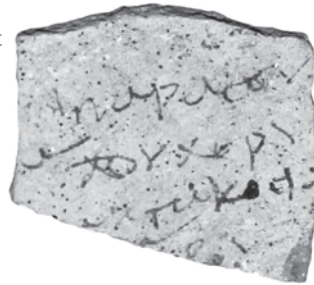
“... of Harpokration, to Taa son of Pebos, greetings. Give one *chous* of oil, that is, 1 *chous* of oil, to our brother Isidoros for the 13th indiction. I pray for your health.”

1–2 Slight traces of descending letters above l. 2 suggest that there was a previous line; this observation would agree with the apparent abbreviation of the first name in l. 2, which would be a patronymic or agent. The hand appears to be that of **37** and **41**, from Valerius, and his name may have stood in l. 1.

### 43. Receipt?

Inv. 2019–10 (SCA 25/947/2019). Fig. 52.  
 5.5 × 5.0 cm. Written on convex side. Broken at  
 left and perhaps elsewhere.

- ] . ν παρὰ σοῦ  
 ]μ( ) τοῦ χόρ(του)  
 ] ὀκτακοσία[  
 4 ] . . . ου



2 τοῦ: diagonal stroke through *tau*, probably  
 corr. from χ. χορS 3 l. ὀκτακόσια or ὀκτακοσία[ς]

Fig. 52: *O.Sabil* 43

“... I have received from you ... eight hundred bundles (?) of hay ...”

1 We expect a verb of receiving at the start, as well as the names of the writer and recipient. The traces before *nu* are obscure, but perhaps ἔσχον was written.

2 What stood at the beginning is unclear, nor do we know why an article precedes χόρ(του).

3 One would expect δέσμας] ὀκτακοσίας, but we cannot be sure that this is what was there, particularly if there was a substantial lacuna at left.

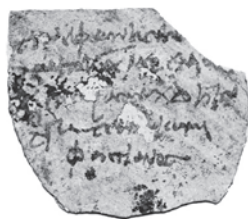


4 Before *omicron*, perhaps *beta* or *rho*, with some traces before that. On the edge of the break appear to be traces of a raised letter, presumably abbreviating some word now lost in the lacuna.

#### 44. Receipt for Oil

Inv. 2019–11 (SCA 26–948/2019). Fig. 53.  
6.0 × 5.1 cm. Written on convex side. Complete.

συνεφώνησεν  
Ταας εἰς τὸ γ(εου)χ(ικὸν) μέρ(ος) ἔλαιο(ῦ)  
χ(οεῖς) τέσσ[α]ρας, γί(νονται) χ(οεῖς) δ, ἡ ἰν-  
4 δικ(τίωνος). σεσημείωμαι  
Φαυστιανός.



2 γ̄χ̄ μερ, ελαι° 3 γι/ χ° 4 δικ; σεσημείωμαι

Fig. 53: *O.Sabil* 44

“Taas has paid for the landlord’s share, four *choeis* of oil, that is, 4 *choeis*, for the 8th indiction. I, Faustianus, have signed.”

5 Faustianus son of Aquila was the landlord of *KAB* (p. 70). Cf. also *O.Trim.* 2, p. 97 and *O.Trim.* 2.476.2n. for the various texts in which a Faustianus appears, and 27 above in the archive of Tithoes.

#### 45. Receipt

Inv. 2019–12 (SCA 27/949/2019). Fig. 54 (convex).  
11 × 8.3 cm. Written on both sides. Complete.

Convex

δι(ὰ) Τοῦ . . . ι Ψάιτ(ος) Λουῖα καὶ  
[2–3]απο . . . ( ) τῆς γ̄ ἰνδικ(τίωνος)  
[ ca. 12 ] εἶσαν  
4 τῶν μυριάδα μίαν  
σέσημ(είωμαι) . . νος  
traces of 2 lines



Fig. 54: *O.Sabil* 45 convex

Concave (not photographed; a rough transcription)

ὁμοί(ως) δι(ὰ) τῶν αὐτῶν  
ὥς Γαιο( )  
3 τὰ δι . . . ρνα τετρακόσια

Convex 1 δι/, ψαιτ̄, λουῖα 2 ἰνδικ̄ Concave 1 δι/ 2 γαι°

2 Ἀπολ( ) followed by another short name is possible, but it also could be the preposition ἀπό with a common noun after it.

3–4 Perhaps a participle ending in σάντων, but we cannot read what precedes it with any confidence.

5 There is space only for two or three letters before νος. As we want a nominative, we might read a rare name such as Ὑμνος or Γύμνος; we cannot find any name ending in -ανος that is short enough and fits the traces.

#### 46. Receipt for Hay (?)

Inv. 2019–13 (SCA 28/950/2019). Fig. 55.

2.8 × 5.1 cm. Written on convex side. Broken at left and below.

- Πεβ]ῶτος ὑπέρ  
 ]ης ἰνδικτίω(νος)  
 ] 1–2 lines entirely faded  
 4 (m. 2) ] ἕκτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)  
 ] . . ( . ) υῥ  
 ]βις



Fig. 55: O.Sabil 46

2 ἰνδικτι<sup>ω</sup>

“... of Pebos for ... of the ... indiction ... of the sixth indiction ...”

5 A number as large as 420 would suggest δέσμας as the unit of measure, and the supralinear letter could well be mu. But the letter below it forms a complete circle, with the result that *sigma* is unattractive. We have not found any oasite measure ending in -ολ( ) or -ομ( ) except γόμος, and these are always recorded in amounts in the single digits or fractions.

#### 47. Receipt for Oil

Inv. 2019–14 (SCA 29/951/2019). Fig. 56.

5.0 × 7.4 cm. Written on convex side. Broken at right; preserved in two fragments.

- συνεφώνη[σεν NN ]  
 γεωργὸς ἐλα[ίου μάρια τέσσαρα, γί(νεται)]  
 μάρια δ . [ ? φοινίκων]  
 4 ἀρτάβας [ n γί(νονται) (ἀρτάβαι) n ]  
 σεσημ(εῖωμαι) . [



Fig. 56: O.Sabil 47

5 σεσημ<sup>η</sup>

“... there has paid ... the lessee four *maria* of oil, totals 4 *maria* ... artabas of dates(?), totals artabas ... I have signed.”

1 Ταα Πεβῶτος is a likely restoration. Whether an indiction figured as in 42 is unclear, but space might argue against it.

#### 48. Receipt

Inv. 2019–15 (SCA 30/952/2019). Fig. 57 (convex).  
5.4 × 4.2 cm. Written on both sides. Complete.

Concave (no photograph; rough transcription)

δι(ὰ) σοῦ Ταας ἐλαίου(ν)  
χοεῖς ἕξ ἰ ἰντικ(τίωνος)  
ὁμοίως . ἰντικ(τίωνος)  
4 εἰς στήν . . ρ . εἰου  
ἀννῶναν. σεσημ(εῖωμαι)  
Ἀρ . ὑριανός

Convex

α. . . ρου δεούσης  
τῆς πεμφθείσης  
σοὶ . . . . υ α . . .  
4 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ-  
τῆς ἕξ . . . εως  
εἰς . . . . .



Fig. 57: *O.Sabil* 48 convex

Concave 1 δι/, ἐλαί<sup>ο</sup> 2 ἰντι<sup>κ</sup>, *l.* ἰνδικ(τίωνος) 3 ἰντι<sup>κ</sup>, *l.* ἰνδικ(τίωνος) 4 *l.* εἰς  
τήν 5 σεση<sup>μ</sup>

Concave: “Through you, Taas, six *choeis* of oil for the 10th indiction; likewise for the *n*th indiction for the ... annona. I, ..., have signed.”

## “I RENOUNCED MY CHILDREN AS AFORESAID”: A CONSENSUAL DIVORCE OF 369<sup>1</sup>

Federica Micucci *British Library*

*Abstract.* — This article offers the edition of a divorce settlement of 369 housed in the British Library. The papyrus is one of the few fourth-century deeds of divorce. In addition to the standard clauses found in such settlements, provisions for the care of the minor children of the ex-couple are also made.

*Keywords:* divorce, custody, Arsinoite nome

The papyrus edited here, now at the British Library, was part of the British Museum’s share from a joint purchase made with the University of Michigan and Columbia University in July 1925 at the time of the papyrus syndicate.<sup>2</sup> The piece was bought from Dr. A.N. Kondilios, an antiquities dealer often connected with the sale of Arsinoite papyri.<sup>3</sup>

The papyrus contains a divorce settlement<sup>4</sup> of 369, which adds to the little evidence we have for fourth-century deeds of divorce: only *P.Oxy.* 36.2770 (304), *P.Grenf.* 2.76 = *P.Nekr.* 34 (305/306), *P.Stras.* 3.142 (391), and *P.Oxy.* 43.3139 (late third/early fourth century) were previously known.

<sup>1</sup> The image is reproduced by permission of the British Library Board. For helpful comments and suggestions, I would like to thank Nikolaos Gonis, as well as the journal’s editorial board and anonymous reviewers.

<sup>2</sup> The “syndicate of buyers,” organized by H.I. Bell and F.W. Kelsey and active during the 1920s, consisted of the British Museum, the University of Michigan, Columbia University, Cornell University, New York University, Princeton University, Yale University, the University of Wisconsin, the Universities of Oslo and Geneva as well as private collectors such as Merton and Chester Beatty. To avoid the dispersal of fragments and to keep the market prices under control, Bell was made responsible for the identification and purchase of the pieces, which he would then distribute to the various collections on the basis of their interests and funding available. On the syndicate, see E.G. Turner, “Sir Harold Idris Bell,” *JEA* 53 (1967) 136–137, J.G. Keenan, “The History of the Discipline,” in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 66, and L.R. Zelyck, *The Egerton Gospel* (*Egerton Papyrus 2 + Papyrus Köln VI 255*) (Leiden-Boston 2019) 21–22.

<sup>3</sup> See F. Hagen and K. Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1930: The H.O. Lange Papers* (Copenhagen 2016) 229.

<sup>4</sup> On the terms used for this type of document, see J. Urbanik, “Divorce,” in J.G. Keenan, J.G. Manning, and U. Yiftach-Firanko (eds.), *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest* (Cambridge 2014) 155, 157.

The deed was written after the actual separation had occurred and aimed at settling any issues that may have arisen from the dissolution of the marriage. All elements common to this type of agreement are present:<sup>5</sup> Aurelia Apia, assisted by her mother, and Aurelius Arious declare that they have separated by mutual consent (“separation clause,” ll. 3–9), and state their respective rights, viz. to manage their affairs as it pleases them and Apia’s right to remarry (ll. 9–11). The ex-spouses also acknowledge that they have received all their possessions in full (including the “dowry-receipt clause,” ll. 11–13), and undertake not to bring any legal action against each other now or in the future on any grounds (the “quit-claim clause,” ll. 13–17). No penalty clause is included should either party fail to abide by the agreement. In addition, the deed settles the custody of their two minor children (ll. 17–22), which is given to the mother: the father renounces them, and, extraordinarily, will have no financial obligations. The subscription written on behalf of Arious, who is illiterate, concludes the document (ll. 23–27), and, together with the mention of Apia’s right to remarry, suggests that this was Apia’s copy of the deed.

The reference to the sole custody of the mother is remarkable, as very few divorce agreements include provisions for the care of the children. Roman law prescribed that minors should remain with their fathers, although cases of joint custody or of children living with their mothers are attested in the papyri: see further l. 18n. Regardless of the custody, fathers had the duty to maintain their children;<sup>6</sup> in our papyrus, Apia relinquishes any financial support from Arious, who, from his side, has given up his children and undertakes not to bring charges against Apia with regard to them.

Apia is assisted by her mother Aurelia Alilla daughter of Amounis. From at least the late fourth century, according to a rescript of Theodosius I, which postdates our papyrus but may have relied on earlier legislation, women could act as guardians of their children upon certain conditions, viz. the mother’s undertaking not to remarry and the absence of a *tutor legitimus* (a male relative from the father’s side). Nevertheless, mothers’ guardianship was not uncommon in Egypt in earlier times too, often as a result of arrangements made in marriage agreements or wills.<sup>7</sup> In our papyrus, Alilla is not described as her daughter’s “curator,” but her

<sup>5</sup> For the clauses typical of divorce settlements, see I.N. Arnaoutoglou, “Marital Disputes in Greco-Roman Egypt,” *JJP* 25 (1995) 19–21, and Urbanik (n. 4) 158.

<sup>6</sup> Unless they clearly had lesser means (*Nov.* 117.7): see A. Arjava, *Women and Law in Late Antiquity* (Oxford 1996) 86–87.

<sup>7</sup> For discussion, see J. Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire* (London-New York 2002) 242–257 (esp. 247, 254–257).

presence and approval may still have been required: for a similar case, see *P.Stras.* 3.142, with further discussion in Urbanik (n. 4) 165–166.

A curious feature is the mention that Apia and Arious deemed the dissolution of their marriage advantageous to them (l. 8), which avoids placing the blame for the separation on either spouse. When a reason for the termination of the marriage is provided, in mutually agreed divorces an "evil demon" is usually blamed.

The ex-spouses were living in different places, which further confirms that the separation had already taken place at the time of the drawing up of this settlement. Arious was originally from Dinnis (TM Geo 559), situated in the first *pagus*, in the southeast of the Arsinoite nome,<sup>8</sup> but resided in the *epoikion* of Harpokras, not known from elsewhere. Apia came from the *epoikion* of Philoxenos (TM Geo 1782), presumably located in the former *meris* of Herakleides. The exact location of this hamlet has been debated, but perhaps it is to be identified with Abuksa, 15 km northwest of the city of Arsinoe.<sup>9</sup> A further implication is that the agreement may have been drawn up in Arsinoe.<sup>10</sup>

Other points of interest are the dating and onomastics: the text is the first Arsinoite example of the consular formula of 369 (see further l. 1 n.) and offers the first attestation for the names Arenis and Psiax. Moreover, it adds to the little evidence we have for three names (Alilla/Arilla, Aphonis and Amoutis).

The hand is a skilled cursive with a slight slant to the right. The papyrus is complete and almost perfectly preserved, only displaying some surface damage and abrasion in the first panel on the left, to the extent that a few letters progressively decreasing in number are lost at the beginning of the lines; minor abrasion is also found along the *kollesis*, which runs at *ca.* 6.5 (bottom) to 7 (top) cm from the right edge. The losses of ink may be due to the way in which the papyrus was rolled up or folded from right to left after completion. All margins are extant (left: 2.5–2.7 cm; bottom: 2–2.5 cm; top: 1 cm); no blank space was left to the right. The text is written along the fibres; the back is not visible as the papyrus is mounted on cardboard.

<sup>8</sup> A hypothetical map of the Arsinoite *pagi* is available in T. Derda, Ἀρσινοΐτης νομός: *Administration of the Fayum under Roman Rule* (Warszawa 2006) 273.

<sup>9</sup> See T. Derda, "The Village of Philoxenos: A Note," *JJP* 31 (2001) 15–16.

<sup>10</sup> The lot of British Library papyri acquired with our text (Papyri 2652–2721) mostly includes papyri originating from Philadelpheia and consists for the vast majority of texts from the archive of Zenon.

BL Papyrus 2700 H × W = 26.8 × 25.6 cm Arsinoite nome, 28 August 369

- 1 [ύπατεί]ας Ουάλεντινιανου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου υἱοῦ τοῦ {τοῦ}  
δεσπότης ἡμῶν Οὐάλεντος
- 2 τ[οῦ αἰ]ωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Φλ(αοῦ) Οὐικτωριανου τοῦ  
λαμπροτάτου, ἐπαγομένων ε.
- 3 ὁ[μο]λογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις Αὐρήλιοι Ἀπία Ἀφώνεως μητρὸς Ἀλίλλας  
ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Φιλοξένου, παρού-
- 4 [σης κ]αὶ εὐδοκούσης τῇδε τῇ διαλύσει τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς Αὐρηλίας  
Ἀλίλλας Ἀμούνεως μητρὸς
- 5 [ ca. 5 ] ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐποικίου Φιλοξένου, καὶ ὁ γενόμενος  
καὶ ἀποπεπλεγμένος τῆς Ἀπίας
- 6 ἄ[ν]ηρ Ἀρίους Ἀτούφεως μητρὸς Εἰρήνης ἀπὸ κόμης Δίννεως,  
οἰκῶν ἐν ἐποικίῳ Ἀρποκρᾶ,
- 7 [συν]ῆρσθαι καὶ διαλελῦσθαι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας  
Ἀπίαν καὶ Ἀρίουν ἐκουσία
- 8 [καὶ α]ὐτοπροαιρέτῳ γνώμῃ τοῦτο λυσιτελὲς ἑαυτοῖς σκοπήσαντες  
τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
- 9 [συ]μβίωσιν, ἣτις αὐτοῖς συνιστήκη ἀγράφως, καὶ ἐξῆναι ἑκατέρῳ  
αὐτῶν τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν
- 10 [οἰ]κονομῖν ὥς ἐὰν αἰρήται, τῇ δὲ {α} Ἀπία καὶ ἑτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπι-  
συννορμῶζεσθαι ἀσυκοφαν-
- 11 [τ]ήτῳ οὐσῇ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον, ἣτις καὶ ἀπέσχεεν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἦν  
προσηνένκατο αὐτῷ
- 12 . . . ραν φερνὴν πλήρης. ὁ δὲ τε ἀνὴρ Ἀρίους καὶ αὐτὸς προσο-  
μολογεῖ ἔχιν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πάν-
- 13 τα πλήρης, καὶ μὴ ἐνκαλῖν μηδὲ ἐνκαλέσιν μηδὲ ἐπελεύσασθαι  
ἀμφοτέρους ἐπ' ἀλλήλους
- 14 [μ]ήτε περὶ τῶν τῇ συμβίωσι ἀνηκόντων μηδὲ μὴν περὶ ἄλλου  
μηδενὸς ἀπλῶς πρᾶγμα-
- 15 [το]ς, ἐνγράφου ἢ ἀγράφου, ὀφιλήματος ἢ ἀπαιτήματος ἢ ἐνκλή-  
ματος ἢ ζητήματος
- 16 [ἢ] ἑτέρου τινὸς τὸ σύνολον ἀπὸ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων μέχρι  
τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας
- 17 τρόπον μηδενὶ παρευρέσι μηδεμιᾶ. τὰ δὲ γενόμενα αὐτοῖς ἐξ  
ἀλλήλων παιδία
- 18 [ἀφ]ήλοικα δύο, Ἀρῆνις ἐτῶν πέντε καὶ Ἀμοῦτις ἐνιαυτοῦ ἑνός,  
ἔμινεν παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ
- 19 τρεφόμενα καὶ διοικούμενα μηδὲν εἰληφοιείης παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ  
πατρὸς Ἀρίου ἀπιπομέ-



- 20 νου τὰ παιδία. καὶ προσομολογῖ μηδεπώποτε ἐπιέναι αὐτῇ περὶ  
τῶνδε τῶν παιδίων  
21 καὶ αὐτῇ δὲ ἡ Ἀπία καὶ ἡ ταύτης μήτηρ Ἀλίλλα προσομολογοῦσιν  
μὴ ἐπελεύσασθαι τῷ Ἀρίου  
22 [ . ] . . τε περὶ τροφῶν ἢ ἐτέρου τινὸς τὸ σύνολον διὰ τὸ οὕτως  
αὐτοῦς συντετεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐπερωτη-  
23 [θ]έντες ὁμολόγησαν. (m.2) Αὐρήλιος Ἀρίους παιριλαίλυμαί  
πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκά μου  
24 [Α]πίαν αἰκουσίαν γνώμη καὶ οὐκ αἰπαιλαίσομαι αἰπ’ αὐτὴν παρὶ  
οὐδαινὸς  
25 ἀπλῶς πράματος καὶ ἀπαιταξάμιν τὸν παιδίον ὥς πρόκειται καὶ  
ἐπαι-  
26 ρτηθὶς ὁμολόγησα. Αὐρήλιος Ψιαξ Σαραπίονος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ  
αὐτοῦ ἄγρα-  
27 μά{γραμμα}του ὄντος.

2 φλ', οὐκτωριανου corr. from οὐκτωρινου, *l.* Οὐκίτορος 4 *l.* διαλύσει, αλιλλας;  
λ<sup>1</sup> corr. from σ 5 ἐποικίου: ο<sup>2</sup> *ex corr.*? 9 συνίστηκι, *l.* συνεστήκει, ἐξεῖναι  
10 *l.* οἰκονομεῖν, ἐπισυναρμόζεσθαι 11 *l.* προσηγέκατο 12 *l.* ἔχειν 13 *l.* ἐγκαλεῖν,  
ἐγκαλέσειν 14 *l.* συμβιώσει 15 *l.* ἐγγράφου, ὀφειλήματος, ἐγκλήματος 16 ἔμπρο-  
σθεν: θ corr. from ε 17 τρόφω: ο *ex corr.*, *l.* παρευρέσει 18 *l.* ἀφήλικα, ἐνιαυτοῦ:  
τ *ex corr.*, *l.* ἔμεινε 19 *l.* εἰληφύης 19–20 *l.* ἀπειπομένινου 20 *l.* προσομολογεῖ  
21 *l.* Ἀρίφ 22 *l.* συντεθεῖσθαι 23 *l.* περιέλυμαι πρὸς 24 *l.* ἐκουσία, ἐπελεύσο-  
μαι ἐπ', περὶ οὐδενός 25 *l.* πράματος, ἀπεταξάμην τῶν παιδίων, πρόκειται  
25–26 *l.* ἐπερωτηθεῖς 26–27 *l.* ἀγραμμάτου

“In the consulship of Valentinianus, the most distinguished son of our lord Valens, the eternal Augustus, and of Flavius Victorianus (*sic*), *vir clarissimus*, 5th intercalary day.

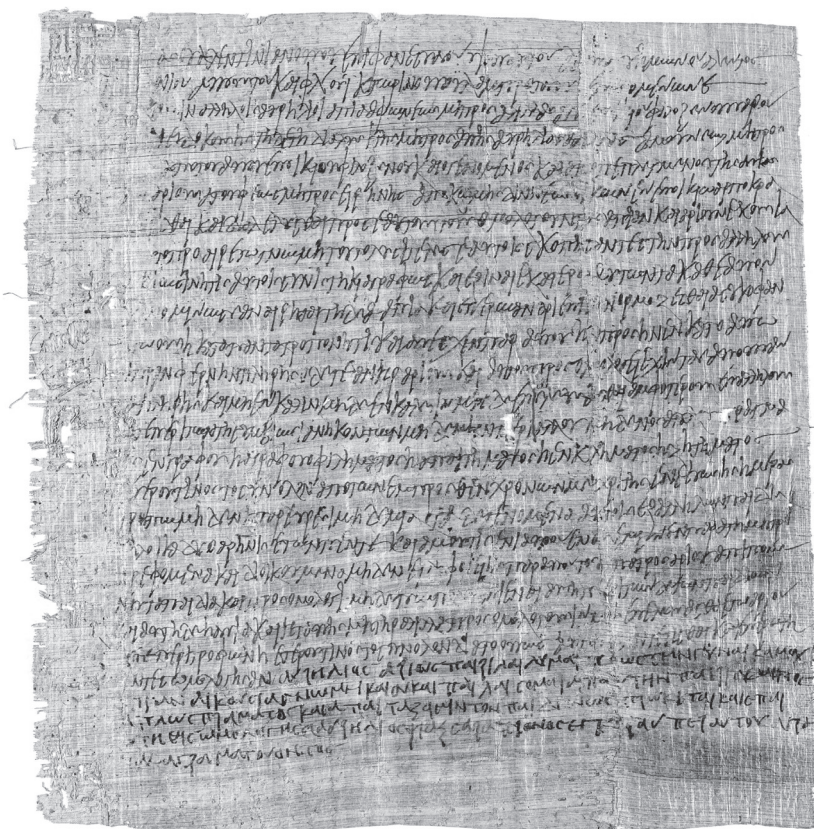
Aurelia Apia, daughter of Aphonis, mother Alilla, from the hamlet of Philoxenos, with her mother Aurelia Alilla, daughter of Amounis, mother ..., from the same hamlet of Philoxenos, being present and consenting to this settlement, and Apia's former and divorced husband, Aurelius Arious, son of Atouphis, mother Eirene, from the village of Dinnis, living in the hamlet of Harpokras, mutually agree that they, of their free and independent will, have jointly annulled and dissolved between themselves, the acknowledging parties Apia and Arious, their marriage with one another, which had been established by them without written contract, having considered this advantageous to themselves; and (agree) that each of them has the right to manage their own affairs in whatever way they choose; and Apia also has the right to re-marry another man without suffering any calumny in any way, and she also received in full from him

the ... dowry which she had brought to him. And the husband himself too, Arious, acknowledges in addition that he has all his possessions in full. And they (agree) both not to bring any charge, now and in future, and not to take legal action against one another either concerning what pertains to the marriage or indeed about any other matter whatsoever, written or unwritten, any debt or demand or charge or official inquiry or any other matter completely, from the past up to the present day, in any way upon any pretext. The two minor children born to them from one another, Arenis, aged five, and Amoutis, aged one, stayed at their mother's place, being maintained and raised (by her), without her having taken anything from their father Arious himself, as he renounced the children. And he additionally agrees that he will never proceed against her about these children, while Apia herself and her mother Alilla additionally agree to take no legal action against Arious either about provisions or about anything else whatsoever because they (?) have thus agreed. And in answer to the formal question they agreed." (second hand) "I, Aurelius Arious, have settled with my wife Apia of free will, and I will take no legal action against her about any matter whatsoever, and I renounced my children as aforesaid, and on formal interrogation I gave my assent. I, Aurelius Psiax son of Sarapion, wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate."

1 [ὑπατεῖ]ας Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ. Valentinianus Galates, son of Valens, was consul in 369 with Flavius Victor, who also served as *magister militum* at this time. Our papyrus is the first Arsinoite text of this year to be published: the very few other documents of 369 originate from Oxyrhynchus, Hermopolis, and Kellis. Although the papyri attest versions of the consular clause that never fully agree with one another, the formula used in our text is the same as that of *P.Oxy.* 63.4380.1–3, partly restored, with the addition of the article τοῦ before αἰωνίου. This formula omits three words occurring in other versions, viz. νέου after Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ, θειοτάτου before δεσπότης, and στρατηλάτου after λαμπροτάτου. See further *P.Oxy.* 63.4377–4380 introduction, pp. 74–75, and R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (2nd ed., Leiden-Boston 2004) 188.

2 Οὐϊκτωριανοῦ (l. Οὐϊκτορος). The mistake is probably due to confusion with the preceding Valentinianus.

3 ὁ[μο]λογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις. In the form of an objective *homologia*, with the third person plural as in *P.Fouad* 34.2 (70–79), *P.Fam.Tebt.* 13.5 (113/114), *P.Lips.* 1.27.4 (123), and *P.Brook.* 8.6–7 (177). This last text is very similar to our settlement.



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Divorce practices did not remain the same over the centuries. Separation by mutual consent was not subject to the legal restrictions imposed by Constantine in 331 (*CTh.* 3.16.1 = *Brev.* 3.16.1). The imperial legislation deemed unilateral divorce illicit and hence punishable, unless there were legitimate grounds for the dissolution of the marriage; more specifically, a woman could only claim homicide, sorcery and tomb destroying as justifiable reasons. The regulations promulgated by Constantine aimed at limiting divorces by imposing harsh penalties, especially on women, who could be exiled and deprived of their property: see further J. Urbanik, "La repressione costantiniana dei divorzi: la libertà dei matrimoni trafitta con una forcina," in C. Cascione and C. Masi Doria (eds.), *Fides, Humanitas, Ius. Studi in onore di Luigi Labruna* 8 (Naples 2007) 5705–5726, and Evans Grubbs (n. 7) 214. Constantine's harsh legislation seems

to have been revoked by Julian, and restrictions were re-introduced only some sixty years later, in 421: see R.S. Bagnall, “Church, State and Divorce in Late Roman Egypt,” in K.-L. Selig and R. Somerville (eds.), *Florilegium Columbianum: Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (New York 1987) 42–43. The effectiveness of imperial legislation in Egypt and the legal framework around divorce after the 360s in the East, where there had been more freedom, remain unclear: see Arjava (n. 6) 183.

– Ἀφώνεως. Aphonis (TM Nam 6609) is only attested in two third-century documents from Arsinoe, *P.Ryl.* 2.91.9 (early third century), and *SB* 14.11386.5, 18, 21 (288).

– Ἀλίλλας. There is only one attestation known to date for the name Alilla (TM Nam 21078), viz. *BGU* 2.373.3 (298), of Arsinoite provenance. The slightly less unusual form is Arilla (TM Nam 21260), which occurs in a handful of texts from the Oxyrhynchite nome mostly of the fourth century. On the interchange of liquids, typical of the Fayum, and more specifically on λ in place of ρ, see F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Milan 1976) 102, A1.a.

– ἀπὸ ἐπιοικίου Φιλοξένου. On the hamlet of Philoxenos (TM Geo 1782), presumably located in the former *meris* of Herakleides, and previously known as an ἐποίκιον from *BGU* 1.144 2.6 (third century), see the introduction and Derda (n. 9).

3–4 παρού[σης κ]αὶ εὐδοκούσης. Among divorce settlements, a close parallel is offered by *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67311.7 (569–570?), παρόντος [καὶ] συνευδο[κούντος]. Alternatively, συνεστῶς/συνεστῶσα is often used for legal assistance: see Evans Grubbs (n. 7) 46.

4 διαλύσι. The legal term διάλυσις occurs in other divorce settlements such as *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67154 r° 23 and *passim* (527–565), *P.Lond.* 5.1712.4 and *passim* (569), *P.Herm.* 29.3 (586), and *P.Oxy.* 1.129.1 (sixth century). Alternatively, the terms περίλυσις and δίαισις are also used. The Latin loanword ῥεπούδιον, on the other hand, refers to the formal notice of divorce that became compulsory from 439 with the Theodosian Novel 12: see J. Urbanik, “Marriage and Divorce in the Late Antique Legal Practice and Legislation,” in E. Osaba García (ed.), *Derecho, Cultura y Sociedad en la Antigüedad Tardía* (Bilbao 2014) 264–265. On the terminology, see further Bagnall (l. 3n.) 55–56, and Urbanik (n. 4) 157.

– τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς. Apia’s father was probably deceased. Mothers assisting their daughters occur also in two other divorce settlements, viz. *P.Stras.* 3.142 (391) and *P.Ness.* 3.57 (689). In *P.Mil.Vogl.* 3.185 (139), the ex-wife and her mother are assisted by the latter’s father.

– Ἀμούνεως. Amounis (TM Nam 1990) is well attested, but unusual in Arsinoite and fourth-century documents.

6 Εἰρήνης. With some blank space between ρ and η owing to ξ, which descends from the line above: see also l. 18n.

– ἀπὸ κόμης Δίννεως. The village of Dinnis/Dinneos Koite (TM Geo 559) was located in the first *pagus* (formerly *meris* of Herakleides), in the southeast of the nome: see the introduction and Derda (n. 8) 267.

– ἐν ἐποικίῳ Ἄρποκρῶ. An otherwise unknown hamlet, presumably located in the Arsinoite nome. There was a village named Harpokra (TM Geo 8674) in the Oxyrhynchite nome attested from the fifth century onwards (see A. Benaissa, *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome* [3rd ed., Leuven 2021] 43), but it would be too far-fetched to try to find it here.

7 [συνῆ]ρσθαι καὶ διαλελῦσθαι. The verbs are common in divorce settlements, but the combination of the two is not attested otherwise. They govern τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμβίωσιν, which occurs in ll. 8–9. The phrase συνῆρ(σ)θαι τὴν συμβίωσιν is standard in divorce settlements: see, e.g., *P.Mil.Vogl.* 3.184.18–19 (41–54; partly restored), *BGU* 3.975.15–16 (44), *P.Fouad* 1.34.9 (70–79), *P.Fam.Tebt.* 13.10–11 (113/114), *P.Lips.* 1.27.15 (123), *P.Kron.* 52.9 (138), *P.Mil.Vogl.* 3.185.9–10 (139), *PSI* 8.921 r° 28 (143/144), *SB* 26.16419.4–5 (second century). On the other hand, διαλελῦσθαι is commonly used intransitively with πρὸς + accusative, meaning “to have settled with”; it often occurs with ἀπηλλάχθαι in divorce settlements, chiefly of the sixth century: see *SB* 22.15477.57 (527–547), *P.Lond.* 5.1717.29 (560–573), *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67153.22 (568), *SPP* 3.405.3 (sixth/seventh century). The position of τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμβίωσιν, however, is problematic, as it comes after both verbs, which suggests that this is the object of διαλελῦσθαι as well, against the more common intransitive use of the verb. For the meaning “to dissolve, to end” of διαλύω/ διαλύομαι, see LSJ s.v., no. 5; for the transitive construction of the verb in the middle, see, e.g., *P.Berl.Möller* 1 = *SB* 4.7338.9 (300) τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἀμφισβήτησιν διελύσαντο. Should τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμβίωσιν be the object of συνῆρσθαι only, the translation



would be: Apia and Arious “mutually agree that that they have dissolved their marriage with one another, which had been established by them without written contract, and have settled between themselves, (namely) the acknowledging parties” etc.

An alternative phrase found in divorce settlements is ἀπεξεῦχθαι τῆς συμβιώσεως, occurring in *P.Oxy.* 36.2770.9–10 (304), *P.Grenf.* 2.76.4 = *P.Nekr.* 34.4 (305/6) and *P.Oxy.* 43.3139.5 (late third/early fourth century),

8 [καὶ αὐτοπροαίρετῳ. There is enough room at the beginning to accommodate καί. This is the earliest attestation in a papyrus of the adjective αὐτοπροαίρετος, previously found only in *SB* 6.8988.49–50 (647).

8–9 τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους | [συ]μβίωσιν. See above, 7 n.; the phrase is still attested in the sixth century: cf. *BGU* 12.2203.9–10 (571; partly restored).

– ἥτις αὐτοῖς συνιστήκει (*l.* συνεστήκει) ἀγράφως. This is one of the few deeds of divorce of an unwritten marriage; the same phrase occurs in *P.Kron.* 52.10 (138), and a similar one, with ἄγραφος instead of ἀγράφως, in *PSI* 8.921.28. An unwritten marriage is also referred to in another divorce settlement from Syria, *P.Dura* 31.4–6 (204), φάμενοι γελγενῆσθαι αὐτοῖς τὸν συνοικισμὸν ἔτι προτετελον (*l.* πρότερον) ἀγράφως.

Unwritten marriages bore the same validity as prenuptial agreements recording the financial arrangements made for the marriage. Occasionally, deeds would be drawn up at a later stage, after the union had taken place, to settle the financial duties of the spouses, also in the event of separation. Few marriage contracts are attested from the third century onwards: cf. Evans Grubbs (n. 7) 123, 129.

– ἐκατέρῳ αὐτῶν τὰ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν κτλ. Same as in *P.Tebt.Fam.* 13.13–14, *P.Lips.* 1.27, *P.Mil.Vogl.* 3.185.18, *PSI* 8.921 r° 29, and *P.Brook.* 8.16–17.

10 ἐπισυννομόζεσθαι (*l.* ἐπισυναρμόζεσθαι). The right of remarriage is granted to Apia only, which suggests that this was her copy, as in *P.Grenf.* 2.76 = *P.Nekr.* 34. For the legal framework on remarriage, see Evans Grubbs (n. 7) 220–236; for remarriage in the light of the papyri, see R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier, *The demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge-New York 1994) 124.

10–11 ἀσυκοφαν[τ]ήτω οὔση. The same phrase occurs in other divorce settlements, viz. *P.Mil.Vogl.* 3.184.21, *P.Kron.* 52.13, *P.Mil.Vogl.* 3.185.20,

*PSI* 8.921.30, *P.Lips.* 1.27.26–27 and *P.Brook.* 8.18–19; in the last two texts οὔση is restored.

11 ἦν προσηνένκατο αὐτῷ. See, e.g., *P.Mil.Vogl.* 3.184.13–14, *P.Oxy.* 2.266.9–10, *P.Oxy.Hels.* 35.1518, *P.Brook.* 8.20–21. The phrase is attested also in Ptolemaic texts.

12 . . . ραν φερνήν πλήρης. A scant trace is followed by an upright extending above the line and two shorter verticals. The traces suggest . ιραν or . ητραν. I expect this to be an adjective agreeing with φερνήν, but it could also be a noun, with φερνήν standing in apposition: “and she also received in full from him the . . ., which she had brought to him as a dowry.” ῥήτραν (“verbal agreement”) could be an option, but it is not attested in the papyri. ἀργυρᾶν is not a possible reading.

Before the drawing up of this settlement, the dowry had been returned in full. The chief aim of deeds of divorce was to record formally that each of the ex-spouses had recovered their property, so as to avoid any grounds for dispute in the future.

For the term φερνή, which technically consisted of money and objects but not immovable property and slaves, see, e.g., Evans Grubbs (n. 7) 122. Withholdings (*retentiones*) from the dowry could be made on account of children, if they were to live with their father: see, e.g., Evans Grubbs (n. 7) 191. In this case, however, the children are to stay with their mother.

– ὁ δέ τε. The only parallel is *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67131.14–15 = *ChLA* 41.1197 (566/567) ὁ δέ τε | [π]αρὼν Θεοδόσιος.

13 μὴ ἐνκαλῖν μηδὲ ἐνκαλέσιν μηδὲ ἐπελεύσασθαι. This is a form of anacoluthon: the infinitives no longer depend on προσομολογεῖ of l. 12, but we need to imply ὁμολογοῦσιν (or προσομολογοῦσιν) with a change of subject. Among other divorce settlements, the same sequence of verbs occurs in *P.Oxy.* 36.2770.12–13.

14 περὶ τῶν τῇ συμβιώσει ἀνηκόντων. See *P.Fam.Tebt.* 13.22–23, [π]ερὶ μηδενὸς [τῶν εἰς τὴν συνβίωσιν ἀνη[κ]ωτων (l. ἀνηκόντων), and *P.Brook.* 8.22–3, περὶ μηδενὸς τῶν | [τῆς συνβιώ]σεως ἀνηκόντων.

15 ὀφιλήματος ἢ ἀπαιτήματος ἢ ἐνκλήματος ἢ ζητήματος. See *P.Stras.* 3.142.15–17. The settlement is elaborate and meticulously covers all claims that may arise from the termination of the union.

17 παρευρέσι μηδεμιᾶ. See *CPR* 1.24.14 (after 158), and *P.Dura* 31.14–15 (204).



18 Ἀρηνις. A name not otherwise attested. Arenas (TM Nam 34946) and the feminine Arenous (TM Nam 18926) are equally rare.

– Ἀμουῖτις. Another name (TM Nam 16710) rarely attested in the Arsinoite nome. Interestingly, Amoutis' great-grandfather from his mother's side is named Amounis: see l. 4.

– ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐνός. In our reckoning, Amoutis would have been under one year old.

– ἔμινεν παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ. ι and ν in ἔμινεν are separated by ξ, which extends from the line above.

The children must have been staying with their mother since the separation. According to Roman law, children were to remain with their fathers, who would also be responsible for their maintenance, but arrangements for shared custody between ex-spouses could be made: see Arjava (n. 6) 86–87 and Evans Grubbs (n. 7) 198–199. The papyri offer a varied picture, where children appear to have lived with either parent. Divorce settlements reveal that in several cases couples had no children, and only rarely was the children's custody determined in the agreement. In *P.Oxy. Hels.* 35.39–42, the custody is given to the father, who will maintain the son until the age of majority; a case of joint custody is attested in *P.Cair. Masp.* 2.67154 r° 25–27 (περὶ δὲ Ἀναστασίου τοῦ τεχθέντος | ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ αὐτῶν συνοικεσίου, ἔδοξεν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἀνὰ μέσον | ἀμφοτέρων); in *P.Lond.* 5.1712.25–29, the ex-wife is pregnant, and agrees to hand over the child, once born, to the father on condition that he pays the expenses for childbirth. In *P.Flor.* 1 93.19–22 (= *P.Lond.* 5.1713), the father relinquishes the house and most of the implements to the children and the baby yet to be born. We have three cases, viz. *P.Kron.* 51, 52 and *P.Tebt.Fam.* 13, where children are mentioned, but who will take care of them is not established.

Additional information on the children's fate after a divorce may be gathered from other types of documents, such as petitions and census returns. The latter attest about as many cases of children living with their mothers as with their fathers; see Bagnall and Frier (l. 10 n.) 125.

19 μηδὲν εἰληφοιείης (l. εἰληφούης). For the interchange of οἰ with υ, see Gignac (3 n.) 197–199. υι was not understood as a diphthong.

The syntax is problematic, as this genitive does not agree with anything in the sentence. We may supply ὑπ' αὐτῆς or αὐτῆς, taking this as a genitive absolute. Otherwise, the participle in the genitive should be corrected into the dative, which would then agree with τῇ μητρὶ of the preceding line.

Fathers had financial responsibilities towards legitimate children, although maintaining them may have been more difficult if the mother obtained custody: see, e.g., the Ptolemaic regulations preserved in *P.Fay.* 22, where the father is expected to maintain the divorced pregnant wife and the child (21–29). In our case, the ex-wife renounces any financial support from the ex-husband: she may have had enough resources herself, or may have wanted to ensure that there was no contact between them.

19–20 ἀπιπομένου. The verb is mostly used in relation to property and payments: see, e.g., *P.Giss.* 1.82.21–22 (117) ἀπειπομένων πάσας | τὰς μέχρι νῦν δαπά[νας, and *P.Oslo* 3.137.15–16 (third century) ἀπιπό-  
μεθα τῶν μισθῶν καὶ τῶν ἔργων. In the subscription, the verb ἀποτάσ-  
σομαι is used instead: see below, 25 n.

22 [ . ] . . τε. Possibly ἔχτε, in which case no letter would be lost at the beginning and the line would be slightly indented. This would be followed by ἦ instead of the expected εἴτε: this construction is rare, but paralleled by *P.Princ.* 2.82.63 and *PSI* 1.76.7–8.

– διὰ τὸ οὕτως αὐτοῦς συντεῖσθαι (*l.* συντεθεῖσθαι). The ending of αὐτοῦς is doubtful, as the papyrus is damaged here, and the readings αὐτάς (i.e. Apia and her mother, “because they have thus agreed [with him]”) and αὐτοῖς cannot be ruled out. The subject of the infinitive is normally expected: see, e.g., *P.Flor.* 1.47a.16 (217; with its duplicate *P.Flor.* 1.47b) διὰ τὸ ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τούτοις συντεθεῖσθαι; *P.Col.* 10.281.21–22 (287) διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτοῦς πρὸς | ἀλλήλους συντεθεῖσθαι; *P.Cair.Isid.* 80.20–21 (297) διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡμᾶς τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συντεθεῖσθαι; *P.Lips.* 1.26.11 (early fourth century) διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡμᾶς συντεθεῖσθαι [πρ]ὸς ἑαυτούς. However, the dative instead of the accusative is attested, e.g., in *SB* 4.7474.18 (254/255) διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡμῖν συντεθεῖσθαι. πρὸς ἀλλήλους is omitted in our papyrus as, e.g., in *P.Flor.* 1.47a.16 (= *P.Flor.* 1.47b.16), and *P.Köln* 3.157.21–22 (589). As the examples listed above show, ἐπὶ τούτοις, “on these terms,” is more frequent than οὕτως; the latter occurs in *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.28.18 (διὰ τὸ οὕτως συντεθεῖσθαι [*l.* συντεθεῖσθαι] καὶ συμπεῖσθαι [*l.* συμπε-  
πεῖσθαι]), a fourth-century marriage contract. In *P.Bodl.* 46.22–23 (299/300), we find [διὰ] τὸ οὕτως μοι πεπισμέν[ον εἶναι].

23 Αὐρήλιος Ἀρίου. The subscription was clumsily written by Psiax son of Sarapion, a “slow writer.” While the grammar is correct, there is constant confusion between vowels, with αἰ used instead ε, ω in place of

ο, and ι for ει. ρ displays an awkward shape, as it is an upright equipped with a hook at the top pointing leftwards.

25 ἀπαιταζάμιν (*l.* ἀπεταζάμην). ἀποτάσσομαι is usually with the dative, in the sense of “bid farewell,” “part with,” but for the sense of “renounce” see *P.Oxy.* 63.4397.55 (545), *DGE s.v.*, no. 2, and Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 1961) *s.v.*, no. 2.

25–26 ἐπαιρτηθίς. The stem of ρ is mostly abraded. The descender is very long, reaching the line below, and its foot slightly turns to the right as elsewhere in the subscription. ἐπαι[ρ]τηθίς does not seem to be a possible reading.

26 Ψιαξ. The name Psiax is not otherwise attested.

## AN ORDER FROM THE LATE ANTIQUE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME (P.LUND INV. 41)<sup>1</sup>

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*Abstract.* — Edition of an order to pay 3 *knidia* of wine to a *symmachos*. The document is related to a Vienna papyrus, *SB* 16.12665.

*Keywords:* authorization, countersigns, *symmachos*, wine

In Erik Knudtzon's preliminary typescript catalogue of the Lund papyrus collection,<sup>2</sup> item 41 is described as follows:

Gråbrun papyrus av god kvalitet. Skrift bara på recto. Full-ständig. 4 rader. Kvitto å vinleverans i synnerligen driven kursivstil. 3–4 årh. e. Kr.<sup>3</sup>

This short document is actually not a receipt but an order to pay, and – though Knudtzon of course could not have known this – the “skillful cursive” he mentions immediately suggests the Herakleopolite style of handwriting first identified by Hermann Harrauer and Brigitte Rom.<sup>4</sup> The Lund collection is best known for its Arsinoite texts,<sup>5</sup> but it does include pieces from other locales, including the Herakleopolite nome.<sup>6</sup> Given that

<sup>1</sup> I remain very grateful to Drs. Karin Kulneff-Eriksson and Per Stobaeus for their kind and helpful assistance with the Lund collection during my visits to the Universitetsbibliotek. I also thank the editor of this journal and its two anonymous referees, as well as James Keenan, for their comments and suggestions. Any deficiencies that remain should of course be attributed to me.

<sup>2</sup> No obituary for Knudtzon (10.12.1902–18.6.1970) appears in the papyrological literature. Erkki Hakulinen, “Erik J. Knudtzon †,” *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 57 (1970) 121–122, is the fullest appreciation of his career known to me, but it unsurprisingly (given the venue) touches only briefly on his work as a papyrologist. I thank Dr. Kulneff-Eriksson for making Knudtzon's typescript catalogue and related papers available to me (and for guidance on questions regarding the Swedish language).

<sup>3</sup> “Gray-brown papyrus of good quality. Written on recto only. Complete. 4 lines. Receipt for wine delivery in particularly skillful cursive. 3–4 century AD.” Knudtzon rounds the piece's dimensions to 7 × 9.5 cm.

<sup>4</sup> “Drei byzantinische Papyri,” *ZPE* 54 (1984) 95–96.

<sup>5</sup> In particular those in *P.Lund* 3 and 4. For the acquisition of the papyri, see I. Andorlini, “Scavi e acquisti di papiri negli anni '30: Il caso dei *P.Lund*,” *Comunicazioni* 1 (1995) 45–50.

<sup>6</sup> Only *P.Lund* 6.8 and 9 among the published papyri have this origin, but among the many inedita there are other examples, e.g., *P.Lund* inv. 108 (forthcoming in *P.Aegyptus Cent.*) and 115 (in preparation by the present author).

no examples of the Herakleopolite style have been assigned to the third century,<sup>7</sup> a date somewhat later than the one proposed by Knudtzon should be sought, and comparanda suggest that the hand in fact should be assigned to the late fourth century or to first half of the fifth.<sup>8</sup>

The Lund order bears compelling similarities to a papyrus in Vienna, *SB* 16.12665. That document, an order for payment of a single *sextarius* of oil,<sup>9</sup> was dated by its editor on palaeographic grounds to the IV/V century but not assigned a provenance. Though its papyrus is not square like the Lund piece but has the rectangular shape (4 × 15.4 cm) more typical for orders,<sup>10</sup> the layout of its first line is identical: dative form of address *vacat* dative personal name *vacat* nominative personal name.<sup>11</sup> In this first line, the forms of address nearly match,<sup>12</sup> while, more tellingly, the name of the party responsible for the order, Apion, is the same. Other shared features include a distinctive rendering of the adjective *μόνος* as a symbol,<sup>13</sup> as well as the writing of (*ἰνδικτίονος*) as a sinusoid followed by two oblique strokes.<sup>14</sup> This symbol is not unknown in other Herakleopolite documents, but in the two under consideration here, it appears to be combined with a countersign, which intersects the two obliques of the preceding symbol and has itself been completed by two additional obliques. The countersigns are not identical, unsurprisingly given that the hands responsible for the orders are not the same.<sup>15</sup> But the scripts are close, indicating proximity

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Harrauer-Rom (n. 4), 95: “Diese eigentümliche Schrift ... finden wir nicht vor dem 4. Jh. n.Chr.”

<sup>8</sup> Cf., e.g., *P.Rain.Cent.* 87 (381), *P.Lund inv.* 108 (n. 6 above; refers to a twelfth indication that is probably 458/459), and *SB* 22.15585 (the protocol on this papyrus dates to 436–438), of which the second item is the most compelling.

<sup>9</sup> Regarding line 2 of the text, τῇ ξ( ), the editor writes, “Für uns nicht mehr zu ermitteln, aber für den Schreiber und für den Empfänger war schon deutlich, was gemeint war. Eine Lesart τιμ(ήν) habe ich erwogen, aber sie ist kaum akzeptabel, zumal ein Kürzungsstrich fehlen würde.” τιμ(ήν) is indeed impossible palaeographically (though not for the reason foregrounded), and it furthermore does not yield a compelling text (so also the palaeographically *suitable* τῇν ἀξ(ίαν) proposed by one of the referees). I would suggest τῇ ξ(ενίαν), cf., e.g., *P.Oxy.* 16.1853.3 (ed.: “feast”) or *CPR* 14.43, 4n. (an “entertainment”).

<sup>10</sup> Frequently the width of an order (written *transversa charta*) corresponds to the height of the roll from which it was cut. For format diversity within an archive of orders, cf. F. Mitthof and A. Papathomas, “Das Archiv des ἐλαιουργός Sambas: Unterhaltszahlungen in Öl an die Bediensteten eines Gutes (Arsinoites; 6. Jh. n.Chr.),” *ZPE* 103 (1994) 54, 84.

<sup>11</sup> In the Lund order, the scribe has used the tail of *alpha* (on Μέλα) to fill the second *vacat*.

<sup>12</sup> The Lund order lacks ἀδελφῶ and abbreviates κυρίῳ, cuts necessitated, perhaps, by the smaller size of its writing surface.

<sup>13</sup> See further 3n. below.

<sup>14</sup> See further 4n. below.

<sup>15</sup> For similar signs in identical contexts, cf., e.g., Mitthof-Papathomas, “Das Archiv” (n. 10), 58 (and associating the sign with a particular scribe: 56); and *P.Horak* 1, pp. 161–162 (associating the various signs with the *emissari* of the orders).

in time, and given the presence of the Herakleopolite style, place. It may thus be imagined that the orders have the same origin and that Apion was a *geouchos*, manager, or official who had at least one amanuensis.<sup>16</sup>

The use of an amanuensis may elucidate an additional point of interest in the Lund text, namely the expression ἐκτὸς τοῦ κυρίου (ll. 2–3), a phrase that (if read correctly; see 3n. below) is otherwise unattested. The most suitable parallel seems to be offered by *P.Lond.* 5.1786.23–24, οὐκ αἶσα (l. εἶσα) αὐτὸν ἐκτὸς τοῦ ἐμο(ῦ) δεσπότο(υ), which Bell renders (22n.), “I did not allow him [to depart] without my master’s permission.”<sup>17</sup> If Apion is regarded as the authority behind the Lund order but not its writer, the phrase could indicate that the order had been written without his explicit authorization.<sup>18</sup> If this was the case, the use of κύριος may indicate that Apion is a fellow manager or official rather than, say, the head of an estate.<sup>19</sup>

The text of the order runs against the fibers, and no *kollēsis* is present. As Knudtzon noted, its back is blank.<sup>20</sup>

P.Lund inv. 41

H × W = 7.2 × 9.8 cm

Herakleopolite nome, IV/V

- 1 κυρ(ίω) μου *vacat* Μέλα Ἀπίων  
παράσχου Ἡλείαν συμμ(άχω) ἐκτὸς  
τοῦ κυρ(ίου) οἴνου κνίδια τρία (γίν.) κνίδ(ια) γ (μόνα)  
4 *vacat* Μεχίρ ζ ι (ἰνδικτίονος) *countersign*

1 κυρμῶ 2 συμμ, ε of ἐκτός from δ? l. Ἡλία 3 κυρ, κνιδ, υ of κυρ(ίου) from α?  
4 l. Μεχείρ

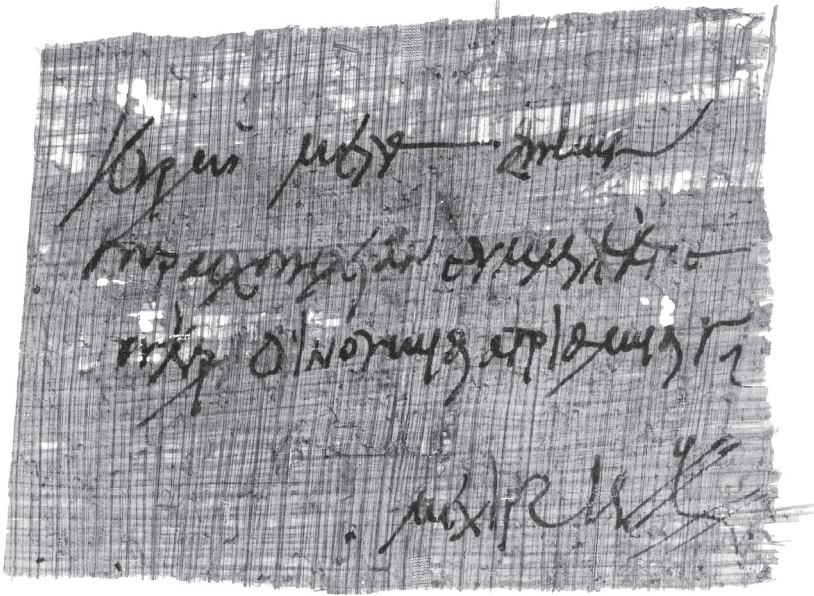
<sup>16</sup> This statement leaves open the possibility that Apion wrote one of the extant orders himself, which seems less likely than his employment of two scribes. In any case, it should not be thought that an order like ours was beneath a *geouchos*; cf., e.g., D. Hagedorn and B. Kramer, “Fünf neue Papyri des *comes* Johannes (P.Hamb. Inv. 532, 533, 538, 547 und P.Heid. inv. 1800 + 1843) und Neuabdruck von P.Harris I 91,” *APF* 50 (2004) 158–160.

<sup>17</sup> Taken up in *WB*, s.v. ἐκτός, “Ohne Vorwissen meines Herrn.” This meaning seems more typical with ἄνευ, cf. Mt. 10:29, *P.Lond.* 7.1976.10–11. Note also LSJ, s.v., I.4, “without the consent of,” citing *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 1.4.356. I owe this last reference to one of the referees, who also suggests “in the absence of” as a possible meaning for the preposition here.

<sup>18</sup> The designation was conceivably relevant for Melas’s later accounting. The unauthorized allocation of goods and resources – imaginable, of course, in scenarios that lack selfish motives – no doubt occurred more frequently than it is documented. For an appeal for it from the tightly controlled Appianus estate, see *P.Flor.* 2.189.

<sup>19</sup> “[H]ead of an estate”: In which case γεούχου or the admittedly less determinative δεσπότου might be expected in place of unadorned κυρίου, which itself is unhelpful for establishing the hierarchy of relationships; cf., e.g., T.M. Hickey, “The Workers and the Vineyard (*P.Lond.* inv. 2238),” *APF* 58 (2012) 303, n. 6.

<sup>20</sup> These traits also characterize its sibling *SB* 16.12665.



“To my lord Melas, from Apion: Deliver to Elias, *symmachos*, without the lord’s authorization, three *knidia* of wine, total 3 *knid.* only. Mecheir 7, 10th indiction.”

2 Ἡλείαν: For an (apparent) accusative where an indirect object (dative) is expected, cf., e.g., *P.Oxy.* 16.1871.1–2 (late V), πέμψον με τὸ πλῖον (*l. πλοῖον*), noting Gignac, *Gram.* 1.274, n. 1.

– συμμ(άχῳ): See *P.Harrauer* 60.10n. (“Sicherheitskräfte, Hilfspersonal und Laufburschen”) and refs. In view of the preceding Ἡλείαν, the accusative could have appeared had the word been written in full.

– ἐκτός: The scribe seems to have begun the word with δ, a letter that he did not finish. Possibly he had διὰ in mind, cf., e.g., *P.Oxy.* 1.141.3, 4.

3 κυρ(ίου): The writing differs from that in l. 1. Here the bottom right leg of *kappa* serves as the left side of the proposed *upsilon*, while the right side of *upsilon* extends above the beginning of *rho*, a trait that most immediately suggests -αρ (cf. the -αρ- of παράσχου in l. 2). The former characteristic is unproblematic (cf., e.g., *P.Bingen* 141.1 [Herakleopolite



nome, IV] and *SPP* 20.123 v° 2 [Herakleopolite nome, V]), but the latter gives pause, requiring the assumption that the scribe extended his stroke too far (or even inadvertently wrote *alpha*), before catching himself. The blob of ink where *upsilon* should have joined with *rho* may mark his recognition of this. If *alpha* is instead preferred, ἐκτὸς τοῦ καρ( ) requires explanation and is seemingly unproductive. ἐκτὸς τοῦ κερ(αμίου) *vel sim.*, “without the vessel” (meaning that Elias had to provide his own) or “apart from the *keramion*” (that was covered by another transaction) has been suggested by a reader, but (*inter alia*) every *epsilon* in the text has a rounded bottom. Offering the appealing context of military rations but the least palaeographic plausibility is the proposal ἐκτὸς τοῦ κρ(έως), “apart from the meat.”

– κνίδια: Some palaeographic features of this word and its abbreviated form later in the line merit note: In both writings, κν- appears in compressed (or slurred) form, and the δ-ι ligature of the full spelling is identical to the *delta*-abbreviation stroke combination in the truncated word. For the vessel (or measure), see T.M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt: The House of Apion at Oxyrhynchus* (Ann Arbor 2012) 192.

– (μόνα): In *SB* 16.12665.2, the editor interprets a nearly identical writing as μ(όνος). Though the rendering no doubt has its origin in *mu* with a marker of abbreviation, it is sufficiently stylized that interpretation as a symbol seems preferable. The downstroke in 12665 is considerably more developed, presumably a result, at least in part, of the space available to the scribe (cf. n. 12 above).

4 (ινδικτίονος): The symbol consists of a vertical stroke – here sinuoid (ι), but its form is actually variable (cf., e.g., *SB* 6.9593 v° 2) – followed by a pair of oblique strokes. In the Lund order and its Vienna sibling, the first stroke intersects with the preceding vertical, though practice differs (both, neither) elsewhere. See further *P.Vindob.Tandem* 18.22n., and P.J. Sijpesteijn, “Addenda et Corrigenda zu Wiener Texten,” *ZPE* 24 (1977) 105, n. 52. Other comparable examples: P.Lund inv. 108 (n. 6 above), ll. 1 and 14 of the main text.

The following countersign, which intersects with the preceding obliques of (ινδικτίονος), may be described as having a shape similar to a typographic character for κεράτιον (cf., e.g., the indexes of *P.Lond.* 5, p. 601), though its downstroke has a lengthy flourish, which itself is intersected

by two obliques. In *SB* 16.12665.3, the (different) countersign, also intersecting with the obliques before it, is alphabetic, looking like  $\iota\nu\delta_{//}$  or  $\iota\nu\delta_{\iota_{//}}$ , i.e., like an abbreviation for  $\iota\nu\delta\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ . The editor in fact read the ensemble, indiction symbol and countersign, as  $\iota\nu\delta(\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma)$ , but the failure of this interpretation to account for the superfluous writing renders it unconvincing.

## A LEASE OF A ROOM FROM OXYRHYNCHUS AT WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN ST. LOUIS

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*Abstract.* — Edition of a Byzantine lease from Oxyrhynchus between Aurelius Abraamios and the Church of Apa Hierakion. The object of the lease is a μονόχωρον.

*Keywords:* lease, contract, *epidoche*, *monochoron*, church

The present papyrus<sup>1</sup> consists of two non-contiguous fragments. Lacunae impact especially the central part of the document, its top left corner and a large part of its bottom. But the formulaic nature of the text, a lease contract, allows for a fairly complete restoration of the document, which in turn gives us approximative measurements for the papyrus, estimated at 30.5 cm high and 12 cm wide. The top, left, and right margins are preserved, although very small, and in the tall bottom margin a christogram is still visible, certainly preceding a notarial subscription now lost in the lacuna. The writing runs along the fibres, and no *kollesis* survives.

The back is blank as far as it is preserved, but a docket encapsulating the content of the contract presumably appeared there originally: inspection of comparable documents has shown that a short summary was often written vertically on the back, in a position corresponding to the vertical lacuna in our document; cf., e.g., *CPR* 7.45 (507 CE); *PSI* 1.75 (VI); *SB* 14.12194 (619–629? CE).

<sup>1</sup> The edition of this papyrus was undertaken as part of the American Society of Papyrologists Summer Institute in Papyrology, held at Washington University in St. Louis in July and August 2018. I wish to express my gratitude to Profs. Todd Hickey and Roger Bagnall, organizers of the SIP in St. Louis. Their guidance, help, and support have been of constant value throughout the finalization of this edition. A special thanks also goes out to Prof. Nikolaos Gonis for his helpful and meticulous advice and to the anonymous reviewers, whose comments have been of great help. Any remaining errors are of course my own. Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to the Department of Classics, and more specifically to Prof. Catherine Keane, and to the Department of Special Collections at Washington University in St. Louis, for the hospitality and support I received during and after the SIP, as well as for the permission to publish the present document.

The entire text, including the subscription, was written by an experienced hand, but in a quite sloppy Byzantine cursive. Cf. the nearly contemporary *P.Oxy.* 16.1893 (535 CE).

The document preserves a contract for the lease of a single room<sup>2</sup>: Aurelios Abraamios undertakes to lease a μονόχωρον (“single room,” see l. 17 n.) located in a house which belongs to a church called “of Apa Hierakion.” The church acts through two intermediaries: Apollos, the steward (οἰκονόμος) of the church, and Menas, its rent collector (ἐνοικολόγος). The room is leased for an annual rent of 900 myriads, which are to be paid in two half-yearly instalments. The term of the lease is not specified, and the lessee has the obligation to return the property at the pleasure of the lessor.

The Byzantine papyri offer a good picture of the economic position of the churches in Egypt and their properties<sup>3</sup> – which consisted of a large number of plots of land, houses, workshops, and other facilities – but the papyrological documentation for the property of the churches of the Oxyrhynchite nome in particular is scarce and chronologically scattered.<sup>4</sup> *P.Wash.Univ. inv.* 367 is therefore a valuable addition to a meagre list of Byzantine leases of real estate owned by different churches in the Oxyrhynchite nome. In addition to the present papyrus, the following documents may be noted:

*P.Oxy.* 16.1967<sup>5</sup> (427 CE): beginning of a lease contract between the καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία of Oxyrhynchus (lessor) and an ironsmith (lessee). The object of the lease is lost.

*PSI* 1.75 (VI): an incomplete document concerning the lease to a baker of a small house (l. 10, μικρὸν οἶκον) belonging to a ἁγία ἐκκλησία (name lost).

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed study of lease contracts and a list of documents from the third century BCE until the eighth century CE see H. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur μίσθωσις von Gebäuden im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* (Köln 1985). The most recent supplement to this list has been published by N. Gonis, “P. Oxy. XVI 1964: A Lease of a Room from Byzantine Oxyrhynchus,” *ZPE* 132 (2000) 191–192.

<sup>3</sup> See L. Antonini, “Le chiese cristiane nell’Egitto dal IV al IX secolo secondo i documenti dei papiri greci,” *Aegyptus* 20 (1940) 129–208; E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Égypte du IV<sup>e</sup> au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Bruxelles 1972) 34–63; E. Wipszycka, “The Institutional Church,” in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World* (Cambridge 2007) 335–336.

<sup>4</sup> The same can be said for many of the major centres in Egypt, the only exception being Arsinoe; see Wipszycka (n. 3, 1972) 58.

<sup>5</sup> The document has been revisited by A. Benaissa, “New Light on the Episcopal Church of Oxyrhynchus,” *ZPE* 161 (2007) 205.

*P.Oxy.* 71.4833 (516 CE): beginning of a lease contract between the Church of St. Mary (lessor) and Aurelia Sophia (lessee). The object of the lease is lost.

The contract is drawn up in the form of a *hypomnema*, which is typical for – but not exclusive to – the Oxyrhynchite nome. The document follows the usual scheme found in lease contracts from this nome, with the heading followed by the body of the contract and then the standard closing elements: the *κυρία*-clause, the *stipulatio*, the subscription of the tenant, the illiteracy formula, and the notarial subscription.

A noteworthy aspect of this papyrus is also the dating, February 26, 527 CE. This is the latest certain instance of the postconsulate of Flavius Philoxenus, consul in 525 CE (see l. 1 n.).

P.Wash.Univ. inv. 367      H × W = 25.5 × 5.5 cm (fr. A),      Oxyrhynchus,  
24 × 6.2 cm (fr. B)      February 26, 527 CE

- [μετὰ τὴν ὑ]πατείαν Φλ(αοῦ) Φιλοξένου  
[τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου Φα]μενώθ α ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ε.  
[τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ] καλουμένη ἅπα Ἱερακίωνος  
[διὰ σοῦ τοῦ εὐλαβ(εστάτου)] Ἀπολλῶ πρεσβυτέρῳ
- 5 [καὶ οἰκονόμου] καὶ Μηνᾶ ἐνοικο-  
[λόγου ἀπ]ὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ὁξυρυχιτῶν  
[π]όλ[εως] Αὐρήλιος Ἀβραάμιος Μουσαίου  
μητρ[ὸς ca. 6] . . . μος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς  
πόλεως [χαίρειν.] ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι
- 10 μισθ[ώσασθαι ἀπὸ] γεομηγίας τοῦ  
Φαμεν[ῶθ μηνὸς τ]οῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους  
σδ ρογ [τῆς αὐτῆς] πέμπτης ἰνδικτίονος  
ἀπὸ τῶν [ὑπαρχόν]των τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ  
διὰ τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) [εὐλαβεσ]τάτου Ἀπολλῶ οἰκονόμου
- 15 ἀπὸ οἰκ[ίας νεου]σης ἐπὶ νότον διακειμέ-  
νης ἐπὶ [ταύτης τῆς πόλεως] ἐπ' ἀμφοδου  
ἔσφθην [ ca. 10 ] ὀλόκληρον μονόχωρον  
νεῦον κ[ ca. 10 ] μετὰ παντὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ  
δικαίου καὶ χρ[ηστηρί]ων πάντων καὶ τελέσω τῇ
- 20 αὐτῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐ[κκλ(ησίᾳ) διὰ] Μηνᾶ ἐνοικολόγου αὐτῆς  
ἀργυρίου [μυριάδας] ἐννακόσιας καθὼς  
πάντες . [ ca. 6 (γίνονται)] Ϟ ϣ, ὅπερ ἐνοίκιον ἀπο-  
δώσω κ[ατ' ἔτος δι' ἑξαμή(νου) τὸ] ἡμ[ι]σὺ καὶ ὁπόταν

βουληθε[ίης *ca.* 4 ] . . [ *ca.* 6 ] ἀντιπαρα-  
 25 δώσω σοι τὸ αὐτὸ μο[νόχωρον ὥς] κ[αὶ] παρέλα-  
 βον ἐπὶ νομῇ. Κυρ(ία) ἡ μ[ίσθ(ωσις) ἀπλ(ῇ)] καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς)  
 L ὠμολ(όγησα). Αὐρήλιος Ἀβρ[αάμιος ὁ] προγεγρ(αμμένος)  
 πεποίημαι τὴν μίσ[θωσιν καὶ ἀποδώ]σω τὸ  
 ἐνοίκ(ιον) καὶ συμφ(ωνεῖ) μο[ι πάντα ὥς πρόκ(εῖται). Αὐ]ρήλιος  
 30 Ἀπόλλως [ *ca.* 15 ἔγ]ραψα  
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἄγ[ραμμάτου ὄντος.]

✠ [notarial signature.]

1 φιλοξενο<sup>ν</sup> pap. 2 ἰνq pap. 3 ἱερακιωνος pap. 4 *l.* πρεσβυτέρου 7 μουσαιο<sup>ν</sup> pap.  
 10 το<sup>ν</sup> pap. 12 ἰνδικτίονος pap. 14 qα pap.; α<sup>-</sup> pap.; ]τατο<sup>ν</sup> pap.; οικονομο<sup>ν</sup> pap.  
 16 αμφοδο<sup>ν</sup> pap. 18 το<sup>ν</sup> pap. 19 qκαιου pap. 20 ενοικολογο<sup>ν</sup> pap. 21 *l.* ἐνακοσίας  
 26 κυρ/ pap.; επερ/ pap. 27 ὠμολ/ pap.; προγεγρ/ pap. 29 ενοικ/ pap.; συμφ/ pap.  
 31 αυτο<sup>ν</sup> pap.

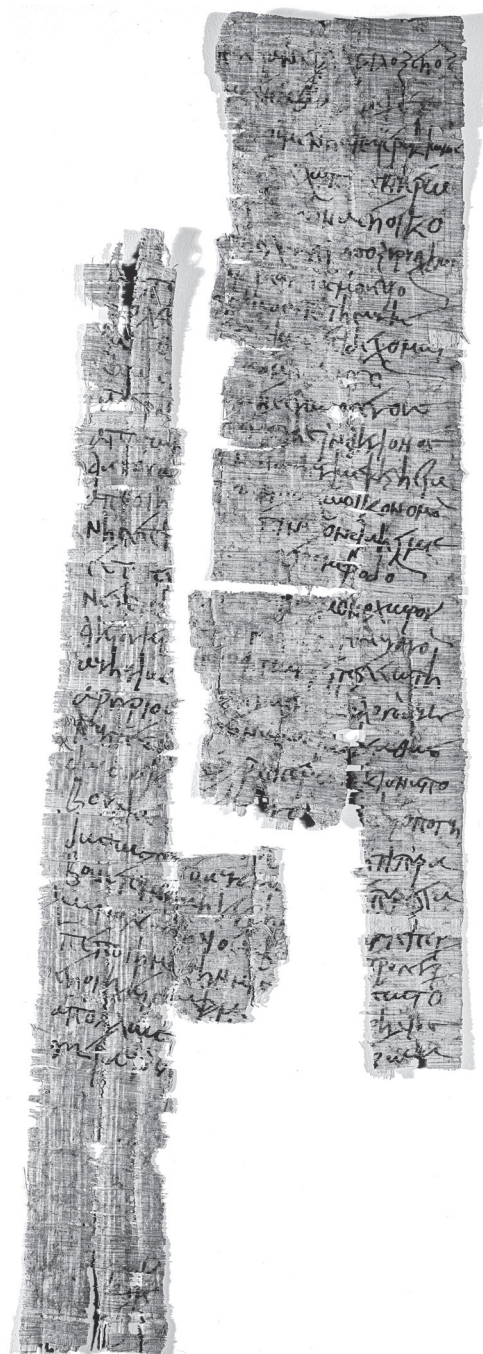
“The year after the consulship of Flavius Philoxenus, *vir gloriosissimus*, Phamenoth 1, indiction 5.

To the holy church called ‘of Apa Hierakion,’ through the most pious Apollos, *presbyteros* and *oikonomos*, and Menas, rent collector, from the illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, Aurelius Abraamios son of Mousaios, whose mother is ... from the same city, greetings.

I voluntarily undertake to lease from the first day of the month Phamenoth of the present year 204/173 of the same fifth indiction from the property belonging to the holy church through you, the most pious Apollos *oikonomos*, out of a house facing south, located in the same city in the quarter within ..., a complete single room ... with every right attached to it and all its appurtenances, and I will pay to the same holy church through its rent collector Menas nine hundred myriads of silver, as ... total myriads 900, which rent I will pay yearly, half every six months, and whenever you may wish ... I will surrender the same single room to you as I received it for possession. The lease is binding, in a single copy, and in answer to a formal question, I gave my consent.

I, the above-mentioned Aurelius Abraamios, have made the lease, and I will pay the rent, and I agree with everything as written above. I, Aurelius Apollos ... wrote for him, since he is illiterate.”

1 The date corresponds to February 26, 527 CE. So far, the post-consulate of Flavius Philoxenus had not been attested after December 31, 526 CE. See *P.Oxy.* 83.5365. A questionable case is *BGU* 19.2822, on which see R. Ast, “Notes on BGU XIX,” *ZPE* 157 (2006) 163. The consul





of 526, Flavius Olybrius, is first attested on July 12, 527 CE. Cf. R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (2nd ed.; Leiden 2004) 204–205.

3 ἀπα Ἱερακίωνος: The church is named after the bishop who was its founder; see A. Papacostantinou, “Sur les évêques d’Oxyrhynchos,” *ZPE* 111 (1996) 172. Hierakion does not appear in K.A. Worp, “A Checklist of Bishops in Byzantine Egypt (A.D. 325–ca.750),” *ZPE* 100 (1994) 283–318. Other documents mentioning a church of Apa Hierakion at Oxyrhynchus are *P.Mert.* 3.124.3 (520 CE); *PSI* 7.791.8, 20 (VI); *P.Oxy.* 7.1053 v° 23 (VI–VII); 18.2206.4 (VI); 24.2419.3 (VI; cf. *BL* 10.248); 67.4620.22 (V/VI); *PSI* 8.953.11 (567–568 CE); and *P.Lond.* 5.1762.4 (VI/VII). See L. Antonini, *Aegyptus* 20 (1940) 172–183 for a list of the churches from Oxyrhynchus attested in papyri (in need of an update); A. Papacostantinou, “La liturgie stationale à Oxyrhynchos dans la première moitié du 6<sup>e</sup> siècle. Réédition et commentaire du P.Oxy. XI 1357,” *RÉB* 54 (1996) 135–159; and A. Luijendijk, “On and Beyond Duty: Christian Clergy at Oxyrhynchus,” in R.L. Gordon, G. Petridou, and J. Rüpke (eds.), *Beyond Priesthood* (Berlin-Boston 2017) 103–126.

4–6 πρεσβύτεροι often appear as stewards (οἰκονόμοι) of the Egyptian churches. They were nominated by the bishop and chosen from the local clergy for the purpose of managing the property of the church: Wipszycka (n. 3, 1972) 134–141; G. Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten* (München-Leipzig 2002) 163–164; Wipszycka (n. 3, 2007) 335–336.

– εὐλαβ(εστάτου): The epithet “most pious” is supplemented in the lacuna, because it is typically attributed to clergymen; cf. *P.Oxy.* 71.4833.6; *P.Mert.* 3.124.5. See B. Mutschler, “Christlicher Brief an Mönche,” *ZPE* 94 (1992) 107. The estimated size of the lacuna is too small to fit the entire length of the epithet, which was most likely abbreviated.

5 ἐνοικολόγου: The word is also attested in papyri with the alternative spelling ἐνοικιολόγος. The ἐνοικολόγος, generally translated as “rent collector,” acted as manager and agent, and his primary roles were to collect rent – hence the direct link with ἐνοίκιον – and to conclude legal agreements. For the several other functions of the ἐνοικολόγος see E. Wipszyska, “Deux papyrus concernant les grands domaines byzantins,” *Cd’É* 43 (1968) 346; *CPR* 14.45 introd.; *P.Oxy.* 56.3870.7 n; *P.Oxy.* 58.3958.12 n. The ἐνοικολόγος starts to appear mainly in papyri from the Byzantine period. A list is given in *P.Oxy.* 56.3870.7 n., to which now add *SB* 20.14657 (300–310 CE); *SB* 20.15183 (V–VI); *SB* 22.15273

(V–VI); *CPR* 14.45 (V–VI); *P.Wash.Univ. inv.* 367 (527 CE); *P.Pintaudi* 43 (VI); *SPP* 20.157 (VI); *P.Oxy.* 58.3958 (614 CE); *SPP* 3.105 (VI–VII); *SB* 20.14282 (VII); *SB* 26.16343 (VII); *SPP* 8.743 (VIII), in addition to an unpublished papyrus from the Oxyrhynchus collection belonging to the Egypt Exploration Fund (inv. 54 1B.26(E)/B(5)a+53 1B.26(D)/A(2)a), a contract of a rent-collector from 596 CE, edited by Margaret Mountford in her PhD thesis, “Documentary Papyri from Roman and Byzantine Oxyrhynchus” (University College London 2012) no. 022.

8 ] . . . μος: It is certain that the preceding lacuna would have contained the name of Aurelius Apollos’ mother. The profession of Aurelius Apollos may have followed. A tentative reconstruction might feature the compound -τομος, meaning “cutter.” Considering the relatively small size of the lacuna, one could only expect a short compound that specifies Aurelius’ profession, such as λατόμος, “stone-cutter.”

10–11 μισθ[ώσασθαι ἀπὸ] γεομηγίας τοῦ Φαμεν[ῶθ μηνὸς τ]οῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους: The beginning of the lease and the day of execution of the contract coincide. See Müller (n. 2) 193–194 and J. Modrzejewski, “Additional Provisions in Private Legal Acts in Greco-Roman Egypt,” *JJP* 7 (1954) 221–222.

14 εὔλαβεσ]τάτου: See l. 4.

17–18 ἐπ’ ἀμφοδου ἔσωθεν [: Although the space seems quite tight for the reading of ἔσωθεν, the occasional narrow shapes of *theta* (cf. καθώς, l. 21) and *omega* (cf. ἐνεστῶτος, l. 11) occurring in this handwriting make the supplement plausible, but the alternative reading ἔσσωθεν cannot be excluded. After ἐπ’ ἀμφοδου, the name of the quarter is expected in the lacuna. To my knowledge, there are no other attested cases of ἀμφοδα followed by ἔσωθεν. However, since quarters are commonly named after local landmarks or connected with a direction (e.g. νότου, βορρᾶ, λιβός, μέση), it is likely that ἔσωθεν refers to the topographical boundaries of the area in which the quarter is located. Cf. *PSI* 3.175.12–13 (462), ἐπ’ ἀμφοδου ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Θοήριδος; *SB* 1.5825.2 (323–642), ἐπ’ ἀμφοδου Τετραπύλου ἔσωθεν ἐποικίου καλουμ[ένου κτλ. An interesting case in which, according to the editors, the word ἔσωθεν is used as part of the name of a specific piece of machinery can be found in *P.Oxy.* 70.1990 (pp. 140–142) = *P.Oxy.* 16.1990 (591). Here, a petitioner requests an axle to be used in his estate irrigator, called Ἐσωθεν τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήματος, “Inside the same holding.”

Extensive studies on the subject of the town quarters in Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt are J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchus in der Kaiserzeit. Studien*

zur *Topographie und Literaturrezeption* (Frankfurt 1990); R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (London-New York 2002). See also K.A. Worp, "Town Quarters in Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Early Arab Egypt," in P.M. Sijpesteijn and L. Sundelin (eds.), *Papyrology and the History of Early Islamic Egypt* (Leiden 2004) 227–248. For a list of Oxyrhynchite quarters, see Krüger, *Oxyrhynchus*, 265–308; S. Daris, "I quartieri di Ossirinco: Materiali e note," *ZPE* 132 (2000) 211–221; Alston, *City*, 137–138, 388, n. 12.

– ὁλόκληρον μονόχωρον: Although the ink is very faded, the restoration of ὁλόκληρον is almost certain. The term is attested in three out of the five contracts for the lease of a μονόχωρον (cf. *P.Oxy.* 68.4693.12; *SB* 26.16796.11; *P.Oxy.* 47.3355.3) and often in connection with other living spaces. On the translation of ὁλόκληρον as "complete," see R. Hatzilambrou, "Two Byzantine Leases of House-Property from the Beinecke Library Collection," *JJP* 32 (2002) 38, n. 6. The term μονόχωρον refers most likely to a single-room and is exclusively attested in papyri from Oxyrhynchus. The earliest attestation occurs in *P.Oxy.* 42.3057.13, a private letter from the first or second century CE, in which the key of a μονόχωρον is mentioned by the sender. The term begins to appear more frequently in lease contracts for houses during the Byzantine period, when the subdivision of urban properties becomes a common source of income; see H. Saradi, "Privatization and Subdivision of Urban Properties in the Early Byzantine Centuries: Social and Cultural Implications," *BASP* 35 (1998) 30–43. The list of documents referring to a μονόχωρον includes five lease contracts: *SB* 28.17004 (426–475 CE); *P.Oxy.* 16.1957 (430 CE); *P.Oxy.* 68.4693 (466 CE); *SB* 26.16796 (518 CE); *P.Wash.Univ. inv.* 367 (527 CE), and one loan of money: *P.Oxy.* 47.3355 (535 CE). In *P.Oxy.* 16.1957.12 the μονόχωρον is said to be situated ἐν τοῦ ἐθρίου (*l. τῷ αἰθρίῳ*) "within the central yard." In *P.Oxy.* 47.3355 and in the present papyrus, the μονόχωρον is said to be part of a house. For a survey on the possible meaning of the term, see especially Hatzilambrou, *JJP* 32 (2002) 40. See also G. Husson, *Oikia. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs* (Paris 1983) 32, 209, n.2; G. Husson, "P. Oxy. 47.3355: 'monochoron, aithra, artopsugion,'" *ZPE* 61 (1985) 69; G. Husson, "L'habitat monastique en Égypte à la lumière des papyrus grecs, des textes chrétiens et de l'archéologie," in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron* (Cairo 1979) 206.

18 κ[ ca. 9 ]: A likely solution seems to be κ[αὶ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ νότον]; cf. *P.Oxy.* 7.1038.24–25; as the estimated width of the lacuna is rather small a crasis κ[αὐτὸ could also be expected.

21 [μυριάδας]: Rents in Byzantine lease contracts from Oxyrhynchus were mainly paid in gold *solidi*, carats, or myriads. Although only a few Oxyrhynchite lease contracts from the second, third, and fourth decade of the sixth century are preserved, the comparison with contemporary rent rates – along with the presence of ἀργυρίου – has favoured the restoration of myriads as the missing currency in the lacuna; cf. *SB* 26.16796 (518), a lease of a μονόχωρον at a yearly rate of 6 carats (= ca. 600 myriads); *PSI* 1.75 (VI), a lease of a μικρὸν οἶκον at 1/3 gold *solidi* (= ca. 800 myriads); *SB* 16.12583 (500), a lease of a μικρὰν οἰκίαν at 8 carats (= ca. 800 myriads); *PSI* 5.466 (518), a lease of an entire house at 2/3 gold *solidi* (= ca. 1.600 myriads). See Müller (n. 2) 350–361 for a list of leases of buildings, supplemented by Gonis (n. 2) 191–192; K.A. Worp, “Bemerkungen zur Höhe der Wohnungsmiete in einigen Papyri aus dem byzantinischen Ägypten,” *Tyche* 3 (1988) 273–275 for a standardisation of the prices. For a discussion on currencies and exchange rates during the sixth century, see J. Banaji, *Exploring the Economy of Late Antiquity: Selected Essays* (Cambridge 2015) 91–109.

22 πάντες: This appears to be the most satisfactory reading. The first letter on the line has some scribbles on it, but it is unlikely that the scribe was attempting to cross out a letter. The text in the lacuna is hard to restore, since there are no satisfying Oxyrhynchite parallels to be found, especially not in this part of the text. A potential meaning of the phrase could be “as all (the parties/tenants) have agreed upon”; cf. *P.Oxy.* 56.3863.11–13 (V): καθὼς εσυνεφωνήσαμεν/ (l. συνεφωνήσαμεν) τὸν τόκον μετὰ Ἰωάννου, “as we have agreed the interest with John.”

– The curved symbol for myriads is not very clear because of the damages in this area of the document. The shape of the symbol for 900, on the contrary, can be easily recognised as an arrow pointing upwards, of which the right stroke of the head closes on the vertical bar with a semi-circle; cf. *SB* 20.14217.2. In the present document, the semi-circle is rather small and positioned at the top of the vertical bar. Another vertical stroke appears in the middle of the same arrow, which probably is a trace of a letter from the following line.

23 κ[ατ’ ἔτος δι’ ἑξαμῆ(νου)] τὸ [ἥμι]σϑ: The most common arrangement in Byzantine house leases from Oxyrhynchus is a payment in two half-year instalments, see R. Hatzilambrou, “A Lease of House-Property from Byzantine Oxyrhynchus,” *BASP* 41 (2004) 89–90. See also Müller (n. 2) 224–225.

23–24 δόταν βουληθεῖ[ης ... ἀντιπαραδώσω: The obligation of the lessee to return the property according to the will of the lessor becomes common in leases from the fifth century on. See Müller (n. 2) 187–189, 271.

27 The end of the body of the contract and the beginning of the subscription are marked by an L-shaped *paragraphos* at the beginning of the line. Although one would expect here a shift in handwriting (cf., e.g., *BGU* 19.2817 [500]), the whole document seems to have been written and subscribed by the same person. It is possible, but only hypothetical, that the same Aurelius Apollos, who acts as οἰκονόμος of the Church, could also have been the writer of the contract.

32 ✠[: undoubtedly, a notarial signature would have followed. The christogram has an extra horizontal beam, resulting in a star-like shape. This particular variation of the christogram preceding a notarial subscription only appears in Oxyhynchite documents, see J.M. Diethart and K.A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* (Wien 1986) 13, 77–89.

## A LAND LEASE FROM OXYRHYNCHUS AT WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN ST. LOUIS

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*Abstract.* — Edition of a papyrus fragment of a land lease, dating to the fifth/sixth century CE. The object of the lease is probably the half share of an irrigated farm. The papyrus adds new evidence to the small corpus of Byzantine land leases from the Oxyrhynchite nome.

*Keywords:* land lease, *mechane*, irrigated farm, rent roll

P.Wash.Univ. inv. 108<sup>1</sup> was purchased or excavated by W.M.F. Petrie during his second mission at al-Bahnasa, ancient Oxyrhynchus, in 1922. The papyrus, obtained during the same season along with other pieces, was then acquired by Washington University in St. Louis after paying a subscription to the British School of Archeology.<sup>2</sup>

The papyrus preserves seven lines of text written along the fibers. The *verso* is blank. A *kollesis* runs at about 3 cm from the left edge. The fragment is broken on all sides and is marred by numerous holes, including a large one in its upper right corner. The surface of the first three lines has been rubbed in places, resulting in a loss of ink.

The text is written in a fluent professional hand, a common one for legal documents, which can be compared to the script of documents dated between the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century CE, such as *P.Oxy.* 68.4688 (442?), 70.4780 (457), 49.3512 (492) and 67.4615 (505).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This papyrus has been studied in the framework of the American Society of Papyrologists' Summer Institute in Papyrology held at Washington University in St. Louis (July/August 2018). I would like to thank Todd Hickey, Roger Bagnall, Peter van Minnen, and the anonymous reader for their feedback and suggestions. In addition, I am grateful to Catherine Keane, Chair of the Department of Classics at Washington University, and Joel Minor from the Department of Special Collections, Washington University Library, for hosting the SIP and supporting my stay in St. Louis. The last stages of research have been conducted as part of the project "Notae: not a written word but graphic symbols" that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement No. 786572) (PI Antonella Ghignoli).

<sup>2</sup> For the acquisition history see T.M. Hickey, "Papyri from the Summer Institute in Papyrology at Washington University in St. Louis: Introduction," *BASP* 57 (2020) 297–301.

<sup>3</sup> The images of these papyri can be viewed on the website <http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/>.

The fragment bears the remains of a land lease from the Oxyrhynchite nome. The origin can be inferred from the provenance of the papyrus and is corroborated by the formulary, such as the phrase in l. 5 which is found exclusively in documents from this region.<sup>4</sup> The papyrus has special interest as a new addition to the corpus of Byzantine land leases from the Oxyrhynchite nome, which has yielded a relatively small number of these documents in comparison with other districts such as the Arsinoite or Hermopolite nomes.<sup>5</sup>

The beginning of the document, containing information such as a date and the identities of lessor and lessee, is not preserved. Nevertheless, the abstract honorific λογιότης in l. 1 indicates that the landowner is likely to have been an *ekdikos* or *scholastikos*.

The object of the lease was in all likelihood the half share of a μηχανή, an artificially irrigated unit of cultivation.<sup>6</sup> Although the term μηχανή is not preserved on the papyrus, it can be supplied after the expression ἥμισυ μέρος in l. 2.<sup>7</sup> The turn of phrase in ll. 3–5 is commonly found in leases of μηχαναί to elaborate characteristics of a plot, such as its plants and a cultivable area.<sup>8</sup> More tellingly, the participle τῶν συγγεωργουμένων in l. 4 is found exclusively in leases of μηχαναί, where it refers to the *arourai* of land associated with the irrigated plot. The phrasing of l. 3, however, is peculiar in that it does not reproduce the typical construction found in Oxyrhynchite land leases but conforms rather to the formulary employed in land leases from other locales, such as Aphrodite, Antinoopolis, and Hermopolis.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See note to l. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. I.F. Fikhman, "Oxyrhynchos und Hermupolis in byzantinischer Zeit (eine vergleichende Betrachtung der Pachtverträge)," in id., *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im spätantiken Ägypten. Kleine Schriften*, ed. A. Jördens (Stuttgart 2006) 145–151; see A. Jördens, "Die Agrarverhältnisse im spätantiken Ägypten," *Laverna* 10 (1999) 126–131 with 127, n. 40 for a list of Oxyrhynchite land leases; see also the list published by R. Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni: terra, lavoro e proprietà senatoria nell'Egitto tardoantico* (Bari 2001) 189–191, with the additions by N. Gonis, introduction to *P.Oxy.* 82.5324. To these add *P.Oxy.* 83.5367 (537?), 5370 (mid sixth century), 5374 (552/553), 5380 (578), 5383 (583), and the present text.

<sup>6</sup> For the meaning of μηχανή as an artificially irrigated plot of land see N. Gonis, "A Late Byzantine Land Lease from Oxyrhynchus: *P.Oxy.* XVI 1968 Revised," *Tyche* 15 (2000) 93 and T.M. Hickey and J. Keenan, "P. Lond. V 1876 descr.: Which Landowner?" *Cd'Ég* 79 (2004) 242 with n. 8.

<sup>7</sup> See the commentary below.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *PSI* 1.77.16–20 (551), *P.Berl.Zill.* 7.12–18 (574), *P.Oxy.* 83.5383.18–20 (583) and *SB* 26.16722.2–3 (late sixth century).

<sup>9</sup> See the commentary below.



A point of interest is that the contract apparently did not indicate a precise amount for the rent, which was to be paid according to the landowner's rent roll (ἀπαίτησίμῳ, l. 6) by the private, "receiving" measure in use on the estate (παραλῆμπτικῷ μέτρῳ, l. 7). The existence of rent rolls could provide an explanation for the scarcity of land leases from the Oxyrhynchite nome: it has been argued that rent rolls could have replaced the written leases<sup>10</sup> or that they could have been complementary to them,<sup>11</sup> with a lease being drawn up when the situation warranted (e.g., when the land acquired a new owner) and the rent roll used thereafter.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, rent rolls were linked to large estates, which seem to have dominated the rural landscape of the Oxyrhynchite nome, diminishing the need for traditional legal instruments governing tenancy.<sup>13</sup>

P.Wash.Univ. inv. 108    H × W = 8.6 × 10.8 cm    Oxyrhynchite nome, V/early VI

1            τῇ σ[ῇ] λογιότητι ἐν πεδ[ι] . [  
 2                    ]μένου ἥμισυ μέρος [ . ]λ[  
 3                    ]ιοις κ[αὶ] φοίνιξ[ι] καὶ π[  
 4                    τῷ συνγεωργουμένῳ  
 5    εἰς σπορά]ν ὧν ἐὰν αἰρῶμαι γενημάτων  
 6                    ] ἀπαίτησίμῳ. τὸν δὲ φόρον . . [  
 7            παραλῆμπτικῷ μέτρῳ τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ

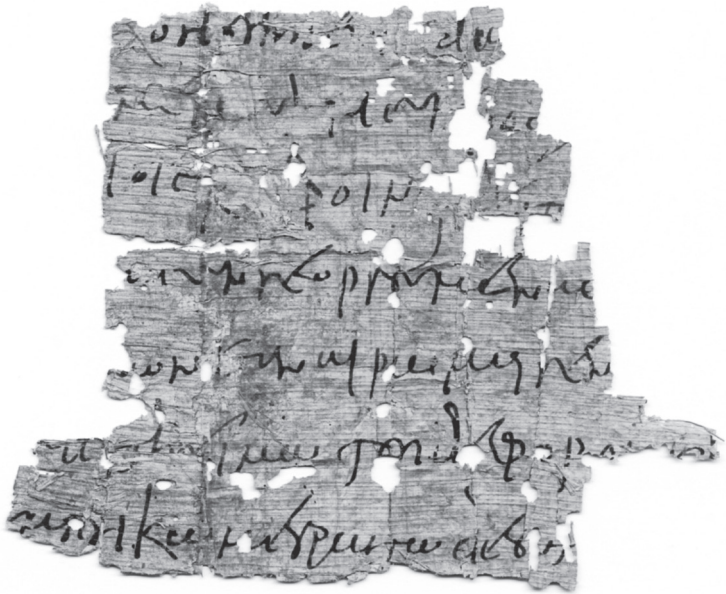
4 l. συνγεωργουμένων

<sup>10</sup> See J. Rowlandson, "Crop Rotation and Rent Payment in Oxyrhynchite Land Leases: Social and Economic Interpretations," in A. Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists* (Copenhagen 1994) 499 and Jördens (n. 5) 138–139.

<sup>11</sup> See Mazza (n. 5) 110 and R. Mazza, "Gli affitti fondiari dell'Ossirinichite nell'età tardoantica," in B. Palme (ed.), *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Wien 2007) 441.

<sup>12</sup> In addition, Mazza (n. 11) 440 recalls the role played probably by *relocatio tacita* (implicit renewal of the lease). See also T.M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt* (Ann Arbor 2012) 20.

<sup>13</sup> The arguments provided for the scarcity of Oxyrhynchite land leases in light of the rural social relations of the region are well synthesized and discussed by Gonis (n. 6) 94–96.



“... (belonging) to Your Eloquence in the plain(s) ... the half part of ... and with date palms and ... (with the *arourai*) farmed with it ... for the sowing of whatever crops I choose ... (according to) the rent roll. The rent ... by the receiving measure at the proper time ...”

1 This line belongs to the opening section of the contract, in which the lessee expresses his willingness to lease a parcel of land from the addressee. The honorific abstract τῇ σ]ῃ λογιότητι was probably preceded by ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων: see *P.Flor.* 3.325.7 (489) ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ ὑμῶν λαμπρότητι, “from the property of Your Splendour” and *P.Oxy.* 82.5331.7 (474) ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῷ σῷ μεγέθει, “from the property of Your Magnificence.” This formula is then followed by the geographical location of the lease object: see *P.Mich.* 11.611.7–9 (412) ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν (*l. ὑμῖν*) ἐν πεδίοις κώμης Πλελῶ ἐδάφους Παειανοῦ καλουμένου, “from your property situated in the plains of the village Plelo, in the field called Paeianos.”

– τῇ σ]ῃ λογιότητι: the honorific abstract, with its corresponding adjective λογιώτατος, “most eloquent, most learned,” is a common attribute for *ekdikoi* and *scholastikoi*.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Cf. H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen* (Helsinki 1949) 89 and O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrusurkunden* (Giessen 1930) 27–28.

– ἐν πεδι . [ : the semicircle after πεδι could be the first bowl of an *omega* for ἐν πεδίῳ or it could be an *omicron* open on top (cf. the first *omicron* of λογιότητι l. 1) for ἐν πεδίῳ[ις]. Both expressions are well attested, although ἐν πεδίῳ[ις] is favored among Oxyrhynchite land leases.

2 ]μένου: this ending could belong to the participle καλου]μένου, which would refer to a specific field among the lessor's property, as in *P.Mich.* 11.611.7–9 quoted above and *P.Oxy.* 82.5337.9–10 (493).

– ἥμισυ μέρος [ . ]λ[ : the bowl of the *mu* of ἥμισυ seems to connect directly to the following *iota* without its common ligature sign, but the right part of *mu* could as well be lost, abraded between the first vertical stroke of the letter and the *iota*; the vertical line descending from the bowl of *upsilon* belongs to the *mu* of μέρος and it is followed by traces of the top of *epsilon* and of the loop of *rho*. The diagonal trace visible at the end of the line is likely to be the left stroke of a *lambda*.

A possible reconstruction can be ἥμισυ μέρος [δ]λ[όκληρον μηχανῆς, “a whole half share of an artificially irrigated farm,” or alternatively, ἥμισυ μέρος [δ]λ[οκλήρου μηχανῆς, “a half share of a whole artificially irrigated farm.” Cf. *P.Oxy.* 82.5332.12 (480) δλόκληρον ἥμισυ μέρος μηχανῆς, “a whole half share of an artificially irrigated farm,” *P.Cair. Masp.* 1.67110.21–22 (565) τρίτον μέρος δλόκληρον τοῦ δλοκλήρου κεραμοπλαστικ[ο]ῦ κεραμείου, “a third whole share of a whole pottery workshop,” and *PSI* 3.188.8 (540) μέρος δλοκλήρου κτήματος ἐπιῶδρου, “a (?) share of a whole irrigated plot of land.”

3 Maybe σὺν φυτοῖς παντοίοις κ[αὶ] φοίνιξι[ι] καὶ π[αντὶ] δικαίῳ or π[ᾶσι] δικαίοις, “with all sorts of plants and with date-palms and with all the rights.” Cf. *P.Hamb.* 1.23.19–20 (569, Antinoopolis) σὺν φυτοῖς παντοίοις ἐγκάρποις τε καὶ ἀκάρποις καὶ φοίνιξι κ[αὶ] δικαίοις πᾶσι, “with all sorts of plants, both bearing fruit and not bearing fruit, and with date-palms and with all the rights.”

This section specifies components of the irrigated farm that are included in the lease. The Washington papyrus departs from the common formula used in the Oxyrhynchite nome, in which these elements are expressed through μετά + genitive. See for instance *PSI* 1.77.16–20 (551) or *P.Berl. Zill.* 7.12–18 (574). It employs instead a construction with the dative, presumably governed by σὺν, and, additionally, it mentions date-palms, which have hitherto not appeared in the Oxyrhynchite enumerations. Both these features are attested in land leases from other places: cf. *P.Hamb.* 1.23.19–20 (quoted above), *P.Lond.* 5.1694.9–10 (516/517 or 531/532, Aphrodite),

*P.Michael.* 43.6 (526, Aphrodite), *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67170.20–21 (562, 563 or 564, Panopolite nome) and *P.Hamb.* 3.222.13–14 (sixth/seventh century, Hermopolis).

4 τ]ῶν συνγεωργουμένων[ν: at first glance it seems as if the scribe wrote συνγεοργ- with *omicron* instead of *omega*. The first loop of the *omega*, however, could be merged with the horizontal stroke of the preceding *epsilon*: for other cases where the horizontal stroke of *epsilon* merges with the following letter: see δὲ φόρον in l. 6 and μέτρῳ in l. 7. This participle is commonly employed in Oxyrhynchite leases of μηχαναί and refers to the arouras of land associated with the irrigated farm and leased out with it: see *P.Flor.* 3.325.12 (489), *PSI* 1.77.20 (551), *P.Berl.Zill.* 7.17 (574), and *P.Oxy.* 83.5380.15 (578). The genitive was perhaps governed by μετά, which is the common construction of the Oxyrhynchite formulary: apparently a change of construction occurred between ll. 3 and 4.

5 εἰς σπορά]ν ὧν ἐὰν αἰρῶμαι γεγ[ημάτων: this sequence is found exclusively in Oxyrhynchite land leases: see Gonis (n. 6) 99–100.

6 ἀπαιτησίμῳ: on the ἀπαιτήσιμα, the landowner's rent rolls or lists of exactions, see Gonis, Mazza and T.M. Hickey and J.G. Keenan.<sup>15</sup> We expect here an expression such as ἀκολουθῶς ἀπαιτησίμῳ indicating that the rent should be paid (expressed with the verb τελέω) according to the landowner's rent roll: see *P.Oxy.* 55.3803.13 (411), *P.Oxy.* 82.5331.12 (474) and *SB* 26.16722.6 (late sixth century).

– τὸν δὲ φόρον . . . [ : φόρον could be constructed here with the verb ἀποδίδωμι, or, alternatively, παρέχω: cf. *P.Oxy.* 55.3803.15–16 (411) ἐπ[ύ]ναγκες ἀποδώσω τὸν φόρ[ο]ν τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ ἀνυπερθέτως, “I shall necessarily pay the rent at the proper term without delay”<sup>16</sup> and *P.Oxy.* 83.5370.2–3 (mid-sixth century) ἐπάναγκες δὲ ἡμᾶς παρασχεῖν τὸν φόρ[ο]ν [ἐνι]αυσίως ἐν τ[ῷ] δέοντι καιρῷ ἀνυπερθέτως, “and we shall perforce deliver the rent annually at the proper time without delay.”<sup>17</sup> Cf. also earlier parallels for τὸν δὲ φόρον ἀποδώσω, for instance *P.Princ.* 3.151.12 (after 341). None of these verbs, however, can be supplied in the traces following φόρον, belonging to two or three letters: the upper tip or a vertical, the curved top of a letter compatible with *epsilon*

<sup>15</sup> Gonis (n. 6) 94–95 and 98, n. 6, Mazza (n. 5) 110 and T.M. Hickey and J.G. Keenan, *The Property of a Lady (P.Christodote)* (Firenze 2020) 38–39.

<sup>16</sup> Translation from the edition.

<sup>17</sup> Translation from the edition.

or *sigma* (cf. ἀπαίτησίμω in the same line), and a tall vertical. A tentative supplement could be ἐ[ν]ι[α]υσίως, “annually”: cf. *PSI* 1.77.30 (551) παρασχεῖν τὸν φόρον ἐνιαυσίως, “to deliver the rent annually” and *P.Oxy.* 82.5370.3 and 8 (quoted above), which would however leave the small tip of a vertical stroke preceding *epsilon* unexplained.

7 The rent should be paid by the μέτρον παραλημπτικόν, “the receiving measure”: a parallel is provided by the Oxyrhynchite land lease *P.Mich.* 11.611.18–19 (412) ἐπ’ἀνάγκης δ’ ἐμὲ παρασχεῖν τὸν φόρον μέτρῳ πα[ραλ]ημπτικῷ τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ, “I will necessarily deliver the rent by the paralemptric measure at the fitting time without delay.”<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Translation from the edition. On the μέτρον παραλημπτικόν, probably a private, unofficial standard for the measure of grain, see N. Reggiani, “Tax Collection and Grain Measures in Roman Egypt: An Account Involving *paralēmtai* and a Receipt Issued by the *sitologoi* of Berenikis Aigialou, with Some Notes on Measure Standards (*paralēmtikon*, *epaiton*),” *APF* 63 (2017) 59–88 and Hickey and Keenan (n. 15) 41, commentary to l. 13.

## THREE MORE HERMOPOLITE SAMARITANS

Nikolaos Gonis *University College London*

*Abstract.* — Publication of a sixth-century list of Samaritans from the Hermopolite village of Thallou, preserved in a papyrus of the Bodleian Library.

*Keywords:* Samaritans, Thallou

This short text records three men from the Hermopolite village of Thallou, each of them described as Σαμαρέους. These must be Samaritans, whose presence in this area is well attested; see J. Gascou, *Un codex fiscal hermopolite* (*P.Sorb. II* 69) (Atlanta, GA 1994) 65. As there is no heading, the purpose of this list cannot be ascertained. The hand suggests a date in the sixth century, earlier rather than later.

The document is complete. The traces in the left-hand margin opposite lines 4–5 are apparently offsets. The text is written along the fibers and the back is blank.

The papyrus was presented to the Bodleian Library by W.D. Hogarth in May 1935.<sup>1</sup>

Bodl. MS. Gr. Class. f 106 (P) H × W = 15.6 × 8.1 cm Hermopolite nome, VI CE

† Ἰούλις Σαμαρέους

Ἰακὸβ Σαμαρέους

*vacat*

Θεόδωρος Σαμαρέους

*vacat*

4 ἀμφότεροι ἀπὸ κόμ(ης)

Θαλλου.

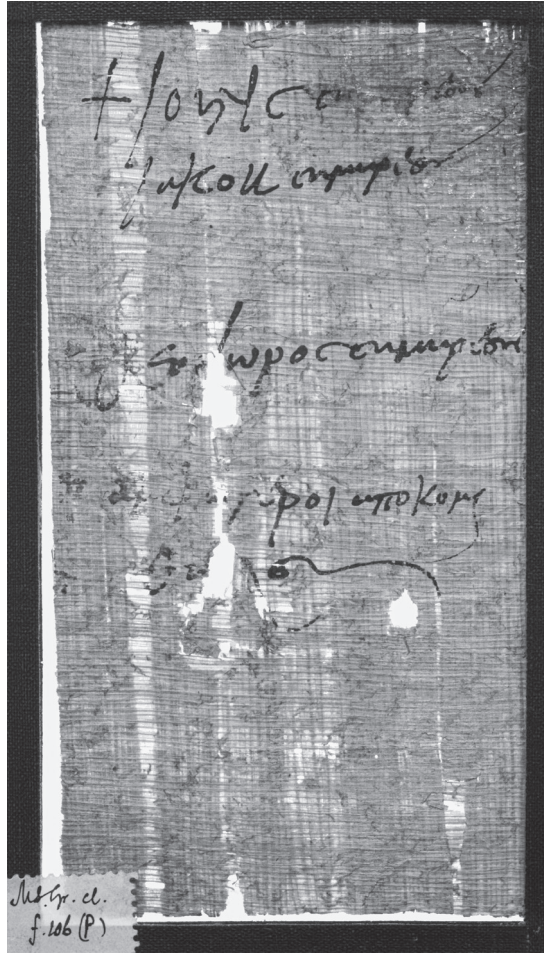
1, 2, 3 *l.* Σαμαρεύς 2 *l.* Ἰακὼβ 4 *l.* ἀμφότεροι; κομή παρ.; *l.* κόμης

“Ioulis, Samaritan.

Iakob, Samaritan.

<sup>1</sup> The image of the papyrus is reproduced (at a fee) by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

Theodoros, Samaritan.  
All from the village of Thallou.”



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2 Ἰακὸβ Σαμαρέους: There are several payments made δ(ιὰ) Ἰακ(υβίου) Σαμαρίτ(ου) in *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.1077, a Hermopolite tax register of the early seventh century (a new edition is in progress), but this is a different person.

– Σαμαρέους, also at 2 and 4, is a phonetic version of Σαμαρεύς; for the interchange ευ > εου, see Gignac, *Grammar* 1.230–231. Gignac



accentuates -εούς, but the later development of the diphthong to the /ev/ and /ef/ pronunciations suggests that the accent fell on ε. The word is not common in the papyri. Ἀστὴρ Σαμαρεὺς in *P.Petr.*<sup>2</sup> 1.1.76 (238/237 BCE) may come from the city or region of Samaria in Palestine rather than the Arsinoite village of this name. *P.Ness.* 3.91.5 (6th/7th c.), Θεοδόρου Σαμαρέος, may attest a native of Samaria in Palestine or the son of someone called Samareus. (On these two texts, see C. Kuhs, *Das Dorf Samareia im griechisch-römischen Ägypten. Eine papyrologische Untersuchung* [Magisterarbeit, Heidelberg 1999] 29–30, at <http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/archiv/479>.) The same form underlies *P.Ryl.Copt.* 296.8 ΨΑΜΑΡΕΥC, apparently a name. The three men from Hermopolite Thallou are not likely to come from Samaria and may be considered Samaritans. A Samaritan is usually called Σαμαρίτης in texts from late antiquity, but there are attestations of Σαμαρεὺς in this sense in the Roman period, such as Δοσίθεος ὁ Σαμαρεὺς in Origen's *De principiis* 4.3.2 (cf. J. Zsengellér, “The Samaritan Diaspora in Antiquity,” *Acta Antiqua* 56 [2016] 157–175, at 166).

4 ἀμφότεροι: The word here has the meaning of πάντες; see M. Leiwo, “Both and All Together? The Meaning of ἀμφότεροι,” *Arctos* 37 (2003) 81–99.

5 Θαλλου: A village (TM Geo 4386) formerly in the Patemites Kato toparchy of the Hermopolite nome, and later in the 12th pagus; see J. Sheridan, *P.Col.* 9, p. 158.

## A BYZANTINE LAND LEASE FROM HERMOPOLIS

David Wyman *Southern Baptist Theological Seminary*

*Abstract.* — Edition of a mid-6th century AD land lease from Hermopolis in the form of a *cheirophon*. The notary is a certain Menas, who operated during the 520s to 550s.

*Keywords:* land lease, *cheirophon*, Hermopolis, extra gifts, συνήθεια, notary

This papyrus (P.SBTS 1) was rediscovered by chance along with a number of other previously uncatalogued papyri in 2013 or 2014 by Adam Winters, the archivist at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (SBTS).<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, P.SBTS 1 is not a part of the inventory of any of the known collections at the SBTS library from the former museums on the campus (Nicol, Eisenberg, and Callaway museums). The most likely explanation is that a former SBTS professor (1920–1948) and librarian (1929–1949), William Hersey Davis (d. 1950), owned the uncatalogued papyri until his death. Davis showed interest in papyri, having authored a book containing a small collection of previously published papyri with brief notes entitled *Greek Papyri of the First Century* (New York 1933).<sup>2</sup> More importantly, a letter dated September 10, 1945 from the associate librarian Leo T. Crismon to E. Leslie Carlson of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary mentions papyri in the possession of Davis. Crismon, in response to Carlson's request for information on archaeological materials at SBTS, mentions that "Dr. W.H. Davis has a

<sup>1</sup> P.SBTS 1, Archives and Special Collections, James P. Boyce Centennial Library, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Published with permission. The previous archivist (2004–2012), Jason Fowler (now at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary), says that he probably knew of the existence of these uncatalogued papyri, but he does not know anything about their provenance (Personal Correspondence, Aug 28, 2019). The current and previous two librarians (1961–present) did not recollect any knowledge about acquiring or even possessing any of these uncatalogued papyri. — I would like to thank Nikolaos Gonis, Sophie Kovarik, and the anonymous referees for their insightful comments at various stages of this article.

<sup>2</sup> The book was poorly reviewed by E.C. Colwell. See *JRel* 14 (1934) 241. With respect to Davis's interest in papyri, one may also note the comments of the Greek grammarian A.T. Robertson, Davis's colleague at SBTS, that "Professor Davis is a master of the papyri." A.T. Robertson, "Introduction," in W.H. Davis, *Beginner's Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (New York 1923) viii.

few papyri fragments.”<sup>3</sup> If P.SBTS 1 is assumed to have been among those in Davis’s possession, it may have been kept and remained at the library and then transferred to the new building upon its construction in 1959. Until new information comes to light, the best explanation is that P.SBTS 1 came to SBTS from Davis before or shortly after his death in 1950.

The papyrus consists of the bottom portion of a lease written parallel to the fibers. Additionally, the back of the fragment contains one line of faint ink written along the fibers. On the front of the document the left and bottom margins are partially preserved. The top of the fragment has an irregular break. Moreover, a lacuna is present in the middle of lines 11–16 that eliminates the name of the notary. The first hand’s ink exhibits a comparatively brownish hue compared with the black inks of the rest of the document, which indicates that the first hand used iron-gall ink. The notary used a third ink for his own signature (l. 16). The division of hands is as follows: hand 1 is written by the individual drawing up the document (ll. 1–8), hand 2 comes from the scribal proxy for the lessee (ll. 9–12), hand 3 (ll. 12–13), hand 4 (ll. 13–14), and hand 5 (ll. 14–15) come from each of the three witnesses, hand 6 (l. 16) comes from the notary, and hand 7 writes the docket on the back.

Paleographically, hand 1 exhibits heavy use of ligatures and has a right-leaning inclination (/). Letters extend above (δ, η, κ, ψ) and below (δ, ι when completing a ligature, ξ, ρ, τ) the line, with the *rho* descending most prominently into the line below it. Especially characteristic letters include the (usually) open *alpha*, κ-like *beta*, d-shaped *delta* with lengthy right vertical, h-shaped *eta*, *kappa*, rounded *pi* lacking a bar, elongated *rho*, and *tau*. Comparable hands for hand 1 include *P.Bas.* 2.53 (538), *BGU* 12.2204 (574), *P.Heid.* 7.405 (577), *CPR* 9.31 (581), and *BGU* 19.2814 (6th/7th cent.).<sup>4</sup>

The visible text is a Byzantine Hermopolite lease in the form of a *cheirographon*.<sup>5</sup> The extant portion of the contract contains the end of the contract proper (the “extra gifts”/συνήθεια-clause; ll. 5–7), *kyria* clause (ll. 7–8), stipulation (l. 8), the subscription by a scribe for the illiterate lessee (ll. 9–12), the signatures of the witnesses (ll. 12–15), and the

<sup>3</sup> Leo T. Crismon Records, Series 3, Box 2, Folder 1, Archives and Special Collections, James P. Boyce Centennial Library, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

<sup>4</sup> All dates are AD.

<sup>5</sup> On the Byzantine *cheirographon*, see J.G. Keenan, J.G. Manning, and U. Yiftach-Firanko (eds.), *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest: A Selection of Papyrological Sources in Translation, with Introductions and Commentary* (Cambridge 2014) 46–49, 84–89; H. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur μίσθωσις von Gebäuden im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* (Köln 1985) 28–50.

notarial signature (l. 16). Because of the fragmentary nature of the papyrus, missing information includes the date and address formulas, as well as most of the contract proper, including the object of the lease, location, rent, rental duration, due date, and other standard information. The name of the lessee, Aurelius Kollouthos son of Apollos (l. 9), also occurs in another Hermopolite contract *BGU* 17.2694.42 (608), but the two are not the same person (see commentary below). The lease indicates that the lessee will pay the “extra gifts” in kind with cheeses, *lepsane* (charlock), and probably corn-ears and a sucking-pig or a sow (ll. 5–7; see commentary below). Comparable leases include *P.Lond.* 5.1771 (6th cent.) and *CPR* 9.30 (first half 7th cent.). The paleography and language of the lease suggest a date in the 6th cent. and the notarial signature done by the notary Menas narrows the date to the mid-6th cent. (l. 16; see commentary below).

P.SBTS 1

H × W = 15.5 × 10.6 cm

Hermopolis, mid 6th cent.

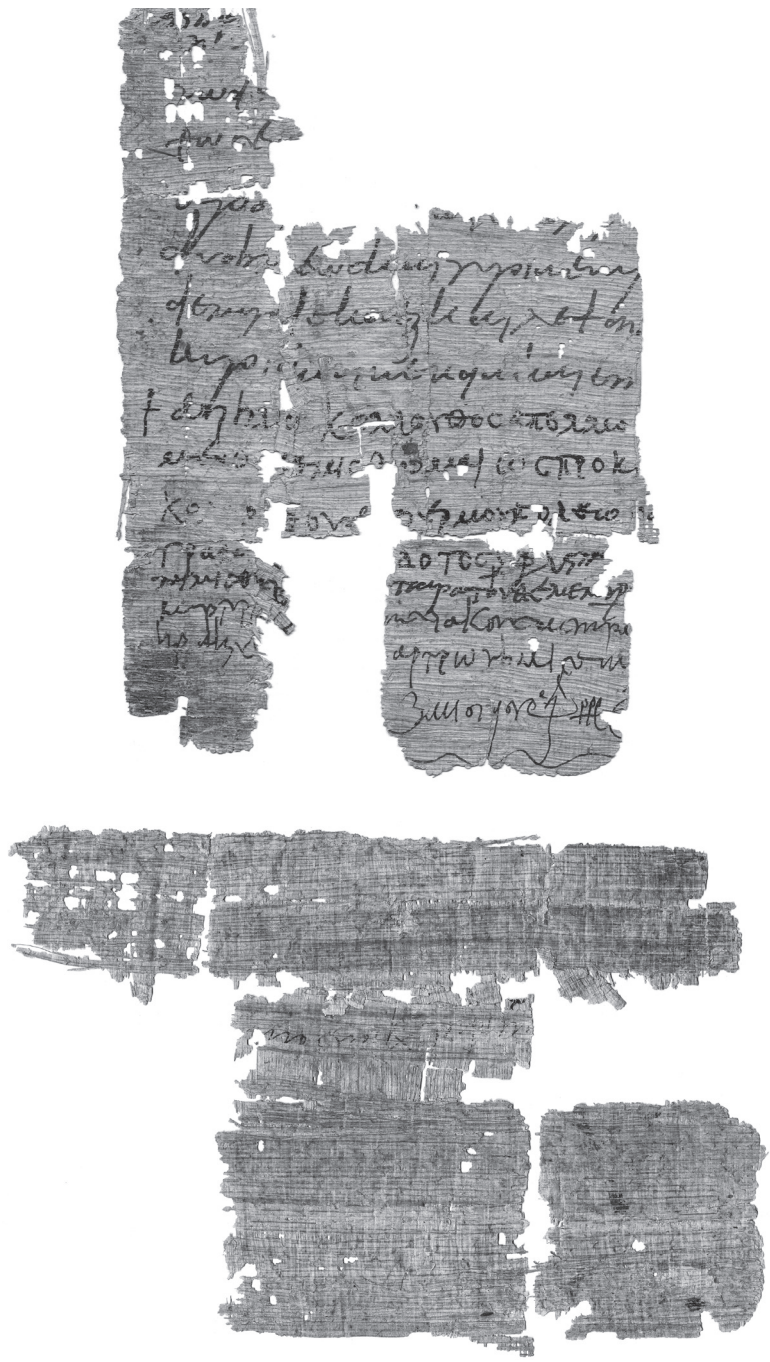
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.. ι π ρ . [ ]  
 . γ . [ ]  
 τῷ δε[ ca. 33–35 ] μισ-]  
 θώσεω[ ca. 34–36 ]  
 5 ἀρουρ[ca. 4–5]ατ . [ . . ] . τ[ . ] . [ ca. 23–25 ]  
 δύο ἡμι[ί]σεως καὶ τυρία εὐάρ[εστα x καὶ σταχύων]  
 δέματα δέκα ἑξ καὶ λεψάνη[ε ἀγγεῖον/α x. ἡ μίσθωσις]  
 κυρία καὶ βεβαία καὶ ἐπ[ερωτηθεῖς ὁμολόγησα.]  
 (m. 2) † Αὐρήλιος Κολλούθος Ἀπολλῶ[τος ἀπὸ Ἑμοῦ πόλεως (?) ὁ προκεῖ-]  
 10 μενος μεμίσθωμαι ὡς πρόκειται. [N.N.]  
 Κολλο[ύ]θου ἀπὸ Ἑρμοῦ πόλεως ἀ[ξιωθεῖς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ]  
 γράμματα μὴ εἰδότης. (m. 3) Ϡ Φλ(άουιος) Π.[ N.N. μαρτυρῶ]  
 τῇ μισθώσει [ἀκούσας] παρὰ τοῦ θεμένου. (m. 4) Ϡ [N.N.]  
 μαρτυρῶ τῇ [μισθ]ώσει ἀκούσας παρὰ [τοῦ θεμένου. (m. 5) Ϡ N.N.]  
 15 Ἡρακλέ[ω]νος μ[αρτυρῶ τῇ μισθ]ώσει ἀκούσας παρὰ τοῦ θεμένου. ]  
 (m. 6) (vac.) [ρ δι' ἑμοῦ Μηνᾶ] συμβολαιογράφου Ϡ Ϡ Ϡ . [ ]  
 (wavy line framing the signature)

10 προκ/ 16 συμβολαιογράφ

On the back:

17 (m. 7) [μίσθωσις Κολλούθου Ἀπολλῶτος] ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Τουρι ὑπ[ὸ - - - ]



Images courtesy of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Archives and Special Collections, James P. Boyce Centennial Library. P.SBTS 1. The *verso* is rotated 90 degrees with respect to the text on the *recto*.

“... (5) [a sucking pig *or* a sow worth] two and a half [gold *kerats*] ... and good quality cheeses ... sixteen bundles of [corn-ears] ... and [*x* vessels of] charlock. The lease is valid and guaranteed, and having been asked the formal question, I acknowledged. I, Aurelius Kollouthos (son of) Apollos [from Hermopolis?], the aforementioned, have leased as set forth. I, ... (son of) Kollouthos of Hermopolis, having been requested, wrote on his behalf since he does not know letters. ⲫ I, Flavius P... [bear witness] to the lease, having heard from the person who made it. ⲫ I, [N. N.], bear witness to the lease, having heard from the person who made it. [ⲫ] I, ... (son of) Herakleon, bear witness to the lease, [having heard from the person who made it.] [ⲫ (Written) by me, Menas] the notary. ⲫ ⲫ ⲫ ...

(*On the back*) [Lease of Kollouthos (son of) Apollos] from the *epoikion* of Touri under (?) ...”

1–5 These lines are too fragmentary to reconstruct with confidence to any real degree but must at least contain rental stipulations and the beginning of the *συνθήκη*-clause. Line 1 noticeably begins further to the left in the margin and displays less interlinear space between itself and line 2 compared to the rest of the document’s line spacing. This closer spacing may indicate that line 1 was inserted as a correction to some of the stipulations of the lease agreement.

3 The beginning of the line may contain the phrase τῷ δὲ ἄβρόχῳ ὁ/τὸ μὴ εἶη, referring to the possible condition of leased land as “unflooded” (ἄβροχος). Land lease agreements could contain a stipulation specifying the amount of rent to be paid in the event of insufficient flooding of the Nile, which may or may not involve a reduced rent for the tenant.<sup>6</sup> For examples from Hermopolis, see *BGU* 19.2804.8 (488), *BGU* 19.2812.2–3 (6th cent.), *P.Horak* 8.7–9 (6th cent.), *P.Oxf.* 16.10 (6th–7th cent.), *BGU* 19.2808.15–16 (528), *P.Strasb.* 5.482.12–13 (538), *P.Grenf.* 1.57.12–13 (561), *P.Lond.* 5.1770.11–12 (mid 6th cent.).

3–4 The presence of [μικ]θώσεω[c] might be accounted for by a reference to the time period of the lease at the end of which the lessee

<sup>6</sup> J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri* (Munich 1958) 162.

will return the lease object. If so, a possible reading is τοῦ χρόνου τῆς μισθώσεως. Cf. *BGU* 17.2675.17–19 (481). Lack of close parallels precludes a satisfactory resolution.

5 The second *rho* has traces that descend diagonally into the line below (above *mu* in line 6) and it would be difficult to read it as anything but *rho*. As a result, it is hard to avoid the reading ἀρουρ even though this would be an unusual mention of *arouras* so close to the beginning of the συνήθεια-clause. If this reading is correct, then the object of the lease would probably at least involve land measured in *arouras*.

5–7 In addition to the “regular” rent payment, which is not extant, are the customary extra payments from the lessee (λόγῳ/ὕπερ συνηθείας).<sup>7</sup> These extra payments could include a variety of combinations of products in kind, e.g., bread, milk, cheeses, honey, wine, oil, animals, meat, fish, chaff, charlock. The package of goods in *P.SBTS* 1 includes at least four items, two of which are clear: τυρία εὐάρεστα (τυρία εὐάρ[εστα]; l. 6) and λεψάνη (λεψάν[ης]; l. 7).

The sixteen *demata* (l. 7) almost certainly refer to στάχυες (ears of corn). This can be concluded because (1) the combination σταχύων δέματα occurs much more frequently in Hermopolite συνήθεια-clauses than the other options (e.g., χλωροῦ δέματα in *P.Stras.* 5.489.5) and (2) the quantity given (16) is more appropriate for στάχυες than the alternatives.<sup>8</sup>

Prior to τυρία, the “two and a half” (δύο ἡμίσεως; l. 6) probably refers to the value accounted in κέρτια of either a δελφάκιον (sucking-piglet) or a χοιράς (sow). These commodities, δελφάρια and χοιράδες, are the only ones in συνήθεια payments that are given a definite price.<sup>9</sup> In Egypt in the 6th and 7th centuries the prices for a δελφάκιον or a χοιράς are typically accounted in talents or *keratia* and normally range from 1 to 3 *keratia*. In Hermopolis one finds, for example, a δελφάκιον worth 1.5 *keratia* (*P.Lond.* 5.1771.8–9 [6th cent.]), 5000–6000 silver talents (*SB* 4.7369.16–17, 25–26 [512]; *BGU* 12.2175.6 [5th–6th cent.]; cf. *P.Coll.Youtie* 2.89.18–19 [485; 8000 silver talents]), or 1.5 *artabas* of corn (*P.Stras.* 5.486.16 [504–505]), and a χοιράς worth 3 *keratia*

<sup>7</sup> On the extra payments, see the earlier discussion of Herrmann (n. 6) 114–122, esp. 118–122. More recently, see the updated study of K.A. Worp, “Deliveries for συνήθεια in Byzantine Papyri,” in T. Gagos and R.S. Bagnall (eds.), *Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas* (Oakville, CT 2001) 51–68.

<sup>8</sup> See Worp (n. 7) 62–63.

<sup>9</sup> F. Mitthof, “Pacht von Getreideland und Neupflanzung von Wein,” in F.A.J. Hoogendijk and B.P. Muhs (eds.), *Sixty-Five Papyrological Texts Presented to Klaas A. Worp on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Leiden 2008) 275 (= *P.Worp.* 37).



(*P.Laur.* 2.29.7 [6th cent.]); *SPP* 20.218.29–30 [624]). The price of 2.5 κεράτια in *P.SBTS* 1 is close enough to the price of either commodity that a sure determination between them is impossible. For the prices of pigs in the fifth to eighth centuries in Egypt, see F. Morelli's commentary in *CPR* 19.19, pp. 32–33.

For discussion of the λεψάνη vegetable (*sinapis arvensis*), which is nearly always carried in jars (either ἀγγεῖα or κολοβά) due to its apparent preservation in salt, see the discussions of A. Syrkou, K. Worp, and D. Hagedorn.<sup>10</sup> In Hermopolis the preferred measure for λεψάνη was the ἀγγεῖον, which makes “ἀγγεῖον/α x” the almost certain reading between λεψάνη[ς] and [ἡ μίθωσις] in line 7. Cf. *P.Lond.* 5.1771.10 (6th cent., Hermopolis): λεψάνης ἀγγεῖα δύο; *P.Strasb.* 5.486.12 (504–505, Hermopolis): λεψά[ν]η[ς] ἀγγεῖα δύο; *P.Strasb.* 6.597.13 (541, Hermopolis): λ[εψ]άνης ἀγγεῖα δέκα; *CPR* 9.30.11–12 (first half 7th cent., Hermopolis): λεψάνης ἀγγεῖα ἕν. The ἀγγεῖον measure is found on rare occasion in Aphrodite in the Antaiopolite nome like in *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 1.36 (598; cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67289.11 [6th cent.]), but the κολοβά measure is never found in Hermopolite συνήθεια-clauses.<sup>11</sup>

Similar packages of συνήθεια-goods in Hermopolis, with and without pigs, are found in *P.Lond.* 5.1771.8–10 (6th cent.): [δελεφάκιον] ἕν ἄξιον χρ[υ]σοῦ κερατίου ἑνὸς ἡμίσεως καὶ τυρὸν εὐάρεστον [ἕνα καὶ ?? καὶ] σταχύων δέματα δέκα καὶ λαψάνης ἀγγεῖα δύο κ[α]ὶ γάλακ-ιτος χ[ύ]τραν; *CPR* 9.30.11–12 (first half 7th cent.): τυρία δέκα καὶ σταχύων δέματα δέκα καὶ λεψάνη[ς] ἀγγεῖα ἕν; and *P.Laur.* 2.29.7–9 (6th cent.): [χοιράδα μίαν τιμ]ῆς κεράτιων τριῶν καὶ τυρία ἑκατὸν πεντ[ή]κο-ντα...][σταχύων (?) δέ]ματα ἕν καιρῷ τῶν τρυγῶν καὶ οἴνου παλαιοῦ μεγάλ[α ἀγγεῖα][ ] δύο.<sup>12</sup>

9–12 Aurelius Kollouthos son of Apollos is the lessee. The patronymic could be read as either Ἀπολλῶ or Ἀπολλῶ[τος] since the genitive occurs in both forms in Hermopolis in the 6th cent. The more likely reading is Ἀπολλῶ[τος], since it occurs much more frequently.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> A. Syrkou, “Lease of Land,” *ZPE* 152 (2005) 202; Worp (n. 7) 63; D. Hagedorn, “Fünf Urkundenpapyri der Kölner Sammlung,” *ZPE* 13 (1974) 137–138.

<sup>11</sup> See K.A. Worp's comments in Worp (n. 7) 59.

<sup>12</sup> For *P.Laur.* 2.29 and *P.Lond.* 5.1771, the text follows Worp (n. 7) 54–55.

<sup>13</sup> Ἀπολλῶ: *SB* 24.16121 (1st half 6th cent.); *SPP* 20.221.10 (6th cent.); *P.Bingen* 140.15 (6th cent.). Ἀπολλῶτος: *P.Jena* 2.35.34, 43 (5th–6th cent.?); *SB* 22.15598v.13, 14 (beginning 6th cent.); *P.Strasb.* 5.483.4 (512); *P.Strasb.* 6.579.6, v.1 (521); *P.Eirene* 2.13.14 (early 6th cent.); *SB* 22.15322.10, 19 (535); *P.Amst.* 1.47.7 (537); *P.Sta. Xyla* 1.5.8 (539); *P.Sta. Xyla* 1.4.6 (541); *P.Sta. Xyla* 1.10.8 (543); *P.Lond. Herm.* 1r.5 (546–547?);

The lacuna at the end of line 9 permits a few possible readings based on other 6th century Hermopolite leases. The most frequent subscription formula from the lessee is simply: N. N. ὁ προκείμενος μεμίθωμαι ὡς πρόκειται.<sup>14</sup> On a few occasions the clause reads ὁ προγεγραμμένος instead of ὁ προκείμενος (*SB* 16.12378.25–26 [504]; *P.Bas.* 2.53.21–22 [538]; *P.Strasb.* 1.4.23 [551]; *P.Strasb.* 5.398.20–21 [553]). In a couple cases the lessee also includes the phrase ἀπὸ Ἐρ(μοῦ πόλεως) after his name (always the city, never the *epoikion*, *kome*, or *nome*; *SB* 5.7519.12–13 [510]; *P.Strasb.* 1.4.23 [551]). A more complete identification of the lessee is found at the beginning of leases in the address formula that includes, for example, his *epoikion*, relation to the relevant *kome*, and his *nome* (e.g., *P.Coll.Youtie* 2.89.5–7 (485); *BGU* 17.2676.4–8 [500]; *P.Stras.* 5.482.3–4 [542]; *P.Lond.* 5.1767.4–6 [561–562]). Still another infrequent variation is listing one's occupation, e.g., N. N. γεωργός (*P.Coll.Youtie* 2.90.23–24 [513]), N. N. πρεσβύτερος (*BGU* 19.2808.25 [528]), N. N. διάκονος (*BGU* 19.2822.29–30 [526–527]). Thus, the options for the lessee's confirmation in lines 9–10 are:

- † Αὐρήλιος Κολλοῦθος Ἀπολλῶ[τος ὁ προκεί]μενος μεμίθωμαι ὡς πρόκ(ε)ται).
- † Αὐρήλιος Κολλοῦθος Ἀπολλῶ[τος ἀπὸ Ἐρ(μοῦ πόλεως) ὁ προκεί]μενος μεμίθωμαι ὡς πρόκ(ε)ται).
- † Αὐρήλιος Κολλοῦθος Ἀπολλῶ[τος ὁ προγεγραμ]μένος μεμίθωμαι ὡς πρόκ(ε)ται (cf. *P.Bas.* 2.53.21–22 [538]; *P.Strasb.* 5.398.20–22 [553]).
- † Αὐρήλιος Κολλοῦθος Ἀπολλῶ[τος ἀπὸ Ἐρ(μοῦ πόλεως) ὁ προγε-  
γραμ]μένος μεμίθωμαι ὡς πρόκ(ε)ται (cf. *P.Strasb.* 1.4.23 [551]).
- † Αὐρήλιος Κολλοῦθος Ἀπολλῶ[τος *occupation* ὁ προκεί]μενος μεμίθω-  
μαι ὡς πρόκ(ε)ται).

It is not possible to adjudicate with certainty between the rival readings. Nevertheless, the spacing, which can accommodate roughly 22 letters

*BGU* XIX 2810.5 (559–560); *P.Sta. Xyla* 1.6.6 (6th cent.); *P.Lond* 5.1771.17 (6th cent.); *P.Amst.* 1.48.5 (6th cent.); *SB* 24.16130.3 (6th cent.); *P.Lond.* 5.1780.2 (6th cent.); *BGU* 17.2717.8 (6th cent.); *CPR* 9.24.6 (6th cent.); *SB* 22.15596.3 (6th cent.); *CPR* 23.34.5 (6th cent.; possibly Antinoite nome); *SB* 22.15595.2 (6th–7th cent.).

<sup>14</sup> E.g., *BGU* 19.2817.17–18 (500); *P.Strasb.* 5.486.18 (504–505); *P.Flor.* 1.73.20–21 (505); *BGU* 12.2181.19–20 (509); *BGU* 12.2182.15–16 (510); *BGU* 12.2186.13–14 (514?); *P.Berol.* 13920.21 (515); *SB* 4.7340.24–25 (540); *P.Gascou* 40.26–27 (556); *P.Heid.* 5.352.20–21 (558); *P.Grenf.* 1.58.17–18 (ca. 561); *CPR* 9.33.23–24 (566); *BGU* 12.2204.27–28 (574); *P.Vindob.Tandem* 28.28 (576–577); *P.Worp* 29.3–4 (first half 6th cent.); *BGU* 17.2689.16–17 (6th cent.); *CPR* 9.7.9–10 (6th cent.); *CPR* 9.8.10–11 (6th cent.); *P.Horak* 9.9–10 (6th cent.); *P.Lond.* 5.1768.19–20 (6th cent.); *P.Strasb.* 5.348.3 (6th. cent.); *SB* 14. 12132.16–17 (6th. cent.); *SB* 22.15488.10–11 (6th. cent.).

(give or take a few; cf. l. 11), along with the fact that the most frequent practice in 6th century Hermopolite leases favors ὁ προκείμενος, makes the second option seem most plausible but with Ἐρμοῦ πόλεως written in full rather than in abbreviated form.

The illiterate lessee (l. 12; γράμμα[τα μὴ εἰ]δότης) Aurelius Kollouthos has made use of the services of a ὑπογραφεύς – a certain son of Kollouthos from Hermopolis (l. 11). A certain Aurelius Kollouthos son of Apollos also appears as a witness to a Hermopolite contract in *BGU* 17.2694.42 (608), where he is identified as Αὐρήλιος Κολλοῦθος Ἀπολλῶ ἀπὸ Ἐρμοῦ (πόλεως). In contrast to P.SBTS 1, there is no indication that the Aurelius Kollouthos son of Apollos of *BGU* 17.2694 required a scribal proxy. So, in addition to the mid 6th century date necessitated by the notarial signature (see line 16 below), the presence of a scribal proxy in P.SBTS 1 rules against identification of Aurelius Kollouthos of P.SBTS 1 with the one from *BGU* 17.2694.

12 A certain Flavius (Φλ[άουιος]) is the first of three witnesses to the contract.

13–15 The two other witnesses testify to the contract, of whom only one partially preserved name survives, a certain son of Herakleon (l. 15).

16 The presence of συμβολαιογράφου) necessitates that the left lacuna contains the name of the notary with the formula δι' ἐμοῦ N. N. This unique Hermopolite signature, which has a distinctive *phi* in συμβολαιογράφου), three tau-rho's after συμβολαιογράφου), and a wavy line frame, should be identified as the particular signature of the notary Μηνᾶς who was active from at least the late 520s to the early 550s. His signature form typically contains the following elements: Ϡ δι' ἐμοῦ Μηνᾶ συμβολαιογράφου) Ϡ Ϡ Ϡ month, indiction year, a wavy line framing the signature from below. See his signatures in *BGU* 19.208.28 (528), *P.Bas.* 2.53.25 (538), *P.Stras.* 1.4.27 (551), *P.Stras.* 5.398.28 (553), and *P.Lond.* 5.1770.27 (mid 6th cent.), and *CPR* 9.24.10 (mid 6th cent.).<sup>15</sup> For signatory patterns in the Hermopolite nome more broadly, see Diethart and Worp.<sup>16</sup> Determining whether the present signature ends with ἐγράφη (*P.Stras.* 1.4.27; *P.Stras.* 5.398.28), βοήθει (*BGU* 19.208.28), or neither (*P.Bas.* 2.53.25) is precluded by the lacuna.

<sup>15</sup> J.M. Diethart and K.A. Worp (eds.), *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* (Vienna 1986) 69 + plate 30. *P.Stras.* 5.398.28 = Diethart and Worp, *Herm.* 12.1.2; *P.Lond.* 5.1770.27 = Diethart and Worp, *Herm.* 12.1.3.

<sup>16</sup> Diethart and Worp (n. 15) 13, 18–19, 59–76.

The name of the month that follows  $\sigma\upsilon\mu\beta\omicron\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi(\omicron\upsilon)$  is unclear. Menas uses a similar pen stroke after the triple tau-rho in *BGU* 19.2808.28 (528), which might suggest a reading of *theta* for P.SBTS 1. If so, the reading would be  $\Theta\omega\theta$  or  $\Theta(\omega\theta)$ .

17 The back contains the docket of the lease, but the text is only partially extant and the ink is faint. It appears to record the *epoikion* of the lessee, which seems to be a previously unattested *epoikion* named Touri. For  $\psi\pi[\omicron]$ , see *BGU* 17.2676.31 (500) and *P.Harr.* 59.43 (604). An alternative reading to  $\text{Τουρι } \psi\pi[\omicron]$  is  $\text{τοῦ } \rho\iota\pi\alpha[\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon]$ , but this seems less likely since identifying an *epoikion* by a *riparius* office is otherwise unattested. On the office of *riparius* in the 6th century, see S. Torallas Tovar.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> S. Torallas Tovar, "The Police in Byzantine Egypt: The Hierarchy in the Papyri from the Fourth to the 7th Centuries," in C. Riggs and A. McDonald (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2000* (Oxford 2000) 119–121.

## TWO TOPOGRAPHICAL TAX-REGISTERS IN GREEK FROM EIGHTH-CENTURY FAYYŪM<sup>1</sup>

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*Abstract.* — Edition of two Greek tax-registers dateable to the eighth century, which contribute to our knowledge of the Fayyūm's topography.

*Keywords:* Fayyūm, topography, early Islamic Egypt, taxation

This article presents an edition of two Greek fiscal registers recording tax payments from several villages as well as the city of Arsinoe/Madīnat al-Fayyūm. Their particular interest lies in the fact that the toponyms mentioned in them – even if sometimes fragmentarily preserved and thus uncertainly read – seem to be grouped in geographic clusters.<sup>2</sup> Such registers are important sources for the reconstruction of the topography of the late antique and early Islamic Fayyūm. The locations, exact or proximate, of numerous villages have already been established, and readers should consult the Trismegistos Places database (TM Geo) for further information on specific sites. TM Geo identifiers will be provided for villages with secure locations. For settlements attested in the thirteenth-century survey of al-Nābulusī, readers may consult the text and map in the recent translation of Yossef Rapoport and Ido Shahar.<sup>3</sup> Such “anchor villages” allow

<sup>1</sup> The two papyri published in this article are presently housed at The Sir Duncan Rice Library of The University of Aberdeen. They were gifted to the university in 1896 after the death of their owner, James Andrew Sandilands Grant, a physician and university alumnus who lived in Cairo in the 1880s. See the preface of Eric G. Turner to *P.Aberdeen*, p. V. We thank Kim Downie, the digitisation officer of The Sir Duncan Rice Library of the University of Aberdeen for supplying us with scans of the two papyri and permission to publish them here. We are also grateful to Nikolaos Gonis for bringing these papyri to our attention and sharing with us his first transcriptions as well as to our anonymous reviewers for their constructive criticism.

<sup>2</sup> On tax registers from the 8th c. Fayyūm see most recently L. Berkes and B. Haug, “Villages, Requisitions, and Tax Districts: Two Greek Lists from the 8th-Century Fayyūm,” *BASP* 53 (2016) 189–222.

<sup>3</sup> Y. Rapoport and I. Shahar (eds.), *The Villages of the Fayyum: A Thirteenth-century Register of Rural, Islamic Egypt* (Turnhout 2018). See also <https://projects.history.qmul.ac.uk/ruralsocietyislam> (accessed 26 June 2020).

for the relative localization of sites that are otherwise poorly attested in the papyri. The method is well established, having been used by Wessely, Grenfell and Hunt, and Jairus Banaji in their respective contributions to Fayyūm topography.<sup>4</sup>

### 1. Register of Arrears

This short account written against the fibers is apparently complete and lists a relatively small amount of some commodity in arrears from Arsinoite villages. The back is blank. The professional hand suggests a date in the mid- to late-eighth century, the shape of the *phi* being particularly characteristic. The fact that the commodities recorded are only mentioned in the heading is also typical of fiscal documents of the later eighth century.<sup>5</sup> It would be hazardous to infer the relative size of the villages based on the amounts listed since we do not know how these arrears were produced. The total of the arrears is 23 1/3 *litrai* (Roman pounds; 1 *litra* = ca. 325 g) and the sum of the clearly readable numerals amounts to 20.<sup>6</sup> Based on the expected total we were able to supply the fraction in line 5 and read the number in line 7. Since the villages are not organized in alphabetical order, we can reasonably assume that they belong to the same tax-district and are therefore geographically proximate.

P.Aberd.inv. 147c

H × W = 9.5 × 5 cm

Fayyūm, eighth century

† λοιπ(α)δ( ) . . . . ε( )	“† Arrears of ...
χ(ωρίου) Μουεὶ λῖ(τραι) ζ	of the <i>chorion</i> Mouei <i>litrai</i> 1/2
χ(ωρίου) Ἀνδρέ(ου) γ	of the <i>chorion</i> Andreou 3
χ(ωρίου) Τύεω(ς) α	of the <i>chorion</i> Tyeos 1
5 χ(ωρίου) Ἀφροδ(ιτῶ) θ [γ]'	of the <i>chorion</i> Aphrodito 9 1/3

<sup>4</sup> K. Wessely, *Topographie des Faijūm (Arsinoites Nomus) in griechischer Zeit* (Wien 1904); B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, *The Tebtunis Papyri* 2 (Oxford 1907). Appendix II: “The Topography of the Arsinoite Nome,” pp. 343–424; J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance* (Oxford 2001), Appendix 3: “The Relative Cohesion of Large Estates: Notes on the Topography of the Fayum in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries,” pp. 241–250. See also the topographical analyses in Berkes and Haug (n. 2).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. *SPP* 10.74 (Ars., 780). The dating is based on an unpublished correction: a new edition of the document is in preparation by L. Berkes.

<sup>6</sup> The exact size of the *litra* can vary slightly, but 325 g is a close approximation. See F. Morelli, *I prezzi dei materiali e prodotti artigianali nei documenti tardoantichi e del primo periodo arabo (IV ex. – VIII d.C.)* (Berlin-Boston 2019) 13.



χ(ωρίου) Δικαίου	ςζ	of the <i>chorion</i> Dikaiou	6 1/2
χ(ωρίου) Φουρθ(ιν)	γ	of the <i>chorion</i> Phourthin	3
vac. γί(νονται) λί(τραι) κγ γ'		Total: 23 1/3 <i>litrai</i> "	

1 λοιπ<sup>δ</sup> . . . .<sup>ε</sup> pap. 2-7 χ pap. 2, 8 λι pap. 3 ανδρ<sup>ε</sup> pap. 4 τυε<sup>ω</sup> pap. 5 αφορ<sup>δ</sup> pap. 7 φουρ<sup>θ</sup> pap. 8 γλ pap.





1  $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi(\alpha)\delta(\ ) \dots \varepsilon(\ )$ : The cross and the *lambda* are not clearly visible because of a fold in the papyrus. If we assume a nominative,  $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi(\alpha)\delta(\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu)$  is the only possible resolution for the abbreviation. However, if we assume that the heading started with a genitive (“of the arrear ...”), both  $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi(\acute{\alpha})\delta(\omicron\varsigma)$  and  $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi(\alpha)\delta(\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon)$  would be possible. We have not succeeded in reading the following abraded word. The first letter seems to have been intersected by the descender of the superscript  $\delta$  of the previous word. A short, slightly oblique dash is visible which may be consistent with a  $\nu$  or a  $\delta$  – if we assume that its upper portion overlaps with the descender of the previous superscript  $\delta$ . The second letter might have been an  $\eta$ ,  $\kappa$ , or perhaps even  $\iota$  followed by another letter. The next letter could be a  $\mu$ , but its right-hand portion does not resemble the  $\mu$  in  $\text{Μουε}\iota$  (l. 2). Another option is an  $\iota$  followed by another small letter (perhaps  $\omicron$  or  $\upsilon$ ). Finally, the superscript  $\varepsilon$  indicating an abbreviation is clearly visible. One might expect a place name, time frame, or a commodity, but other options are also possible: cf. *CPR* 22.53.1 (Aphrodito [?], ca. 714–716):  $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi(\alpha)\delta(\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon)$   $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\beta\omicron\lambda(\tilde{\eta}\varsigma)$ ; *SB* 26.16436.1 (Upper Egypt, 7th–8th c.):  $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi(\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma)$   $\delta\eta\mu\omicron(\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu)$   $\gamma$   $\chi\omega(\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu)$ ; *P.Lond.* 4.1458.5 (Aphrodito [?], ca. 714–716):  $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi(\alpha)\delta(\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon)$   $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$  and *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67055.col.2.4 (Aphrodito, 6th c.):  $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ . We expect a commodity in the present papyrus, since the *litrai* are not specified at any other places in the account. The occurrence of a place name here would also be odd, since several villages are listed in the remainder of the account. One of our anonymous reviewers suggested reading the commodity as  $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}(\omicron\varsigma)$  explaining the preceding dash as an abbreviation mark. Even though meat was commonly measured in *litrai* and thus the reading is *prima facie* attractive, it is paleographically difficult in our view. Even if we accept that the dash is only an abbreviation mark at the beginning, the shape of the *rho* with an open top would be highly unusual. Furthermore it seems that the bowl of the supposed *rho* is connected to the right (probably going up to draw the abbreviation) which would be again surprising in case of this letter.

2  $\text{Μουε}\iota$ : Dues from Mouei (TM Geo 1397) and the village of Magais are paid collectively by a single individual in *SB* 6.9583.Fr.5.1–3 (second half of the 8th c.). Magais is securely linked to the northern reaches of the former Themistos *meris*, somewhere south of the villages Hermoupolis and Euhemereia. It was irrigated by a canal with a route similar to the modern Baḥr Qaṣr al-Banāt, which also watered Narmouthis, Philagris, Theoxenis, and Andromachis, (*P.Stras.* 6.538, ca. 281 CE). It therefore must have been located toward the western margins of the Fayyūm. Persons from Mouei are also listed together with persons from Naleou and

Psetera and in *P.Ross.Georg.* 5.66 (7th c.). While the location of the former is uncertain, Psetera is mentioned as an *epoikion* in a 3rd-century text found at Theadelphia (*P.Laur.* 1.11, ca. 225–275 CE) and also occurs in mid-4th-century marriage contract together with Taurinou *kome*, which was itself very near to Euhemereia (*P.Ross.Georg.* 3.28, 343 or 358). Since villages like Theadelphia and Euhemereia on the desert fringe of the north-western Fayyūm were surely abandoned by the 8th century, it is likely that Mouei was not located on the extreme outer rim of the depression but somewhat farther towards the interior.

3 Ἀνδρέ(ου): The *epoikion* Andreou (TM Geo 170) is administratively linked with Magais in *SPP* 10.138 (early 7th c.). It is listed together with Mouei in *SPP* 10.60 (8th c.), see l. 5 and 11. In *SPP* 10.80 (7th–8th c.) it is administratively grouped with Patres and Embolou, neither of which are securely located. Embolou is difficult to locate and was perhaps somewhat towards the interior, being twice mentioned with Piamouei, medieval and modern Biyahmū just to the north of the Fayyūm’s capital (*SPP* 10.146 and 154, 7th–8th c.). As Wessely already suggested,<sup>7</sup> Patres, is probably identical with Badrīs, one of the abandoned ancient sites al-Nābulusī identifies along the deserted portions of the so-called Baḥr Tanabṭawayh (“Canal of Tebtynis”), i.e. the ancient “desert canal of Polemon” (ὁρεῖνῃ δῖωρυξ Πολέμωνος). Yet since al-Nābulusī mistakenly conflates the western and southern border canals, his list of abandoned Baḥr Tanabṭawayh dependencies includes not only deserted southern villages (Tanabṭawayh = Tebtynis) but also such well-known western sites as Burjtūt (Perkethaut/Philagris near Kōm Hamūlī) and Qaṣr Qārūn (Dionysias). In total his list is as follows: Tanabṭawayh; Ṭabā; Shallā; Iṭṭīḥ; Ihrīt al-Munqalaba; Ḥaddāda; Juzāza (or Zujāja); Sanhūris; Burjtūt; Sudū; Sidrā; Badrīs; Sanhāba; Aqnā; Tanhamā; Kharāb Qāsim; Banī Barī; Tanhamat al-Sidr; Qaṣr Qārūn; Zarzura; al-Rayyān (Al-Nābulusī, *Villages of the Fayyum* [n. 3] 47). Although most of these Egypto-Arabic toponyms cannot be linked with corresponding ancient sites, the list nonetheless seems to move first west from Tanabṭawayh/Tebtynis then north towards Qaṣr Qārūn/Dionysias. Since Badrīs/Patres follows Burjtūt/Hamūlī, the village may also have been located on the western margins somewhere to the north of Kōm Hamūlī. *Epoikion* Andreou is also closely connected to Philagris/Perkethaut in *P.Prag.* 2.136 (7th c.), which preserves a list of money taxes from both settlements. The village later appears in a larger administrative cluster in *SB* 6.9583 (second half of the 8th c.), there

<sup>7</sup> Wessely (n. 4) 118.

grouped with Beki, *chorion* Okeos, Theaxenis, Eter, and Theaxenidos *ousia*. While most of these settlements are unlocated, Theaxenis (earlier Theoxenis) was one of the villages of the western Fayyūm accused by Aurelius Sakaon in the 4th century of stealing water destined for Theadelpheia (*P.Sakaon* 35, ca. 332 CE) and was therefore somewhere upstream (i.e. south) along the canal(s) that served both settlements. As Bart Van Beek has suggested, the firm location of Theoxenis might have been in the Themistos but its relative proximity to Narmouthis in the Polemon points to a location in the vicinity of Hamūlī.<sup>8</sup> All of this evidence tentatively suggests that Andreou was also located somewhere along the Fayyūm's west, perhaps near Hamūlī.

4 Τύεω(ς): Cf. C. Kreuzsaler in *SPP* 3.2.461.2n., who remarks that it is impossible to locate Tyis (TM Geo 2488) precisely based on the few attestations of the settlement in late-Byzantine and early-Arab-period village lists and receipts. Although Wessely placed the village in the east,<sup>9</sup> a location in the western half of the Fayyūm is suggested by the alphabetical list *SB* 1.5340 (6th-7th c.). Although most of the widely-scattered toponyms in this list are not yet located, those that are were broadly in the western half of the depression: Oxyrhyncha,<sup>10</sup> Tebtynis, Phourtin (see l. 7 n. below), Karpe (linguistically identical with al-Nābulusī's Minyat Karbīs just north/northwest of the capital city), and Patres/Badrīs (see l. 3 n. above).<sup>11</sup> The remaining evidence also suggests a location somewhere in the northern portion of the old *meris* of Polemon not far south of the capital. In the tax list *SPP* 20.225 (7th-8th c.), Tyis appears together with a number of former-Polemon villages including Ibion (near Kerkeosiris), Kynopolis (near Tebetny/Difinnū), and Bousiris, which is probably identical to al-Nābulusī's Būṣīr Difidnū (modern Abū Ṣīr Difinnū), a village

<sup>8</sup> See the article by B. Van Beek in the Fayum Project: [https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/2386.php?geo\\_id=2386](https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/2386.php?geo_id=2386).

<sup>9</sup> Wessely (n. 4) 150.

<sup>10</sup> On the location of Oxyrhyncha see the article by W. Clarysse in the Fayum Project: [https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/1523.php?geo\\_id=1523](https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/1523.php?geo_id=1523).

<sup>11</sup> Karpe is tentatively placed in the old Polemon by Trismegistos (TM Geo 1012) probably based on S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten. Eine Sammlung christlicher Stätten in Ägypten in arabischer Zeit, unter Ausschuß von Alexandria, Kairo, des Apa-Mena-Klosters (Dēr Abū Mina), des Skētis (Wād n-Naṭrūn) und der Sinai-Region 1–7* (Wiesbaden 1984–2007) 3.1230. Wessely (n. 4) 85, however, placed the village near Patres, Tassat, Pisais/Ibshawāy, and Phentemin/Fidimīn, i.e. north of the capital city. The identification with Minyat Karbīs was made only recently by Banaji (n. 4) 246–247. In the papyri the village is thrice attested with Patres/Badrīs (*SPP* 10.78 [7th c.], 90 [8th c.], and 97 [8th c.]), and twice each with the other firmly-located settlements of Pisais (*SPP* 10.78 and 90) and Phentemin (*SPP* 10.1 [7th c.] and 97 [8th c.]). These connections suit a village located north/northwest of the capital.

near Difinnū some 6.5 km south of the capital. Tyis appears again with Ibion and Kynopolis in the tax-list *SPP* 10.250 (7th c.), a list that also includes the village of Eleusis, which neighbored Mouchis, Aphrodites Polis, Kynopolis, Oxyrhyncha, Theogonis, and Tebetny.<sup>12</sup> Tyis appears with Eleusis again in *SPP* 10.52 (7th-8th c.) Since Tyis never appears closely connected with the Fayyūm's most southerly villages, e.g. Magdola, Talei (al-Nābulusī's Ṭalīt), and Tebtynis, it was probably somewhere toward the north of the old Polemon.

5 Ἀφροδ(ιτώ): The toponym Ἀφροδίτης used throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman periods was extinct by the Byzantine era, having been replaced by the form Ἀφροδιτώ. In published late papyri the abbreviated toponym has been resolved as Ἀφροδίτ(ης) only in *SPP* 10.37 (7th-8th c.) at l. 11, but the reading has proven to be incorrect; cf. Wessely (n. 4) 44–45 and *BL* 13.247. The identification of this toponym is difficult because two distinct Fayyūm villages bore the onomastic element Aphrod( ) in the Hellenistic and Roman periods: Aphrodites Polis (TM Geo 233) and Aphrodites Berenikes Polis (TM Geo 232), the former in the old Polemon *meris* and the latter in the Herakleides.<sup>13</sup> Given the western locations of the other villages in the present list it is tempting to identify the present Aphrodito with Aphrodites Polis, which was somewhere in the vicinity of Mouchis and Eleusis.<sup>14</sup> The toponym appears (although in restoration) in a 2nd-century list of villages in the former Polemon from Talei in the south to Mouchis in the north (*P.Tebt.* 2.609, mid-2nd c. CE). Yet this western Aphrodites is reliably attested only until the 3rd century CE. Aphrodites Berenikes Polis, on the other hand, is well represented in the 2nd-century CE archive of Petaus *komogrammateus* of Ptolemais Hormou (al-Lahun). In *P.Petaus* 40 (182–187 CE), a list of pairs of villages contributing animals for a feast of Sarapis, the village is paired with Arabon, a settlement broadly located in the east of the Herakleides. As noted by the Fayum Project, close links with Psenyris (Sanhūr) and Andrianton (Biyahmū) also suggest a location in their near vicinity, i.e. north/northwest of the capital. Indeed, the eastern Aphrodites is frequently mentioned in the same context as Psenyris (Sanhūr). *P.Grenf.* 2.61 (197–198 CE) records a cash advance for the purchase of wine at Aphrodites. Cf. also the tax lists in *P.Vind.Tand.* 13–15 (1st-2nd c.). The existence of two near-homonymous

<sup>12</sup> H. Proost in the Fayum Project: [https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/624.php?geo\\_id=624](https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/624.php?geo_id=624).

<sup>13</sup> The two are conflated by Wessely (n. 4) 44–45.

<sup>14</sup> H. Proost and W. Clarysse in the Fayum Project: [https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/233.php?geo\\_id=233](https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/233.php?geo_id=233).

settlements has promoted some confusion in TM Geo. For instance the Aphrodito that appears in *SPP* 10.23 (7th c.) along with eastern villages including Metrodora, Kerkesoucha Orous, and Sele is plausibly identified with the earlier Aphrodites Berenikes Polis. So too is the Aphrodito appearing at the end of the village list *SPP* 10.147 (8th c.), although the portion of the list in which the toponym appears is comprised entirely of western/southwestern villages including Kna (al-Nābulusī's Aqnā), Theaxenis, Narmouthis, and Perkethaut/Philagris. This suggests that the Aphrodito of the Polemon was not yet extinct in this late period. The present Aphrodito should therefore be identified with the western village formerly known as Aphrodites Polis.

6 Δικαίου: Earlier referred to as Dikaiou Nesos, the village becomes simply Dikaiou in the late period (TM Geo 557). Although Wessely placed Dikaiou in the southeast of the Polemon,<sup>15</sup> the Fayum Project locates it somewhere towards the north/northwest of the *meris*, relatively near the border with the former Themistos.<sup>16</sup> Dikaiou was closely linked with a definitively Polemon village Aristarchou Nesos, a village last attested in 318 CE.<sup>17</sup> The village's closest connections appear to be with Mouchis and Ouo. In *SPP* 8.811 (5th-7th c.) Dikaiou appears with Mouchis, both villages paying taxes in wheat through the same individual (whose village of origin beginning with Π is lost). It again appears with Mouchis in *SPP* 10.249 (ca. 620); the text refers to an "ousia Dikaiou" and lists the villages Gemellou, Ouo, Melitonos *epoikion*, and Mouchis. The village of Ouo again appears with Dikaiou in *SPP* 10.138 (early 7th c.) in a section dealing with lands of Flavius Strategios Paneuphemos in five separate villages all administered by the same *comes*: Panse, Thambator, *epoikion* Ammo[ ], Ouo and Dikaiou. Ouo is not located but if Mouchis (Coptic *Tmoushi*) is correctly identified with al-Nābulusī's Dumūshiyya near modern Dayr al-ʿAzab this would indeed place Dikaiou somewhere in the north of the former Polemon.<sup>18</sup>

7 Φουρθ(ι)ν: Also spelled Φουρτιν, this poorly-attested toponym appears only in late papyri (TM Geo 1795). Both Wessely and Grenfell and Hunt placed it in the south/southwest Fayyūm.<sup>19</sup> In *SB* 6.9583 (second

<sup>15</sup> Wessely (n. 4) 57.

<sup>16</sup> Bart Van Beek: [https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/557.php?geo\\_id=557](https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/557.php?geo_id=557).

<sup>17</sup> *P.Tebt.* 2.609 (151 CE) and *PSI* 7.820 (314 CE). For the Polemon location see *P.Tebt.* 2.124 (117 BCE).

<sup>18</sup> On the identity and location of Mouchis see most recently A. Winkler, "Mouchis and its Crocodiles: Topography, Toponymy, and Theonymy," *BASP* 55 (2018) 229–251.

<sup>19</sup> Wessely (n. 4) 159; Grenfell and Hunt (n. 4) 408.

half of the 8th c.), however, an individual from Phourtin makes payments on behalf of villages located in the territory of the former Themistos and Polemon *merides* only one of which – Phanou, al-Nābulusī's Fanū, adjacent to Naqalīfa 10 km north of the capital – can be located precisely. Phourtin is attested three times with Tetrathyron: *CPR* 22.60.52–53 (7th–8th c.), *SB* 6.9583.Fr.4. (second half of the 8th c.), and *SPP* 10.83 (8th c.), a village somewhere in the former Polemon possibly near the capital city (see *SPP* 10.281 [7th–8th c.]). Indeed, the list of payments in *CPR* 22.60 groups Phourtin and Tetrathyron with the *megale ekklesia* of the capital (*poleos*), the twice-attested and altogether obscure (T)kankaei,<sup>20</sup> and Belou. The latter occurs twice each with Pisais (al-Nābulusī's Ibshāyat al-Rummān, presently Ibshawāy, 17 km west-northwest of the capital<sup>21</sup>: *SPP* 10.78 [7th c.] and 254 [7th c.]), Karpe/Minyat Karbīs (*SPP* 10.78 and 290 [7th–8th c.]), and Phanou/Fanū (*SB* 18.13267 [7th c.] and *SPP* 10.247 [7th–8th c.]). It is also twice with southern Oxyrhyncha (*SPP* 20.238.11 and 15 [7th c.], *SPP* 10.56 [7th–8th c.]), which was closely linked to Mouchis.<sup>22</sup> Its nearest neighbor, however, may have been the *epoikion* Elia. In *SPP* 8.1286 (7th–8th c.) an individual receives grain on behalf of persons in both Elia and Phourtin. Elia also appears in a list with Pisais, the *megale ekklesia* of the capital, and Kaminoi, which was in the north of the old Polemon near the border of the Themistos (*SPP* 10.168 [8th c.]).<sup>23</sup> All of this suggests a roughly central location for Phourtin.

## 2. Fragment of a Fiscal Register

Remnants of two columns of a fiscal register written with the fibres are preserved which probably listed payments in money or wheat, though other commodities are also possible. The papyrus is complete on the top and the bottom but broken on the left and the right side, and there is no way of ascertaining how much wider the original register was. The back is blank. Both the city (i.e. Arsinoiton Polis) and the *chorion* Ampeliou are repeated in the entries: a possible reason for this is that the register listed various payments made by different persons from these localities,

<sup>20</sup> The toponym otherwise appears only in *SPP* 10.55b (6th c.), there without an article as Κανκαεῖ.

<sup>21</sup> TM Geo 1836.

<sup>22</sup> See l. 4 n. above.

<sup>23</sup> On Kaminoi see the article by B. Van Beek in the Fayum Project: [https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/994.php?geo\\_id=994](https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/994.php?geo_id=994).

whose names might have been written next to the toponyms in the lost portion of the text, cf. e.g. *SPP* 10.54 (Ars., 8th c.) for a similar structure.

P.Aberd. inv. 134a

H × W = 21 × 7.8 cm

Fayyūm, 8th century

Col. 1

] α ζ  
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 10 ]' .  
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 15 ] γ' ι β''  
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 ] . . ζ . [

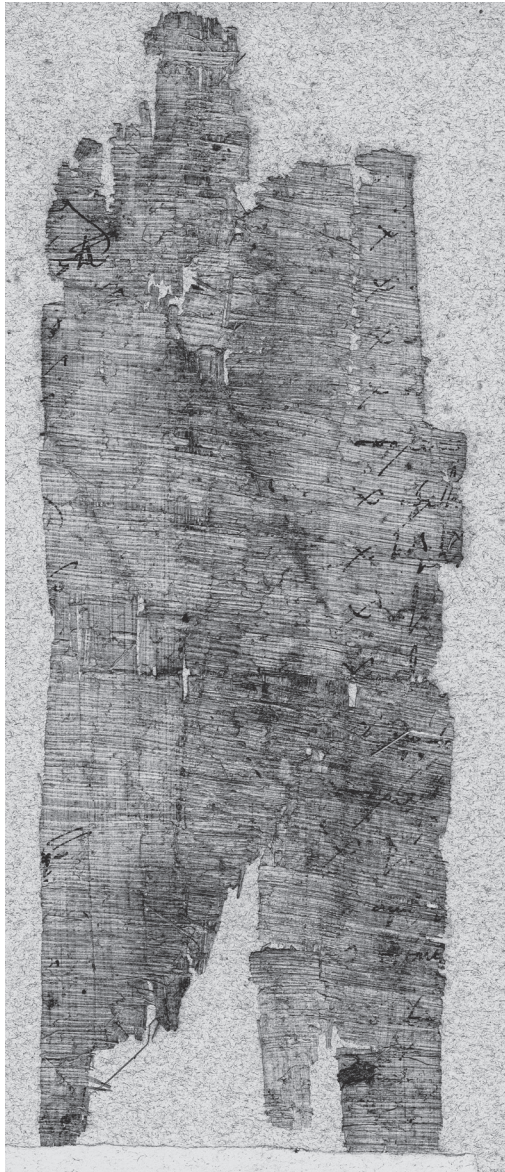
Col. ii

...	[	“...
χ(ωρίου)	. [	of the <i>chorion</i> ...
χ(ωρίου)	. [	of the <i>chorion</i> ...
χ(ωρίου)	. [	of the <i>chorion</i> ...
5 χ(ωρίου)	.. [	of the <i>chorion</i> ...
πόλεως	[	of the city ...
χ(ωρίου) Σελή	[	of the <i>chorion</i> Sele ...
χ(ωρίου) Κερκ(εσού)χ(ων) [όρους?		of the <i>chorion</i> Kerkesoucha Orous (?) ...
χ(ωρίου) Σι . . [		of the <i>chorion</i> Si...
10 χ(ωρίου) Σι[		of the <i>chorion</i> Si...
χ(ωρίου) Ἀμπελίου		of the <i>chorion</i> Ampeliou ...
πόλεως		of the the city ...
χ(ωρίου) Φεντ[εμιν		of the <i>chorion</i> Phentemin ...
χ(ωρίου) Ἀμπελίου		of the <i>chorion</i> Ampeliou ...



- 15 χ(ωρίου) Τεβετ[νυ                      of the *chorion* Tebetny ...  
       [χ(ωρίου)] Σκέλ[ους                    of the *chorion* Skelous ...  
       [χ(ωρίου)?] . . . λ[                    of the *chorion* (?) ...”

col. 2.2–5, 7–11, 13–15 χ' pap.    8 κερκ' pap.



Col. 2 1 . . . [: Perhaps πόλ[εως? This would divide the account into three parts each starting with the city.

7 χ(ωρίου) Σελη [: Likely identical with medieval and modern Sīla (TM Geo 2108), a village of the eastern Fayyūm some 13 km east/north-east of the capital.<sup>24</sup> Ancient Sele appears with Kerkesephis and Tebetny in *SPP* 10.286 (7th-8th c.). The latter is surely identical with modern Difinnū (medieval Difidnū) some 9 km south/southwest of the capital,<sup>25</sup> while the former was somewhere towards the northeast of the former *meris* of Polemon near the border of the Themistos *meris*.<sup>26</sup> A more easterly location for Sele is suggested by *SPP* 10.23 (7th c.), which groups Sele with such settlements as Ptolemais Hormou (al-Lahun), Boubastos, Kerkeseoucha Orous, Metrodoron, and Pantikou (Allages). The final two toponyms have been identified tentatively with Miṭr Ṭāris, some 8.5 km northeast of the capital, and medieval Bandīq, a three-hour ride east from the capital according to al-Nābulusī (*Villages of the Fayyūm* [n. 3] 129). Although accepted by Trismegistos, the equation of Metrodoron (TM Geo 1366) with Miṭr Ṭāris is highly insecure. The link was proposed in Egyptian geographer Muḥammad Ramzī's gazetteer of the Fayyūm based on linguistic similarity with the *Mîtrodorōn* appearing in Amélineau's geography.<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately only the aforementioned *SPP* 10.23 and *SPP* 10.60 (7th c.) provide usable data, the latter once again grouping Metrodoron with Pantikou Allages and Ptolemais Hormou. Still, the central and easterly locations of these settlements provides additional support to the equation of ancient Sele and modern Sīla.

8 Κερκ(εσοῦ)χ(ων): If the restoration ὄρους is correct, there are two villages that bore this name, one near the entrance to the Fayyūm in the old Herakleides *meris* and the other in the old Polemon. The latter has been identified by Paolo Gallo with the twice-attested Coptic toponym

<sup>24</sup> See already Wessely (n. 4) 137–138.

<sup>25</sup> TM Geo 2284. The Coptic toponym ΤΕΒΕΤΝΟΥ was first identified with the linguistically identical Dafadnū by É. Amélineau, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte* (Paris 1893) 487–488 and the identification is not disputed by Wessely (n. 4) 145–146.

<sup>26</sup> TM Geo 1063. *P.Berl.Leihg.* 1.19 (221/2 or 225/6 CE) places Kerkesephis in the Polemon but one of its closest neighbors was Pyrreia, a Themistos village (*P.Tebt.* 3.716 [158 BC]).

<sup>27</sup> Amélineau (n. 25) 260. M. Ramzī, *al-Qāmūs al-juḡhrāfi lil-bilād al-Miṣrīyah: min 'ahd qudamā' al-Miṣrīyīn ilā sanat 1945*, vol. 2.3 (Cairo 1960) 115. Timm (n. 11) 4.1641–1642. Pace Timm, A. Zēki-Bey does not link Metrodoron with Miṭr Ṭāris in his article “Une description arabe du Fayum au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'hégire,” *Bulletin de la Société Khédivale de Géographie* 25 (1899) 253–295 at 290–291.

Pelgisok, which survived as Buljusūq in al-Nābulusī's period, a village watered by the Baḥr Tanabṭawayh.<sup>28</sup> The former settlement was part of the *komogrammateia* of Petaus, village scribe of Ptolemais Hormou/al-Lahun in the 2nd century CE, which securely places it somewhere in the southeast of the nome (e.g. *P.Petaus* 49, 60, and 77).<sup>29</sup> It is not immediately possible to determine which of these two settlements is mentioned here. We nonetheless regard the entry as referring to one or the other rather than to the near-homonymous Kerkesoucha, which was in the northeast of the Fayyūm in the vicinity of Karanis (TM Geo 1067). Indeed, several of the late papyri in which this northern Kerkesoucha is said to appear likely instead refer to one of the two more southerly settlements given that their surrounding topography is more southern in orientation, thus resembling that of the present papyrus. In *SPP* 10.246 (7th c.), for example, a Kerkesoucha appears with Sele, Piamouei/Biyahmū, and Pantikou (as Πανκτι). In *SPP* 10.36 (7th c.) a Kerkesoucha appears with Phentemin/Fidimīn (see below col. 2.13 n.). Finally, in *P.Vind.Tand.* 17 (7th c.) a Kerkesoucha appears with one Skelou, otherwise known as To Skelos (see below l. 16 n.). The Kerkesoucha (Orous) of the present papyrus, probably that near the entrance to the Fayyūm, is a better fit than the northeasterly Kerkesoucha for these attestations. Cf. also *SPP* 10.23 (7th c.), whose Kerkesoucha Orous, appearing here with Sele, Ptolemais Hormou, and Metrodoron is assigned by Trismegistos to the Kerkesoucha Orous of the southern part of the old Herakleides *meris*.

9 Σι . . [: Perhaps Σιντ[ωου, cf. also l. 10. Even if this restoration is correct, there is little usable information with which to locate the *chorion* Sintoou (TM Geo 2142). In *SPP* 10.150 (6th c.) it appears with the plausibly restored toponym Pseonnophris (Arabic Sunūfar just south of the capital)<sup>30</sup> and Alexandrou Nesos, which was somewhere near Pisais (Arabic Ibshawāy) in the former Themistos, as already proposed by Wessely (n. 4) 33.<sup>31</sup> In *SPP* 10.78 (7th c.) it appears along with Karpe/Minyat Karbīs and Pisais/Ibshawāy). The only other papyrus showing potentially helpful connections is *SPP* 10.262 (7th-8th c.). Its topography is, however,

<sup>28</sup> *O.Narm.Dem.* 2, p. LXI. See Berkes and Haug (n. 2) 205 and Al-Nābulusī, *Villages of the Fayyum* (n. 3) 47.

<sup>29</sup> TM Geo 1069. See the relevant article by I. Uytterhoeven in the Fayum Project: [https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/1069.php?geo\\_id=1069](https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/1069.php?geo_id=1069).

<sup>30</sup> TM Geo 1971. The identity of Sunūfar and Pseonnophris, first proposed by Wessely (n. 4) 165, was disputed by Grenfell and Hunt (n. 4) 411.

<sup>31</sup> For the location of Alexandrou Nesos see the relevant article by W. Clarysse in the Fayum Project. TM Geo 105.

broadly dispersed and includes Psineuris (Sanhūr), Pantikou (Bandīq?), and Kerkesoucha Orous somewhere towards the south near the entrance to the Fayyūm. Sintoou may have had a relatively central location but little can be ascertained beyond this.

10 Σι[ : The text might be read as Σι[ντωου, cf. the beginning of the same toponym above in l. 9, but it would be unusual to find the same village in two consecutive lines. Yet since the toponym Ampeliou appears twice in this register, we may be dealing with two different taxpayers from the same village. Alternatively, the second letter may be a *kappa*, thus suggesting the toponym Σκέλους, which appears in l. 15, see below.

11 χ(ωρίου) Ἀμπελίου: It is difficult to pin down the relative location of Ampeliou (TM Geo 158). It appears in three lists with Sele – *SPP* 10.54 (8th c.), 152 (6th–7th c.), and 278 (7th c.) – yet it is also closely associated with Theagonis (earlier Theogonis) near Kerkeosiris and Talei/Ṭālīt in *SPP* 10.266 (7th c.), 274 (8th c.), and 278 (7th c.). Using both Coptic documents and *SPP* 10.1 (7th c.), a list of villages in the estate of the late Flavius Strategios Paneuphemos, Banaji conjectures a location in the former Themistos. The estate list comprises Psineuris/Sanhūr, Ampeliou, Berenikis, Karpe/Minyat Karbīs, Phentemin/Fidimīn, Kainos, and Psinol. Although Banaji’s identification of Berenikis as Berenikis Aigialou rather than Berenikis Thesmophorou is problematic since the former village is otherwise last securely attested in 351 CE (*P.Abinn.* 55), it is still arguably correct.<sup>32</sup> Apart from Kainos and Psinol, the locations of the other settlements in the list are relatively secure. Berenikes, Karpe, and Ampeliou also appear together in *SPP* 10.78 (7th c.).<sup>33</sup> A western location therefore seems highly probable though the apparent connection to Theagonis may indicate a more southerly orientation as well.

13 χ(ωρίου) Φεντέμιν: TM Geo 1970. Identified already by Wessely with modern Fidimīn some 10 km northwest of the capital.<sup>34</sup> In the bilingual Greek-Arabic village list *P.Ross.Georg* 5.73 (8th c.) χωρ(ι)ο(υ) Φεντέ(μιν) is transliterated into Arabic *Fidimīn*, using the medieval spelling with short medial vowel attested in al-Nābulusī (e.g. *Villages of the Fayyūm* [n. 3] 197).

<sup>32</sup> *SPP* 10.78 (7th c.) groups a Berenikes with a number of western Fayyūm toponyms. If southerly Berenikes Thesmophorou is to be understood the list presents a regionally unified cluster of villages with a single and significant outlier. Resolving the abbreviated village name here as Berenikes Aigialou would solve the problem. Banaji (n. 4) 246.

<sup>33</sup> Banaji (n. 4) 144.

<sup>34</sup> Wessely (n. 4) 153.

15 χ(ωρίου) Τεβετ[νυ: TM Geo 2284. Al-Nābulusī's Difidnū, modern Difinnū some 9 km south/southwest of the capital. See above, l. 7 n.

16 [χ(ωρίου)] Σκέλ[ους: TM Geo 2146. Cf. also above l. 10 n. Often written with the definite article as Τὸ Σκέλος, the village has not been linked by any scholar to an Arsinoite *meris*. Indeed, it appears only in late papyri and with toponyms of all three former *merides*. However, the village was most likely to have been located in the south of the nome. *SPP* 10.282 (8th c.) is a list of villages of the south including a Kerkesoucha Orous. Unfortunately, few of the villages with which Skelos appears can be located with certainty. It is nonetheless associated with villages towards the entrance of the nome. *SB* 6.9583 (second half of the 8th c.) groups the village with Monti, Herakleonos, Ouo, Anoges, Arotheou, and Tmouei. Anoges, and Herakleonos appear to have been proximate as indicated in *CPR* 19.32 (7th c.), while Anoges and Tmouei appear with Ptolemais Hormou/al-Lahun in *SPP* 20.271 (7th-8th c.). Tmouei is therefore perhaps identical with al-Nābulusī's Dimūh al-Lāhūn (mod. Hawwārat 'Adlān) opposite al-Lāhūn on the Baḥr Yūsuf inlet.<sup>35</sup> To Skelos appears with Anoges and Herakleonos in *SPP* 10.149 (6th c.). Here the mention in l. 9 of χωρ(ιον) Σκέλους (καὶ) Ἡρακλέωνος μικρ[ᾶς] οὐ[σίας] would also suggest at least relative proximity to Herakleonos. As *Skelou* the toponym also appears with Anoges and a Kerkesoucha in *P.Vind.Tand.* 17 (7th c.). We must therefore be dealing with a settlement located somewhere in the east/southeast of the Arsinoite. Cf. already F. Morelli, *Olio e retribuzioni nell'Egitto tardo (V–VIII d.C.)* (Firenze 1996) 13 at n. 3.

17 It is not clear from the traces whether the last line contained a further toponym introduced by χ(ωρίου) or perhaps a summary of the payments.

<sup>35</sup> Another possible identity is al-Nābulusī's Dimūh al-Dāthir, an abandoned border village of the southeast only recently refounded in al-Nābulusī's period, see *Villages of the Fayyum* (n. 3) 152.

## A COMPANION OF MUḤAMMAD IN THE OLDEST EGYPTIAN BILINGUAL *ENTAGION*

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*Abstract.* — Edition of a bilingual Arabic-Greek *entagion* in the collection of the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, issued, in either 50/670 or 60/680, by Maslama b. Muḥallad, one of Muḥammad's Companions and governor of Egypt from 47/667 to 62/682. The *entagion* is addressed to the people of Tebtynis and is one of few pieces of evidence for this important village in the earliest Islamic period. It is also the oldest known dated bilingual *entagion* from Egypt, antedating by a decade or more the Marwānīd period, when Arabic literary sources suggest that the caliphal government formally adopted Arabic as its administrative language. It thus attests to the joint operation of Greek and Arabic scribal traditions at the highest offices of the Egyptian administration at an earlier date than has sometimes been supposed and urges us to reconsider the standard chronology of administrative Arabization in the caliphate.

*Keywords:* Maslama b. Muḥallad, Tebtynis, bilingualism in early Arab Egypt, *entagion*

### *Introduction*

The document published here, kept in the Near Eastern Division of the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, is interesting in several respects.<sup>1</sup> It is a bilingual Arabic-Greek *entagion* – or requisition order – by which

<sup>1</sup> The document along with the rest of the Library of Congress's Arabic papyri was acquired in Cairo from the famous shop for ancient and modern books "The Oriental Bookstore," which had been run by the Feldman family in Soliman Pasha Square since 1936. We have so far been unable to ascertain the precise date of the collection's purchase; most likely, a representative of the Library of Congress made the purchase in the late 1940s or early 1950s during one of the Library's many international acquisition trips. The collection includes several documents from the South Fayyūm (e.g. inv. 56, 57, and 95), but also from al-Fusṭāṭ (e.g. inv. 58, 63, and 112). On this collection, see N. Vanthieghem and L. Weitz, "Monks, Monasteries, and Muslim Scribes: Three Parchment House Sales from the 4th/10th-Century Fayyūm," *Arabica* 67 (2020) 461–501, in part. 463. — We would like to thank Lajos Berkes, Lahcen Daaif, Nikolaos Gonis, and Khaled Younes as well as the reviewers for commenting on a preliminary version of this article.



the governor of Egypt Maslama b. Muḥallad (d. 62/682), counted among the Companions of Muḥammad, orders a requisition involving the state's flocks of sheep. By its date, Raġab 50/March-April 670 or 60/December 679-January 680, it is the oldest testimony to institutional bilingualism in the Egyptian administration. The papyrus comes from the village of Tebtynis, from which no Arabic text dating from the first two centuries after the Arab conquest is known so far, and which is, moreover, virtually absent from papyrological documentation from the end of the Byzantine period to the mid-ninth century.

### *Maslama b. Muḥallad*

Rarely are we able to connect Arabic papyri directly to individuals of the earliest generation of Muslims known from the literary sources of the Islamic tradition. Not only does our document provide such a case, but Maslama b. Muḥallad, the governor of Egypt in whose name the document was issued, is also one of the earliest known figures of Islamic history to appear in extant papyri. He was a younger contemporary of Muḥammad and belonged to the first generation of adherents of Muḥammad's dispensation, known in the tradition as the Companions (*al-Ṣaḥāba*) of the Prophet.<sup>2</sup>

Born into the Ḥazraġ tribal confederation of Medina around the time of the *hiġra*,<sup>3</sup> Maslama b. Muḥallad b. al-Ṣāmit al-Anṣārī took part in the conquest of Egypt in 19–21/640–642. He is said to have been a trusted commander under ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (d. 43/664). In one colorful narrative set during the siege of Alexandria, Maslama, described as “fleshy and thick-bodied” (*kaṭīr al-laḥm taqīl al-badan*), is bested ignominiously by a Roman soldier and earns ʿAmr's scorn, but redeems himself by winning a second duel to free ʿAmr and others from imprisonment.<sup>4</sup> Maslama “lived unobtrusively” in Egypt during ʿAmr's subsequent tenure as governor but, like the rest of his generation, became embroiled in the divisive politics

<sup>2</sup> See, generally, “Maslama b. Muḥallad,” in P.J. Bearman et al. (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 6 (Leiden 1996) 740.

<sup>3</sup> Traditions report alternately that Maslama was born when Muḥammad came to Medina and was ten at his death (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-aḥbāruḥā*, ed. C.C. Torrey [New Haven 1922] 93, 276), or that he was fourteen at the Prophet's death (Ibn Saʿd al-Zuhrī, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. E. Sachau et al., vol. 12/part 7.2 [Leiden 1934] 195). The noted *ḥadīth* critic Ibn Abī Ḥatīm al-Rāzī, *al-Ġarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, vol. 8 (Beirut 1952) 265–266 (no. 1212), on the authority of his father, does not count Maslama as among Muḥammad's *Ṣaḥāba*.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (n. 3) 77–78.



of the First Fitna.<sup>5</sup> When the third caliph ʿUtmān b. ʿAffān was murdered by a group of disaffected Muslims in 36/656, Maslama took the side of the ʿUtmānīs, opposing ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib’s assumption of the caliphate and his appointees to the governorship of Egypt.<sup>6</sup> Some sources report that Maslama was present among the forces of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (d. 60/680), ʿUtmān’s Umayyad kinsman and ʿAlī’s principal opponent, at the Battle of Ṣiffīn (37/656) which proved so decisive for the caliphate’s future.<sup>7</sup>

Rewarded for his loyalty to the winning side in the civil war, Maslama received appointment to the governorship of Egypt from the now-caliph Muʿāwiya, most likely in 47/667.<sup>8</sup> The sources credit him with expanding the congregational mosque of al-Fuṣṭāṭ and reforming its practice of the call to prayer,<sup>9</sup> and with authorizing the Christians to establish the first church in al-Fuṣṭāṭ.<sup>10</sup> More significantly he was the first governor of Egypt whose remit also included newly conquered territories of North Africa to the west.

When Muʿāwiya died, his son and successor Yazīd (d. 64/683) confirmed Maslama in his office. According to al-Kindī, Maslama died in Egypt in Raġab 62/March–April 682 during the early years of the Second Fitna.<sup>11</sup> Ibn Yūnus reports he died in Dū al-Qaʿda 62/July–August 682 in Alexandria, which seems plausible, as it is known that the governors of Egypt liked to visit the ancient Egyptian capital in summer, where the maritime climate must have been more bearable than in the south of the Delta.<sup>12</sup> Differing from the Egyptian sources, the Baghdadi scholar

<sup>5</sup> “Maslama b. Mukhallad” (n. 2) 740.

<sup>6</sup> See Ibn Saʿd (n. 3) 195; Muḥammad b. Ġarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīḥ al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, vol. 6/series 1.6 (Leiden 1901) 3070, 3235–3245, 3398–3400.

<sup>7</sup> E. Kohlberg, *In Praise of the Few: Studies in Shiʿi Thought and History*, ed. A. Ehteshami (Leiden 2020) 109, citing Naṣr b. Muzāḥim’s *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*.

<sup>8</sup> See Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-wulāt wa-kitāb al-quḍāt*, ed. R. Guest (Leiden 1912) 38–40. al-Ṭabarī (n. 6) vol. 7/series 2.1 (Leiden 1901) 93–94, states that Maslama was made governor only in 50/670–671, succeeding Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudayġ rather than ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir.

<sup>9</sup> K.A.C. Creswell, “La mosquée de ʿAmru,” *BIFAO* 32 (1932) 121–166, esp. 124–125.

<sup>10</sup> Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (n. 3) 132. On the Christian presence in the new capital, see A. Dridi, “Christians of Fustat in the First Three Centuries of Islam. The Making of a New Society,” in T. Vorderstrasse and T. Treptow (eds.), *A Cosmopolitan City. Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Old Cairo* (Chicago 2015) 33–40.

<sup>11</sup> Al-Kindī (n. 8) 40; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḍahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Ṣuʿayb al-ʿArnaʿūṭ et al., vol. 3 (Beirut 1981) 425, citing Ibn Yūnus.

<sup>12</sup> See A. Delattre and N. Vanthieghem, “Un ensemble archivistique trilingue à Strasbourg: un protocole et deux ordres de réquisition de la fin du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in J.-L. Fournet and A. Papaconstantinou (eds.), *Mélanges Jean Gascou. Textes et études papyrologiques* (P.Gascou) (Paris 2016) 109–131, esp. 126–128.

Ibn Sa'd reports that Maslama died in Medina during Mu'āwiya's caliphate<sup>13</sup>; this seems unlikely, however, since his body was apparently buried in the Muqattam cemetery near al-Fuṣṭāṭ, where his grave was still visible in the Mamluk period.<sup>14</sup>

Although he was counted among Muḥammad's Companions, Maslama did not acquire a prominent place in the later Islamic tradition. His profile in the world of *ḥadīth*, for example, is slight (perhaps unsurprising given his Umayyad sympathies, though he does not seem to have come in for great criticism from the *ḥadīth* folk either).<sup>15</sup>

Maslama's low profile notwithstanding, the relative rarity of documents such as our *entagion* that invoke and stem directly from known members of the first generation of Muslims is worth emphasizing. Mu'āwiya is attested widely as *amīr al-mu'minīn* in numismatics, epigraphy, and document protocols.<sup>16</sup> 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ receives mention in Greek official documents issued on his behalf,<sup>17</sup> though no Arabic ones have yet been published. Worth noting as well are rock graffiti in Arabia dated to the 1st/7th century mentioning the deaths of 'Umar and 'Uṯmān, although these hardly qualify as official documents issued by state offices.<sup>18</sup> Otherwise, the published documentary record provides little. Most names that appear in the earliest Arabic papyri, such as the commander 'Abd Allāh b. Ḡābir in the well-known receipt for a requisition of sheep dated 22/643,<sup>19</sup> cannot be identified with anyone from the literary tradition.<sup>20</sup> Several individuals from the generation after Maslama's, the Successors (*al-Tābi'un*) in the parlance of the Islamic literary tradition, are attested in a variety of

<sup>13</sup> Ibn Sa'd (n. 3) 195.

<sup>14</sup> Ibn al-Zayyāt, *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra fī tartīb al-ziyāra fī al-qarāfatayn al-ṣuḡrā wa-l-kubrā* (Cairo 1907) 19, 103. See also al-Saḥāwī, *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb wa-buḡyat al-ṭullāb fī al-ḥiṭaṭ wa-al-mazārāt wa-al-tarāḡim wa-al-biqā' al-mubārakāt* (Cairo 1937) 150.

<sup>15</sup> See Abū al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ Yūsuf al-Mizzī, *Tahḏīb al-kamāl fī asmā' al-riḡāl*, ed. Baššār 'Awwād Ma'rūf, vol. 27 (Beirut 1983) 574–576, no. 5962; Ibn Abī Ḥātim (n. 3) 265–266.

<sup>16</sup> See C. Foss, "Mu'āwiya's State," in J. Haldon (ed.), *Money, Power and Politics in Early Islamic Syria: A Review of Current Debates* (Farnham 2010) 75–96, esp. 81–85. An example of a protocol on papyrus is *P.Ness*. 60a.

<sup>17</sup> *PERF* 556 = *P.World*, p. 115.

<sup>18</sup> 'A. ibn Ibrahim Ghabban and R. Hoyland, "The Inscription of Zuhayr, the Oldest Islamic Inscription (24 AH/644–645), the Rise of the Arabic Script and the Nature of the Early Islamic State," *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 19 (2008) 209–236; F. Imbert, "Califes, princes et compagnons dans les graffiti du debut de l'islam," *Romano-Arabica* 15 (2015) 59–78.

<sup>19</sup> *P.World*, p. 113 = *P.Alqab* 1.

<sup>20</sup> This applies as well to the names in *P.Tillier Debts* 1, 3; *P.Ragib Jurisdiction* 1; *P.Bruning Sunna*.

administrative documents.<sup>21</sup> But an Arabic papyrus document composed directly for a Companion well-attested in the literary sources remains, to our knowledge, quite rare in the present state of research.<sup>22</sup>

### *Tebtynis*

Of further note is the appearance in our document of Tebtynis, written Ṭibṭūnis (طبطنس), the village to which the *entagion* was issued. Lying in the southern reaches of the Fayyūm Oasis, Tebtynis has produced a very large number of documents from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, and the remains of its ancient districts have been the subject of intensive archaeological excavations.<sup>23</sup> We also have a considerable number of Arabic documents from the village, now under the Arabic name of Ṭuṭūn, dated to the 3rd-5th/9th-11th centuries.<sup>24</sup> But much less is known of this

<sup>21</sup> Most prominently ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, the Umayyad governor of Egypt 65–86/685–705, in whose name were issued several extant documents (see below, n. 24). See Ibn Saʿd (n. 3) vol. 9/part 5 (Leiden 1940) 175. Al-Ḥārīt b. ʿAbd, who issued requisition orders dated 54–57/674–677 to the village of Nessana in Palestine (*P.Ness.* 60–66), is likely the same al-Ḥārīt b. ʿAbd al-Azdī counted by Ibn Saʿd among the first generation of the Successors settled in greater Syria (Ibn Saʿd [n. 3] 156). Ibn ʿAsākir’s comments that Muʿāwīya put this same al-Ḥārīt in charge of the *rağğāla* (messengers or infantry?) of Palestine, and that he died during Muʿāwīya’s caliphate, provide further evidence that the al-Ḥārīt b. ʿAbd of the Nessana documents and the literary sources are one and the same. Ibn ʿAsākir counts al-Ḥārīt as a Companion rather than a Successor. See ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīḥ madīnat Dimašq*, ed. ʿUmar b. Ġurāma al-ʿAmrawī, vol. 11 (Beirut 1996) 452–456, no. 1144. In a papyrus from the Louvre S. de Sacy, “Mémoire sur deux papyrus, écrits en langue arabe, appartenant à la collection du roi,” *Mémoires de l’Institut royal de France, académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 10 (1833) 65–88 read the name Usāma b. Zayd, whom he identified with the well-known Companion of the Prophet. However, as shown by A. Grohmann, *Arabische Chronologie* (Leiden 1966) 76, n. 1 this papyrus cannot be dated to the early first century. N. Vanthieghem, in “Papyrologica XI,” *Cd’É* 95 (2020) 372–373, no. 117, has argued that the letter in question was issued by Usāma b. Zayd al-Tanūhī, the director of finances of Egypt between 96–99/714–717 and 102–104/720–723, and can be dated precisely to Rabīʿ I or Ġumādā I 104/August–September or October–November 722.

<sup>22</sup> *P.Ness.* 60–66 may fall into the same category if we credit al-Ḥārīt of the previous note with *ṣuḥba*, but he is a less familiar and lower ranking figure than Maslama.

<sup>23</sup> For an orientation to these materials, see the websites of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, University of California-Berkeley (<https://www.lib.berkeley.edu/libraries/bancroft-library/tebtunis-papyri>) and the Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire (<https://www.ifao.egnet.net/archeologie/tebtynis>), as well as M. Langelotti, *Village Life in Roman Egypt: Tebtunis in the First Century AD* (Oxford 2020).

<sup>24</sup> Recent studies of this material include Vanthieghem and Weitz (n. 1) and L. Weitz, “Islamic Law on the Provincial Margins: Christian Patrons and Muslim Notaries in Upper Egypt, 2nd-5th/8th-11th Centuries,” *Islamic Law and Society* 27 (2020) 5–52, esp. 19–36. On Ṭuṭūn in the Islamic period, see S. Björnesjö, “Toponymie de Tebtynis à l’époque

locality for the Byzantine period or the first two centuries of the Arab period. Although the village is still mentioned in Greek documents dating back to the late Byzantine and early Arab period,<sup>25</sup> no records of the village in Arabic documents dating from the first two centuries after the conquest have been identified previously; indeed, the first occurrence of Ṭuṭūn as the Arabic name of Tebtynis dates only to 246/860 (*P.Bagnall* 53). Our document shows that at the beginning of the Arab period, the name had not yet changed and remained close to its Greek form Τεπτῶνις.

### *Arabic-Greek Bilingualism and the Process of Arabicization*

The transition from the Byzantine to the Arab administration of the early caliphate remains a topic of considerable concern in papyrological scholarship. In this area our *entagion* offers new and noteworthy evidence: it allows us to unambiguously situate the use of Arabic as an official language of the Egyptian administration in the Sufyānid period, rather than several decades later under the Marwānid government as both the Islamic literary tradition and previously known documents had suggested.

For the first three decades after the Arab conquest, the Egyptian administration continued to use Greek as its official language of communication.<sup>26</sup> Although there were some Arabic documents produced in Egypt during this period, Arabic remained a minority language and its use was clearly confined to Arab-occupied neighborhoods or camps, particularly in the newly founded capital, al-Fuṣṭāṭ.<sup>27</sup> In very rare cases, these documents were, if not translated or adapted, at least annotated in Greek.<sup>28</sup>

Arabic literary sources usually situate the Arabicization of the administration and the documents emanating from it at the time of the caliph

islamique,” *Annales Islamologiques* 27 (1993) 233–243 as well as J. Keenan, “Deserted Villages: From the Ancient to the Medieval Fayyum,” *BASP* 40 (2003) 119–139, esp. 129–137.

<sup>25</sup> See e.g. *P.Ross.Georg.* 5.10; *SPP* 3.328; *SPP* 10.80 and 158.

<sup>26</sup> See the recent article by A. Papaconstantinou, “Arabic: Language of Empire, Language of Egypt,” in E.R. O’Connell (ed.), *Egypt and Empire: Religious Identities from Ancient to Modern Times* (Leuven 2022 [forthcoming]).

<sup>27</sup> On this topic, see M. Tillier and N. Vanthieghem, “Recording Debts in Sufyānid Fuṣṭāṭ: A Re-examination of the Procedures and Calendar in Use in the 1st/7th Century,” in J. Tolan (ed.), *Geneses: Comparative Study of the Historiographies of the Rise of Christianity, Rabbinic Judaism and Islam* (New York 2019) 148–188.

<sup>28</sup> The most famous example is the bilingual Greek-Arabic *SB* 6.9576, a receipt written by a certain ‘Abd Allāh b. Ġābir after receiving sheep to feed his troops stationed in the Herakleopolite.

ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān or his son in the late 1st/7th century or very beginning of the following century,<sup>29</sup> either on the initiative of the caliph himself or that of his governors, such as the famous governor of Iraq al-Ḥaġġāġ b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714) or the no less famous caliph's brother and governor of Egypt, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān (d. 86/705).<sup>30</sup> Until the identification of our *entagion*, the known documents appeared to confirm this version of events, at least for Egypt. The first bilingual protocols with sequences in Greek and Arabic indeed date to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān's governorship (65–86/685–705); previously they had been written exclusively in the Byzantine style.<sup>31</sup> The same goes for the oldest bilingual Egyptian *entagia* known until now: these were issued in the name of the governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān,<sup>32</sup> whose name is otherwise absent from the papyrological documentation.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> See, e.g., the account of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dīkr al-ḥiṭaṭ wa-l-āṭār*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, vol. 1 (London 1995) 264, on the Arabicization of the *dīwān*: "The one who had the Egyptian register translated from Coptic into Arabic is ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, governor during the caliphate of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, in the year 87. He had it copied into Arabic and dismissed Aṭīnās from the office, replacing him with a client of Banū Saʿd, then with Banū al-Ḍiyāl – notably ʿUmar b. Ḥurmūz b. Yarbūʿ al-Fazārī, from Hims. The first to translate the registers from Persian into Arabic would be al-Walīd b. Hišām b. Sulaymān b. Ḍakwān, who died in the year 222. But the majority agree that the one who translated the register from Iraq into Arabic is Šāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the secretary of al-Ḥaġġāġ. He was a client of Banū Saʿd, who was at the time head of the Iraqi offices, after the year 80 [...] As for the Syrian registers, it was Abū Ṭābit Sulaymān b. Saʿd, secretary of the chancellery, who translated them from Greek into Arabic. The date of this translation is the subject of controversy: some claim that it was carried out under the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, others that it took place under the caliphate of Hišām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. In the time of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, the head of the Syrian office was Sarġūn b. Maṣṣūr the Christian; the function was later passed on to his son Maṣṣūr b. Sarġūn."

<sup>30</sup> On the Arabicization of the *dīwān*, see the seminal study by M. Sprengling, "From Persian to Arabic," *AJSL* 56 (1939) 175–230 and 325–336. On the Arabicization process in Egypt, see A. Delattre, R. Pintaudi, and N. Vanthieghem, "Un entagion bilingue du gouverneur ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwān trouvé à Antinoé," *Cd'É* 88 (2013) 363–371 as well as P.M. Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State: The World of a Mid-Eighth-Century Egyptian Official* (Oxford 2013) 92–93.

<sup>31</sup> On protocols from the Arab period, see J. Diethart, D. Feissel, and J. Gascou, "Les protokolla des papyrus byzantins du v<sup>e</sup> au vii<sup>e</sup> siècle. Édition, prosopographie, diplomatique," *Tyche* 9 (1994) 9–40, and Delattre and Vanthieghem (n. 12) 113–117.

<sup>32</sup> So far six *entagia* bearing his name have been discovered. Only two are preserved in the Arabic and Greek versions: *P.Gascou* 27b (Rabīʿ II 76 h., 19 July–17 August 695) and the unpublished P.Vindob. inv. G 43234 (65–86/685–705). For three of them only the Arabic version is preserved: *P.Merx* (78/697–698), *P.Diem Frühe Urkunden* 1 (65–86/685–705), and *P.Diem Frühe Urkunden* 2 (65–86/685–705). The last, *SB* 28.16900 (693 [?]), is preserved only in its Greek version.

<sup>33</sup> Note that the papyrus *P.Ryl.Arab.* 1, sect. 15, 59 (re-edited in W. Diem, "Der Gouverneur an den Pagarchen: Eine verkannter arabischer Papyrus vom Jahre 65 der Hīġra,"

The document presented here, which dates to either Raġab 50/March-April 670 or Raġab 60/December 679-January 680 during the governorship of Maslama b. Muḥallad and the caliphate of Muʿāwīya, suggests that the Arabicization process of official Egyptian documents started somewhat earlier than has been previously thought. In this respect, our *entagion* fits the timeframe of a comparable corpus of papyri from Palestine, a series of bilingual *entagia* (*P.Ness.* 3.60–67) as well as a bilingual contract (*P.Ness.* 3.56) found at the site of Nessana in the Negev Desert. These documents date as early as 674, ten years before the accession of the Marwānids to the throne, and indicate that an administrative Arabicization campaign had taken place in Palestine already under the Sufyānids. Whereas a comparison of the Nessana documents and the previously known Egyptian evidence might have been taken to suggest that Arabicization was a decentralized phenomenon, occurring in Palestine more quickly than in Egypt despite their geographical proximity, our *entagion* establishes that the process is more likely to have been carried out concomitantly in both regions. It may have been a central policy spearheaded from Damascus.

Given the combined evidence from Nessana and the document presented here, it can no longer be argued based on Arabic medieval historiography, which was probably largely influenced by the propaganda of the newly emerging Marwānid dynasty, that Arabicization only began during the reign of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. The latest Sufyānid caliphs were apparently already involved in this revolution that progressively led to the disappearance of Greek and Persian as official languages of the caliphate's administration.

### *Edition*

The governor Maslama b. Muḥallad orders the people of Tebtynis to deliver a requisitioned amount of green fodder for the caliph's sheep. The document was written by a man named Sulaymān in Raġab of the year 50 or 60/March-April 670 or December 679-January 680.

*Der Islam* 60 [1983] 104–111) was indeed written under the governorate of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz but does not state that it was issued by the governor himself. It could in fact be a simple correspondence between officials.

P.Wash.Library of Congress H × W = 18.7 × 16.7 cm Tebtynis, March-April 670  
inv. Ar. 1 + 40 or December 679-January 680

Brownish papyrus consisting of ten lines written across the fibers. The upper margin as well the right and left ones are preserved, but the bottom margin is lost. In the upper margin, the remains of a *kollesis* can be seen. The document is written in both Arabic and Greek, most probably by two different hands. The Arabic text is almost complete or at least can be reconstructed. Of the Greek version, only four lines have been preserved. Beside the Arabic and Greek texts, the document probably had a summary written in Greek at the bottom of the papyrus sheet as in other similar documents (see, for instance, *P.Gascou* 28a).

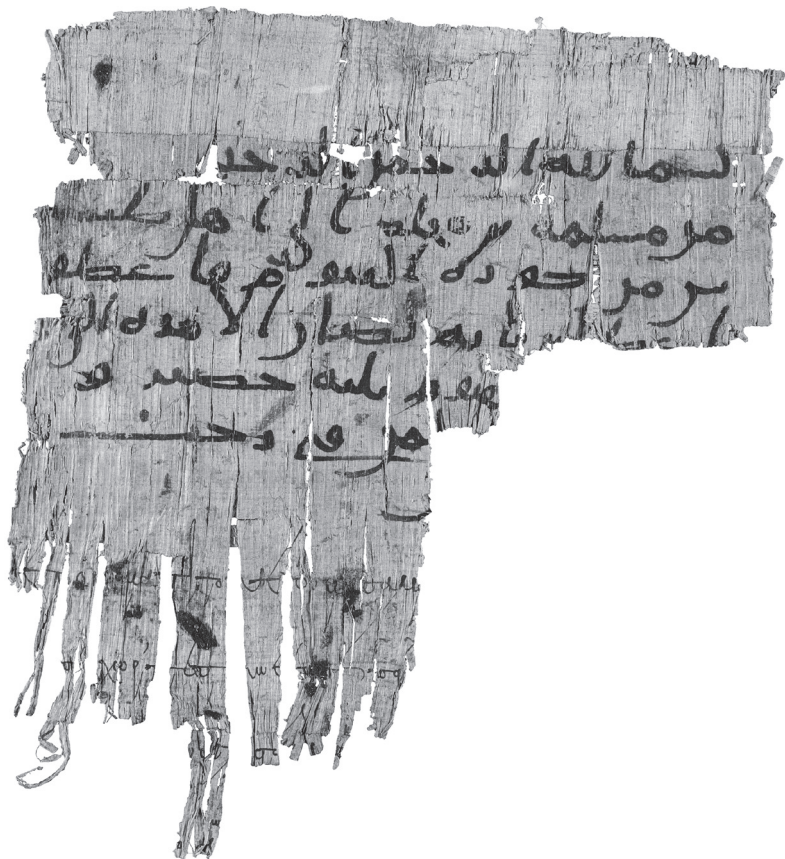
The Arabic script, written with a thick pen, is a typical script of the first century. The connection of the strokes of the medial *ġīm/hāʾ/hāʾ* passes beneath the writing line (l. 2 *Muḥallad*). The upper part of *dāl* (l. 2 *Muḥallad*) bends backwards. The *rāʾ* is small and has the shape of a half circle. *Ṣād/dād* is horizontally elongated (l. 4 *li-ḍaʿn*; l. 5 *ḥaḍīr*). The tail of the final *mīm* is extremely short (l. 1 *bism*, *al-raḥīm*). Also typical is the small tooth that appears in the ligature of the final *yāʾ/alif maqṣūra* with a preceding letter (l. 2 *ilā*; l. 6 *fī*). This script can be compared with that of *P.Diem Frühe Urkunden* 1 and 2, two tax demand notes issued by governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān. The Greek script is a fine quadrilinear one that can be compared to that of *P.Gascou* 28.

↓ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
من مسلمة بن مخلد الى اهل طبطو  
نس من كورة الفيوم فاعطو  
ا عطا < > امرنا به لضان الامرة التي  
5 [بكورة ال]فيوم ثلثة خضير و  
[كتب س]ا[ل]من في رجب  
[من سنة خمس]ين / ستين

+ Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ Μασσαλμ[α υἱὸς] Μωχαλεδ σύμβουλος  
[ὕμιν τοῖς] ἄπ[ὸ] χωρ(ίου) Τεπτύνεως παγα[ρ]χ(ίας) [Ἀρσινοίτου]  
10 [παράσχ(ετε) . . . . .] νοτ( ) λ[ . ] στ . . λ( ) . . η( )  
[ . . . . . ] . αιω( ) [

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“(In Arabic) <sup>l1</sup> In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate.  
<sup>l2</sup> From Maslama b. Muḥallad to the people of Ṭibtū<sup>l3</sup>nis of the Fayyūm  
pagarchy. Give <sup>l4</sup> the contribution that we ordered for the sheep of the  
government that <sup>l5</sup> are in the Fayyūm pagarchy: three [portions of] green  
[fodder] (?). <sup>l6</sup> Written by Sulaymān in Raḡab <sup>l7</sup> of the year fifty/sixty. (In  
Greek) <sup>l8</sup> In the name of God, Masalma, son of Mōchaled, the governor,  
<sup>l9</sup> to you inhabitants of the village of Tebtynis of the Arsinoite pagarchy.  
<sup>l10</sup> Give to ... <sup>l11</sup> ...”

2–3 Ṭibtū<sup>l3</sup>nis: Breaking up the orthography of a word such that an unconnected initial or final letter falls on a second line is not uncommon in the script of 1st–2nd/7th–8th century administrative documents, e.g. *istihṛāḡ* in *P.Grohmann Qorra-Brief* 3–4. *fa-a‘tū’* in ll. 3–4 of the present document is another example.

3–4 *fa-aʿtū*: There are two possible triggers in the Arabic tax demand notes: *innahu aṣābaka/kum* (“he deems you liable”) and *fa-aʿtū* (“give!”). The choice of one or the other formula, as noted by W. Diem, “Einige frühe amtliche Urkunden aus der Sammlung Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (Wien),” *Le Muséon* 97 (1984) 109–158, in part. 114, depends on the type of tax being levied: when it is an ordinary tax, the first trigger is used, while the second is used for extraordinary taxes, such as requisitions.

– *ʿatāʾ*: In Arabic literary and documentary sources this term typically denotes the stipend for which soldiers enrolled in the military register (*dīwān*) and their descendants were eligible, as in *P.Sijpesteijn Army Economics*. Here it appears simply as a generic term for the tax being requisitioned.

– *li-ḡaʿn al-imāra*: The word *imāra* is written defectively as in other Arabic early papyri, unless we assume that the synonym *imra* was meant in the *rasm* الأمر. It is not obvious here whether the term *imāra* refers to the governor of Egypt (*amīr*), as in *P.Heid.Arab.* 1.8.4, or to the caliph (*amīr al-muʿminīn*), as in *P.Heid.Arab.* 1.22.3. The Greek papyrus SB 24.16027.3–4 mentions sheep of the caliph ((ὕπερ) τιμ(ῆς) τῷ(ν) προβ(ά)τ(ων) ἀμῖρ(α) | αλμω(μνιν)), which might support the second solution.

– *talāṭat ḥaḍīr*: The reading of the *rasm* حصر is not problematic, but its interpretation is. Since the document is connected to sheep, we read *ḥaḍīr* here, meaning (a bale of) green fodder used to feed the beasts. Ibn Manzūr in his *Lisān al-ʿArab* says that the word *al-ḥaḍīr* is a synonym for little hogweed or *portulaca oleracea* (*al-ḥuḍra wa-l-ḥaḍīr wa-l-ḥaḍīr ism li-l-baqla al-ḥaḍrā*); on the meaning of the word *baqla*, see A. de B. Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, vol. 1 (Paris 1860) 150b. Little hogweed and its seeds have been used in Egypt since Pharaonic times and are still in use both in human and animal food, on which see P. Alpin, *Historiae Aegypti naturalis pars prima*, in the trans. and ed. by R. de Fenoyl and S. Sauneron, *Histoire naturelle de l’Égypte par Prosper Alpin, 1581–1584*, vol. 1 (Cairo 1979) 156 and V. Loret, *La flore pharaonique d’après les documents hiéroglyphiques et les spécimens découverts dans les tombes* (Paris 1892) 72–73. However, other interpretations might be possible. Since the text is written in *scriptio defectiva*, the *rasm* might be interpreted as a misspelled *ḥaṣāʾir*, the plural of *ḥaṣīra* which means “fence” or “enclosure” (Kazimirski [above] 564a). Another possibility is to read the *rasm* as the form *ḥaṣāʾir*, the plural of *ḥaṣīr*, which can

designate a “mat” (E.W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon Derived from the Best and the Most Copious Eastern Sources*, vol. 2 [1865] 583c), but this would make less sense in this context of requisition. Finally, we might read *ḥaḍīr*, plural of *ḥaḍīra* or a “company of troops” (Kazimirski [above] 448b), in apposition to *al-imāra*; *ṭalāṭat ḥaḍīr* would then be specifying the size of the government presence in the Fayyūm for whose sheep the villagers of Tebtynis were required to provide sustenance.

6–7 *fī Rağab* | [*min sanat ḥamsī*]/*n/sittī*]/*n*: The space in the lacuna seems very narrow, so it is hardly possible that the year consisted of a digit and a decade. Since Maslama b. Muḥallad was governor of Egypt between Rabīʿ I 47/667 and Rağab 62/682, the *entagion* should be dated either to Rağab 50 or Rağab 60.

10 [παράσχ(ετε) . . . . .] νοτ( ) λ[(ό)γ(ω)<sup>?</sup>] στ . . λ( ) . . η( ) : This line is badly damaged. One might however propose the tentative reading [παράσχ(ετε) δι(ὰ) δεῖνος] νοτ(αρίου) λ[(ό)γ(ω)<sup>?</sup>] στᾱβλ(ων)<sup>?</sup> (ὑπερ) μην(ῶν) “Give through so-and-so the notary for the account of the stables for x months ...”

## A WRITTEN OBLIGATION FROM AL-UŠMŪNAYN FROM THE YEAR 339 AH/950 CE<sup>1</sup>

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*Abstract.* — Edition of an Arabic written obligation from Ušmūn (P.Berol. inv. 24151 verso). The document, which is dated to 339/950, records an acknowledgement of debt for a quantity of wheat and other goods, granted by an unknown person to a man named Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, who was residing in Ušmūn.

*Keywords:* Ušmūn (Hermopolis), written obligation, wheat

Written obligations (*adkār al-ḥuqūq*) are one of the most important legal documents employed in Egypt.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of the legal process known as *ḍikr ḥaqq* is to give written evidence to a legal claim held by one of the contracting parties against the other. The town of al-Ušmūnayn has yielded the vast majority of Arabic documents after the province of al-Fayyūm; including many written obligations. They date from different periods, and some of them are already published.<sup>3</sup> To these can now

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank the reviewers for their valuable and important comments and Lorenzo Bondioli for his comments on an earlier draft of this article. Also, my deepest thanks go to Mennat-Allah El-Dorri and James D. Moore for their notes and for correcting the English. Any remaining mistakes are entirely my own.

<sup>2</sup> Abbreviations for Arabic documents are those of the checklist of Arabic documents, available online at [https://www.naher-osten.uni-muenchen.de/isap/isap\\_checklist/index.html](https://www.naher-osten.uni-muenchen.de/isap/isap_checklist/index.html) (last accessed January 18, 2021).

<sup>3</sup> Here I want to refer to two other written obligations from Ušmūn, the edition of which was prepared by Adolf Grohmann to be published in the eighth and the tenth volumes of his corpus of *Arabic Papyri from the Egyptian Library* – these volumes are yet to appear in print. However, I had the opportunity to consult the four unpublished volumes 7–10 written in Grohmann’s hand and to select from them the documents from al-Ušmūnayn. I will not provide a full edition of these two documents, but I will refer to their content. The first is *P.Cair.Arab.* 8.562; it is a fine, light brown papyrus found in Ušmūn. Its inventory number is P.Cair.Eg.Lib. inv. 896 recto. On the recto, there survive 13 lines of a written obligation in favor of ‘Abd al-Rāziq b. Ṣabīb, who lived in Ušmūn, written parallel to the fibers. This *ḍikr ḥaqq* records a debt of two hundred *irdabb* of round, pure, and excellent wheat, to be delivered to the door of ‘Abd al-Rāziq’s home in “*Ġumādā II* two hundred and ninety [...]” The second is *P.Cair.Arab.* 10.713; it is a fine dark white paper, dated to the fourth/tenth century. Its inventory number is P.Cair.Eg.Lib. inv. 1269. On the recto, there remain three lines from a *ḍikr ḥaqq*, written by a trained hand in black ink. Part of the creditor’s

be added an unpublished written obligation from the Berlin collection (P.Berol. inv. 24151 *verso*),<sup>4</sup> of which I offer a full edition below.

The Egyptian Hanafī jurist al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933) devotes a lengthy chapter to *adkār al-ḥuqūq* in his major work on legal clauses, *al-Ġāmiʿ al-kabīr fī al-šurūṭ*.<sup>5</sup> The main parts of *adkār al-ḥuqūq* are the names of the creditor and debtor, the amount of the debt, the repayment deadline, and witness testimony. Unfortunately, the name of the creditor is missing, but the identity of the debtor may be reconstructed based on the witness statements. The debtor was a man named Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, who lived in the city of Ušmūn. After mentioning the name of the debtor, the amount of debt is specified. Sulaymān owes to the creditor a certain amount of round and pure wheat, without any admixture (chaff) or defect. The exact amount is unknown because of a lacuna in the text. The Coptic month *Bašans* is mentioned as the term for redemption. Sulaymān also owes to the creditor twenty-two *qinṭār* of wheat according to the full *Layṭī* standard (explained below). A clause is then appended that is often used in *adhkar al-ḥuqūq* and *iqrār* documents that forbid the debtor from delaying payment or raising any objections to the fulfillment of the obligation. The last section contains the names of two witnesses. At the end of the text, we find the date of the document, which is *Ġumādā* I 339/ 16 October–14 November 950.

The Berlin Museum has no information about when and where this document was found or acquired. However, I believe that it originated in Ušmūn, not just because Ušmūn city is mentioned on both the *recto* and *verso* of the papyrus, but also because of the use of the same terms in similar documents from the al-Ušmūnayn region.<sup>6</sup>

name, Badr ... Allāh, is readable as well as part of the names of the debtors, Babnūda and Ištūras. There is no clear indication as to where the document was found, but the district of Ušmūn is mentioned in the text. I hope these important four volumes 7–10 of Grohmann's corpus of Arabic papyri from the Egyptian library will be published soon. Until then, I trust the information I provide here may be useful to other researchers.

<sup>4</sup> I want to express my gratitude to the Berlin Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection, which permitted me to publish this document and supplied a high-resolution photo.

<sup>5</sup> For detailed information about *adhkar al-ḥuqūq*, see J. Schacht, *Das Kitab Adkar al-Huquq war-Ruhun aus dem al-Gami al-Kabir fis-Surut des Abu Ga'far Ahmad ibn Muhammad at-Tahawi* (Heidelberg 1927).

<sup>6</sup> See the commentary on lines 3 and 4 below.

P.Berol. inv. 24151 verso

H × W = 14.9 × 13.2 cm

al-Ušmūnayn

Ġumādā I 339/16 October – 14 November 950

The document is a sheet of light brown fine paper in a good state of preservation. The first line is missing at the top. Approximatively a third of the document is missing to the right. Some words have been erased in lines 8, 9, 10, and 11, and there is an ink blot between *wa-dālika* and *fī* in line 11. There are some cracks and small holes, but they do not affect the reading of the text. The text contains 12 lines, written in black ink with a medium-thick pen nib and medium interlinear space. No diacritical dots or vowel signs were used.

The witness declarations are incomplete to the right. The text is signed by two witnesses. Aḥmad b. Hūd, the second witness, affirms to have written his testimony in his own hand. The text is written in three different hands. The main text is written in one hand, while the two witness testimonies are written in other hands. The second witness continues what he writes in line 10 in the middle of line 11, which suggests that the preceding lacuna in line 11 already contained the signature of the scribe of the main text. As for the characteristics of the script, the left tip of the *nūn* finishes near the lowest point without turning upwards to the left, resembling the letter *rāʾ*. The beginning of many lines is crossed out, as was a common practice to indicate that a debt had been paid and that the document was no longer needed.

On the back of the document, there is an unpublished receipt for the payment of a nuptial gift in nine lines. This text records the testimony of three witnesses that a woman, Umm al-Fahmi, who resides in the city of Ušmūn, has received 10 dinars from her husband, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ramaḍān, which is a down payment of her dowry *muʿaḡḡal ṣadāqihā*, and that was in *al-muḥarram* 344 AH/13 August – 11 September 945 CE.

- 1 [بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم]
- 2 [ذكر حق] على سليمان بن عبد الرحيم [اللسان]
- 3 [مدينة اشمون له عليه ... وعشرين اردب قمح مدو] رقي بري من كل علث وعاهه بالوية
- 4 [الابراهيمية الوافية يدفع ذلك اليه او الى من يقوم مقلامه في بشانس من عدد القبط الجارية في اهلة سنة]
- 5 تسع وثلاثين وثلاثماية يدفعه في هذا الشهر في مدينة اشمون وله عليه ايضا اثنين وعشرين
- 6 [قنطارا] اي بالعيار الليثي الواف يدفع ذلك اليه في هذا الشهر



- 7 [في مدينة اشمون لا] يدافع بذلك ولا يحتج بحجه بوجه من الوجوه  
ولا سبب
- 8 [من الاسباب الا بالخروج من هذه ...] العشرين الاردب والاثنين والعشرين القنطار  
الواف
- 9 [شاهد هود بن عمر بن [...] على اقرار  
سليمن بن عبد الرحيم
- 10 [شهد احمد بن هود بن عمر] على  
اقرار سليمان بن عبد الرحيم
- 11 [بجميع ما في هذا الكتاب وذلك في  
جمادى الاول من سنة تسع
- 12 [وثلاثين وثلاثمائة وكتب بخطه

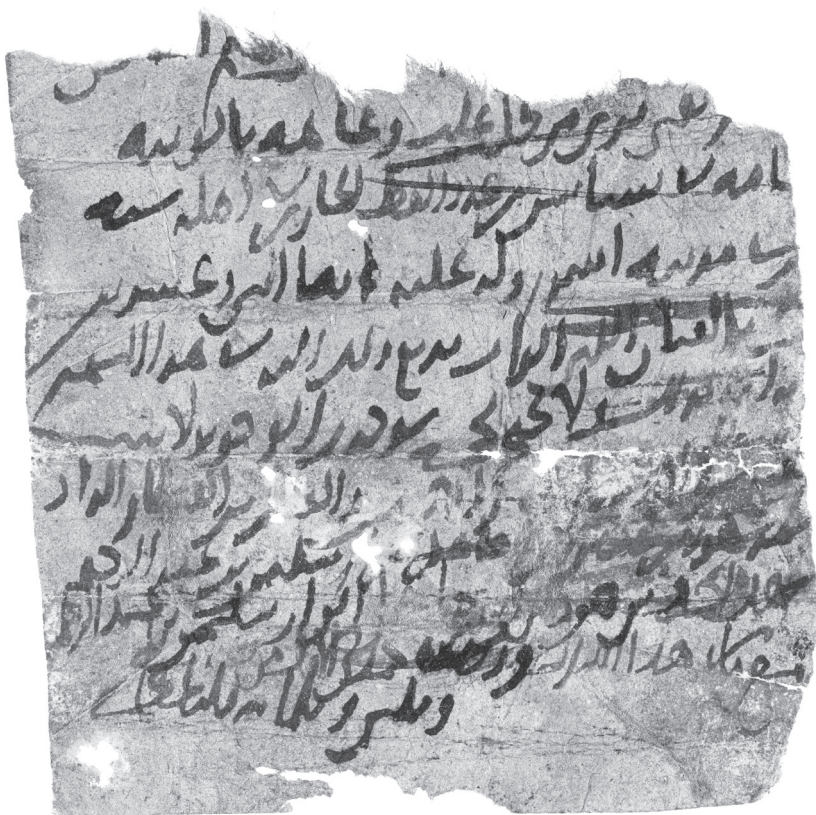


Fig. 1: P.Berol. inv. 24151 verso  
(© Berlin Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collections)



- 1 “[In the name of Allāh, the merciful, the compassionate]
- 2 [Record of what is due to ... by Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, [who
- lives] in
- 3 [the city of Ušmūn, he owes to him twenty ... *irdabbs* of rou]nd and
- pure wheat without any admixture (chaff) or defect reckoned in
- (the type of *wayba* known) as the full *wayba*
- 4 [of Ibrāhīm. He will pay this to him or to whom may stand in his
- ste]ad and this will be in the month *Bašans* of the Coptic months,
- belonging to the moons of the year
- 5 [three hundred and thirty-nine. He must hand it over in this mon]th
- in the city of Ušmūn. Also, he owes to him twenty-two
- 6 [*qintārs* ...] (reckoned) according to the full *Layī* standard. He must
- hand it over to him in this month
- 7 [in the city of Ušmūn ... He (sc. the debtor) will not] delay (the
- payment) thereof, nor will he bring forward any pretext in respect
- to that for whatever cause or reason
- 8 [there may be unless he paid these] twenty ... *irdabbs* and the full
- twenty-two *qintārs*
- 9 ... Hūd b. ʿUmar b. ... witnessed on the acknowledgment of Sulaymān
- b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm
- 10 ... Aḥmad b. Hūd b. [ʿUmar] witnessed on the acknowledgment of
- Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm
- 11 on all that is in this document in *Ġumādā* I of the year nine
- 12 and three hundred and thirty. And written in his own hand.”

2 Lower traces of the *rāʾ* and *ḥāʾ* of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, and traces of the *sīn* and *kāf* of *al-sākin* are still visible at the end of the second line.

3 Only the lower traces of the *rāʾ* can be seen at the beginning of the line. Wheat was commonly mentioned in *adkār al-ḥuqūq*.<sup>7</sup> The quantity and specifications of the quality of the wheat are often mentioned, as in this document. Perhaps certain expressions used to indicate such specifications were peculiar to specific regions. For example, the description of roundness *mudawwar* is found in most of the remaining *adkār al-ḥuqūq* for wheat from Ušmūn.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, it is not recorded in any other document that is associated with another region.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See the survey of different types of products mentioned in the corpus of *adkār ḥuqūq* in W. Diem, *Arabischer Terminkauf. Ein Beitrag zur Rechts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Ägyptens im 8. bis 14. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden 2006) 89–91.

<sup>8</sup> See *Chrest.Khoury* 2.6.4 (264/878, provenance unknown); *Chrest.Khoury* 2.7 (276/889, al-Ušmūnayn); *CPR* 26.27 (344/956, al-Ušmūnayn).

<sup>9</sup> *Mudawwar* and Ušmūn are mentioned in *P.Alqab* 27 (289/901-902, provenance unknown), and I would suggest ascribing it to al-Ušmūnayn.

*Wayba* is an Egyptian measure of weight. It was equivalent to 12.168 kg of wheat, or 15 liters.<sup>10</sup>

4 The document is dated *Ġumādā* I 339 in lines 11–12. *Başans* is mentioned in the text as the term for redemption. *Ġumādā* I 339 runs from 16 October to 14 November 950 while *Başans*, during which the harvest is completed, runs from 29 *Dū al-Qa'da* – 28 *Dū al-Ḥiğğa* 339 / 9 May – 7 June 951.<sup>11</sup> Therefore I am inclined to believe the same Hijra year is meant, because it is more logical to hand over the goods in the harvest month of the same year, rather than the following year.

The text at the beginning of the line can be restored to read *al-Ibrāhīmiyya al-wāfiya yadfa' dālīka ilayhi aw ilā man yaqūm maqāmahu*. Some local weight measures were common in certain regions.<sup>12</sup> In Ušmūn, we find that *al-wayba al-Ibrāhīmiyya al-wāfiya* was the most popular weight measure.<sup>13</sup> In *P.Terminkauf* 2, dated 285/897–898, which is likely from Ušmūn, we find the expression *bi-waybat Ibrāhīm b. Sāliḥ al-wāfiya*. This may indicate that the *wayba* is attributed to a person called Ibrāhīm b. Šāliḥ. According to Diem, this person is Ibrāhīm b. Sāliḥ b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, who was governor of Egypt from 164–167/ 781–784 and thereafter in 176/792 for another two months until his death in the same year.<sup>14</sup>

*Fī* has a short backward bending *yā'*. It is written exactly in the same way in lines 5, 6 and 11.

The expression *al-ğārī fī āhillat sanat kaḍā wa-kaḍā* is attested elsewhere in other documents and, whenever their provenance is known, it seems that this expression is typical of al-Ušmūnayn.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> H. Walther, *Al-makāyīl wa-l-mawāzin al-islāmiyya wa-mā yu'ādiluhā fī al-Niẓām al-Mīṭirī* (Amman 2001) 80.

<sup>11</sup> Diem (n. 7) 80–81 surveys the time lapse between the writing of the *ḍikr ḥaqq* and handing over of the produce, estimating it as an average of 2 to 4 months for wheat.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. in al-Fayyūm, we find *al-wayba al-Muṭallibiyya al-wāfiya* mentioned in *P.Philad. Arab.* 31.5.4 (268/882, provenance unknown), and *al-wayba al-Sarrī* mentioned in *Chrest. Khoury* 1.34.5 (451/1060, provenance unknown), *Chrest. Khoury* 1.82.3 (third-fourth/ninth-tenth centuries, provenance unknown), and *Chrest. Khoury* 1.46.5 (454/1062, provenance unknown). In al-Fuṣṭāt, we find *al-wayba al-ma'rūfa bi-l-ṣağira* (*P.GenizahCambr.* 132.11, dated 401–402/1011–1012). In Bāwīt, near Ušmūn, a different measure, *al-wayba al-layī* is referred to (*P.RagibColombine* 3, dated 320/932). See A. Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde* 1 (Prague 1954) 158.

<sup>13</sup> *Chrest. Khoury* 2.7 (276/889, al-Ušmūnayn); *P.Cair.Arab.* 2.143.3 (298/911, al-Ušmūnayn); *CPR* 26.24.4 (335/946, al-Ušmūnayn); *CPR* 26.27 (344/956, al-Ušmūnayn); *P.Berl.Arab.* 2.53.2 (third-fourth/ninth-tenth centuries, al-Ušmūnayn). It is also mentioned in the unpublished P.Vind. inv. A. Ch. 8143 Pap.

<sup>14</sup> Diem (n. 7) 98.

<sup>15</sup> See N. Vanthieghem, “Sur la provenance hermapolitaine des documents comportant l'expression temporelle *al-ğārī fī āhillat sana kaḍā wa-kaḍā*,” *CdÉ* 95 (2020) 374.

5 Only lower traces of the *rā'* can be seen at the beginning of the line. *Ḍād* in *ayḍan* is oval with no teeth. The *nūn* of *wa-ʿiṣrīn* has a very long tail; it resembles a *rā'*.

6 *Al-qinṭār al-Layṭī* consisted of 100 pounds, each pound weighing 200 dirhams or 620 grams, which means its weight was 62 kg.<sup>16</sup> The curvature of the *dāl* of *yadfa'* is minimal and resembles a *rā'*. The letter *dāl* is written similarly in *bi-dālika* in line 7.

8 The formula [*mina al-asbābi illā bi-l-ḥurūj min hāḍihi*] is reconstructed based on parallel attestations.<sup>17</sup> *Al-irdabb* is a Persian measure of weight introduced to Egypt from Persia during Achaemenid rule.<sup>18</sup> In medieval Egypt, *al-irdabb* consisted of 6 *waiba* in Cairo and 9 in al-Fayūm. Nowadays, it equals 198 liters in Egypt.<sup>19</sup>

9 This spelling of *Sulaymān* is prevalent in proper names ending in *ān*.<sup>20</sup> Lower traces of the *qāf*, *rā'*, and *alif* of *iqrār* are still visible below the lacuna in the middle of the line. The name Hūd is originally Hebrew. In Islam, Hūd was a prophet of ancient Arabia. The eleventh surah of the Quran, Hūd, is named after him.

11 The date *Ġumādā* I 339/16 October–14 November 950 is in the fifth year of the reign of Abū al-Qasim Unūjūr b. Muḥammad b. Ṭuġj al-Iḥšīd (335–349/946–960) who was the second ruler of the Ikshidid dynasty.

<sup>16</sup> Walther (n. 10) 31–32, 40–41. For more details, see Grohmann's remarks on *P.Cair. Arab.* 2.122.13 (272/886, provenance unknown). *Al-qinṭār al-layṭī* is also mentioned in *P.Cair. Arab.* 2.122.13 (272/886, provenance unknown), and *P.Ragib Lettres* 7 (fourth/tenth century, provenance unknown). *Al-ʿiyār al-Layṭī* is also mentioned in *P.Terminkauf* 1.5 (200/816, provenance unknown). *Al-raṭl al-Layṭī* is also mentioned in *P.Cair. Arab.* 5.348 (third-fourth/ninth-tenth centuries, provenance unknown).

<sup>17</sup> M.H. Thung, *Arabische juristische Urkunden aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Munich-Leipzig 2006) 118–120.

<sup>18</sup> J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, vol. 1 (Leiden 1995) 103. Thanks to James D. Moore for bringing this to my attention.

<sup>19</sup> Walther (n. 10) 58–59.

<sup>20</sup> S. Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic Based upon Papyri Datable to before 300A.H/912A.D* (Oxford 1984) 14–16 notes that the defective script of middle *ā*, restricted for the most part to nominal forms, is extraordinarily frequent in the early papyri and that shortening of long vowels other than *ā* is very rare.

# MENANDER'S *HEROS*: A NEW RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SMALLER CAIRO CODEX FRAGMENTS (ΔΕΖ, ΓΟ, ΘΗ)

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*Abstract.* — This article offers a thorough re-examination of the three smaller fragments of *Heros* (δεζ, θη, γΟ), which the “Cairo Codex of Menander” brought to light alongside a metrical hypothesis, the cast list of the play, and part of its opening scene (*Her.* 1–52). I address the most important questions connected with the content of the smaller fragments, which provide portions of approximately 45 lines of the play (*Her.* 53–97), and their position in the broader plot of *Heros*. I propose a new arrangement of the fragments and assign certain lines to different characters than those proposed by editors in the past. This in turn affects the reconstruction of the play’s plotline. A brief commentary on the text preserved on the three fragments is offered in the second part of the article.

*Keywords:* Menander, *Heros*, Cairo Codex of Menander

The “Cairo Codex of Menander” brought to light part of *Heros*’ opening scene (*Her.* 1–52), alongside a metrical *hypothesis*, the cast list of the play and three smaller fragments (δεζ, θη, γΟ), which provide portions of approximately 45 lines of the play (53–97).<sup>1</sup> In this article, I address

<sup>1</sup> Cairo Eg.Mus.Pap. 43227; LDAB 2745; MP<sup>3</sup> 1301; G. Lefèvre, *Fragments d’un manuscrit de Ménandre* (Cairo 1907), *editio princeps*; revised and corrected in 1911: G. Lefèvre, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. No. 43227 Papyrus de Ménandre* (Cairo 1911). This fifth-century AD codex contains one play by Eupolis (*Demoi*) and at least five of Menander (*Heros*, *Epitrepontes*, *Perikeiromene*, *Samia*, and another play). *Heros* must have been preceded in the codex by another comedy, as the number at the top of the papyrus leaf suggests (the first extant page is numbered κθ (= p. 29) and the other side λ (= p. 30); Blanchard, although he acknowledges that suggesting a title for this play is only conjecture, has suggested that it could be Menander’s *Phasma* (A. Blanchard, *Ménandre: Le Héros, L’Arbitrage, La Tondue, La Fabula Incerta du Caire*, vol. 2 [Paris 2013] xlvii with n. 2). For a detailed discussion of the Cairo Codex, see Blanchard xxxix–li and A.W. Gomme and F.H. Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* (Oxford 1973) 42–46 with bibliography. See also the photographic facsimile in L. Koenen, H. Riad, and A. Selim, *The Cairo Codex of Menander (P.Cair.J. 43227): A Photographic Edition*, Institute of Classical Studies (London 1978). – The present article is the expanded and enriched version of a talk presented at the 10th Celtic Conference in Classics at McGill

the most important questions connected with the content of the smaller Cairo Codex fragments and their position in the broader plot of *Heros*. I propose a new arrangement of the fragments and assign certain lines to different characters than those proposed by editors in the past. This in turn affects the reconstruction of the play's plotline. In the interpretation offered here, δεζ *verso* and *recto* come first, followed by γΟ *verso* and *recto*, with θη *verso* and *recto* coming last, given the fragment's uncertain attribution to the play.<sup>2</sup>

### 1. Summary of *Heros*

Before proceeding to the detailed discussion of the proposed new arrangement and reconstruction of the smaller fragments, I shall first deal with the general outline of the play. Considering the mutilated state of the text, which gives us substantial evidence for only two scenes of the play, the *hypothesis* is our best available source for the plot of *Heros*, which, combined with the information made available by the cast list, leads to the following *synopsis* of the comedy: Eighteen years before the beginning of the play's action, Laches (the "Old Man" of New Comedy) raped Myrrhine (*Her.* 63–82, *hyp.* 3),<sup>3</sup> probably at a nocturnal

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<sup>2</sup> The δεζ fragment can be assigned with certainty to the play, since its *recto* contains two lines (*Her.* 60–61) quoted by Stobaeus (4.40.13) as belonging to *Heros*. The γΟ fragment can be also assigned to *Heros*, since it contains the name Myrrhine (*Her.* 73), as well as references to a shepherd (*Her.* 74; i.e. Tibeios: cf. *Her.* 21–22) and to a victim of a rape (*Her.* 82) committed eighteen years before (*Her.* 79). However, the assignment of fragment θη to *Heros* remains uncertain. Lefèbvre (n. 1, 1911) assigned it to the play based on its appearance because to him it seemed to belong to the same page as δεζ.

<sup>3</sup> Menandrian comedies often represent a young Athenian citizen who rapes and impregnates a female citizen – or a presumed slave or noncitizen who is later recognised as the daughter of an Athenian citizen – prior to the opening of the play (e.g. *Georgos*, *Epitrepontes*, *Samia*). The plays with the rape motif end in uniting the rapist and the victim in marriage (e.g. *Samia*) or in reuniting an already married couple by revealing that the husband was the rapist of his wife and the father of the supposedly illegitimate child (e.g. *Epitrepontes*). On the rape motif in Menander, see L.S. James, "Reconsidering Rape in Menander's Comedy and Athenian Life: Modern Comparative Evidence," in A.H. Sommerstein (ed.), *Menander in Contexts* (New York-London 2014) 24–39; H.H. Gardner, "Ventriloquizing Rape in Menander's *Epitrepontes*," *Helios* 39.2 (2013) 121–143; A.H. Sommerstein, *Menander. Samia: The Woman from Samos* (Cambridge 2013) 33–36 and 38–50n.; S. Lape, *Reproducing Athens: Menander's Comedy, Democratic Culture, and the Hellenistic City* (Princeton 2004); E.M. Harris, "Did Rape Exist in Classical Athens? Further Reflections on the Laws about Sexual Violence," *Dike* 7 (2004) 41–83

festival,<sup>4</sup> as is typical in New Comedy. Laches deserted his victim, who later gave birth to twins (*hyp.* 1), named Gorgias and Plangon (*Her.* 24–25), and gave them to a “guardian” (*epitropos*), Tibeios, to rear (cf. *Her.* 21, 27–29 and *hyp.* 1–2). Sometime after that, Myrrhine and Laches were married (*hyp.* 2–3) without recognizing each other (cf. *Her.* 81–82), and without Laches knowing anything about the twins’ birth and exposure (cf. *Her.* 79 and *hyp.* 10–11).<sup>5</sup> Years later, but still before the start of the play’s action, Tibeios needed money, which he borrowed from Laches (*Her.* 28–30), apparently giving the children as a “pledge” on the loan (*hyp.* 3). While Tibeios might have known that Myrrhine was the mother of the twins, he was definitely unaware (*hyp.* 4) that Laches was their father; thus, without realising it, he helped reunite the family. Tibeios passed away, and the twins borrowed more money from Laches for Tibeios’ funeral (*Her.* 31–33). They then moved to Laches’ household to pay off their foster father’s debts (*Her.* 34–36) and their own.<sup>6</sup>

(= E.M. Harris, *Democracy and the Rule of Law in Classical Athens: Essays on Law, Society and Politics* [Cambridge 2006] 297–332); R. Omitowoju, *Rape and the Politics of Consent in Classical Athens* (Cambridge 2002), esp. pp. 191–193; S. Lape, “Democratic Ideology and The Poetics of Rape in Menandrian Comedy,” *Cl.Ant.* 20.1 (2001) 79–119; V. Rosivach, *When a Young Man Falls in Love* (London 1998) 13–50 (esp. p. 36, nos. 7 and 9 with n. 95).

<sup>4</sup> A comparison of the rape motif across New Comedy suggests that in most instances, rape is committed during festivals (e.g. at the Tauropolia in *Epitrepontes*, at the Adonia in *Samia*; for the rape at nocturnal festivals E. Bathrellou, “Menander’s *Epitrepontes* and the Festival of the Tauropolia,” *CA* 31.2 (2012) 151–192 and W.D. Furlley, “Drama at the Festival: A Recurrent Motif in Menander,” in J. R.C. Cousland and J.R. Hume (eds.), *The Play of Texts and Fragments: Essays in Honour of Martin Cropp* (Leiden 2009) 389–401. Blanchard (n. 1) 3, believes that in *Heros*, the rape occurred in the shrine of Heros, based on Körte’s reconstruction of lines 91–92 (83–84 Blanchard), where Laches asks Myrrhine, “Didn’t he feel any shame before the holy place?” The idea of the rape in or in front of the shrine of Heros is plausible, especially if this shrine is represented by the central door of the *skene*; yet, the attribution of *θη recto* – that preserves these lines – to *Heros* is speculative and therefore, nothing can be said with certainty.

<sup>5</sup> The general context and the preserved text indicate that Myrrhine is ignorant of the fact that Laches was her rapist (see *Her.* 96–97, when Myrrhine is asked, “How did you not see your attacker?”; see n. 9 below). Regarding Laches, the only evidence about his ignorance of the fact that Myrrhine was his victim, and that she bore twin children as a result, comprises *hypothesis*’ lines 10–12, which attest that Laches “found and recognized” his children. The metrical *hypothesis*, with the reference to the scene during which Laches recognises Gorgias and Plangon as his children (*hyp.* 10–12), makes it clear that he knew nothing about their birth.

<sup>6</sup> A similar state of affairs is found in *Sikyonioi*, where Stratophanes’ foster father dies, leaving him saddled with an unpaid debt (*Sik.* 133–135). However, Stratophanes finds the written evidence about his biological parents, who were Athenian citizens; therefore, he has no obligation to pay off the debt (*Sik.* 138–140). In *Heros*, since Gorgias and Plangon were newborns when they were given to Tibeios (*hyp.* 1–2), they regard him as their biological father; otherwise, if they had known that Laches and Myrrhine were their biological parents, they would not have gone to their parents’ house as ‘workers’ to pay off the debt,

Daos, a slave in Laches' family, thinking that Plangon was a slave like him, had fallen in love with her (*Her.* 18–20, *hyp.* 4–6) and wished to marry her. Before the start of the play, Laches had consented to talk to Gorgias, Plangon's brother, about Daos' intentions (*Her.* 42–44), but nothing had happened yet, since Laches was in Lemnos on business (*Her.* 45–46). However, while working in Laches' household, Plangon had already been raped by her neighbour Pheidias (*hyp.* 6–7 προηδικήκει μετὰ βίας)<sup>7</sup> and was pregnant, a secret that must be kept from everyone.<sup>8</sup> Daos tried to take the blame for Plangon's pregnancy (*hyp.* 8–9)<sup>9</sup> and displeased Myrrhine (*hyp.* 10 ἐδυσχέραινε), the mother of the twins, who happened to be “ignorant” (*hyp.* 9 οὐκ εἰδυῖα) of the fact that Pheidias instead of Daos was the real seducer of Plangon.<sup>10</sup> At the end of the play, Laches recognised his own children and acknowledged them (*hyp.* 11).<sup>11</sup> Pheidias, the rich young rapist, happily married Plangon (*hyp.* 12).<sup>12</sup>

not to mention that Laches and Myrrhine themselves would never have accepted such an arrangement (regarding the issue of heritable debt see n. 25 below).

<sup>7</sup> According to Omitowaju: “although, as we have noted before, *bia* and its cognates do not absolutely correspond to the notion of violence in English, in the context here we can assume that to “wrong with *bia*” means rape” (Omitowaju [n. 3] 191); see also Omitowaju (n. 3) 51–71 on *bia* and rape and 191–193 on the rape in *Heros*.

<sup>8</sup> In Menander's works, unmarried women who become pregnant after a rape tend to keep their pregnancy a secret (e.g. *Georgos*, *Hiereia*, *Phasma*, *Samia*), and we can assume that the same motif applies to *Heros*, since no reference is made to Plangon's pregnancy during the first scene of the play (cf. Daos' characterisation of Plangon as ἄκακον, *Heros* 19).

<sup>9</sup> That was an easy thing to do, since, except for the rape in *Samia*, there is no other instance in Menander's extant works where the victim is aware of the rapist's identity because most of the rapes occur at nocturnal festivals (see n. 4 above).

<sup>10</sup> Sonnenburg (P.E. Sonnenburg, “De Menandri Heroe,” *RhM* 69 [1914] 81–82) was the first to suggest that οὐκ εἰδυῖα refers to the fact that Myrrhine is unaware of the fact that Pheidias, not Daos, is the real seducer of Plangon – followed by most scholars: T.B.L. Webster, *Studies in Menander*, 2nd edition with an appendix (Manchester 1960) 29; D. Del Corno, *Menandro: Le commedie*, vol. 1 (Milan 1966) 136, n. 6; Blanchard (n. 1) 10 with n. 4; Omitowaju (n. 3) 192; A. Traill, *Women and the Comic Plot in Menander* (Cambridge 2008) 49. Only Jensen posits that Myrrhine is “ignorant” of the fact that the twins are her own children (C. Jensen, *Menandri reliquiae in papyris et membranis servatae* [Berlin 1929] xviii). However, this view contradicts the text of the *hypothesis*, which attests that Myrrhine herself gave them to Tibeios for fostering.

<sup>11</sup> The rape motif in Menander is most often followed by a recognition (e.g. *Heros*, *Epitrepontes*), a motif that Menander adopted from Euripidean tragedy (see Satyros' *Life of Euripides*, *P.Oxy.* 1176, frag. 39, col. 7). For the recognition motif in Menander, see A. Martina, *Menandrea: Elementi e Struttura della Commedia di Menandro*, vol. 1 (Pisa-Rome 2016) 123–149; W.D. Furley, “Aspects of Recognition in *Perikeiromene* and Other Plays,” in A.H. Sommerstein (ed.), *Menander in Contexts* (New York-London, 2014) 106–115; Lape (n. 3, 2004) 92 with n. 73; Omitowaju (n. 3) 169–203; cf. V. Cignalia, *Aristotle and Menander on the Ethics of Understanding* (Leiden 2015) 23–59 on the epistemology of Menandrian recognitions (with a focus on *Epitrepontes*) and their analogy to the philosophical writings of Aristotle.

<sup>12</sup> A considerable number of Menandrian comedies end with at least one citizen marriage, e.g. *Aspis*, *Dyskolos*, *Epitrepontes*, *Misoumenos*, *Perikeiromene*, *Samia*.



## 2. Position of the Smaller Cairo Codex Fragments in Heros' Plotline

The first leaf of the Cairo Codex contains most of the opening scene of the first act; a 52-line dialogue between the slaves Daos and Getas, the play's only well-preserved scene. This scene is probably followed by a second prologue spoken by Heros himself,<sup>13</sup> who gives the play its title and is mentioned in the *dramatis personae* as Ἡρώς θεός, appearing immediately after Daos and Getas.<sup>14</sup> At this point, there must be a gap of probably one act, i.e. the second act, which must have introduced a new character (possibly Pheidias, according to the cast list) and the implementation of a plan, possibly that of Daos to take the blame for Plangon's rape upon himself (*hyp.* 8–9).<sup>15</sup> The scenes preserved on the smaller Cairo Codex fragments should follow Daos' plan and come from an early part of the play. Their content, with Gorgias' decision to give Plangon away in marriage to the slave (*Her.* 53–57) and Myrrhine's confession of her rape to Sophrone (*Her.* 58–65) indicates that lines 53–65 must derive from the third act. Additionally, the γO fragment with its references to Laches' anger at Gorgias' decision (*Her.* 66–74) and Myrrhine's disclosure of her

<sup>13</sup> Blanchard (n. 1) 15, n. 3 provides a summary of what Heros could have said during his prologue. The prologues in Menander are delivered by divinities or abstract personifications: e.g. *Tyche* in *Aspis*, *Pan* in *Dyskolos*, an unidentifiable deity in *Epitrepontes* and *Misoumenos* and *Agnoia* in *Perikeiromene*. The prologue is spoken either in the very first scene, as in *Dyskolos* (1–49), or in the second scene of the play, as happens in *Aspis* (97–148) and *Perikeiromene* (120–171), and most probably in *Heros* and *Epitrepontes*. For the prologue in Menandrian comedies, see A. Martina, *Menandria: Elementi e Struttura della Commedia di Menandro*, vol. 2 (Pisa-Rome 2016) 13–208, esp. pp. 188–190 for the divinity prologue in *Heros*; W.D. Furley, *Menander: Perikeiromene or The Shorn Head* (London 2015) 90–91; W.D. Furley, *Menander Epitrepontes* (London 2009) 8–10; A.C. Scafuro, "Menander," in M. Fontaine and A.C. Scafuro (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Comedy* (Cambridge 2014) 223–224; Sommerstein (n. 3) 97–98; S. Ireland, *Menander: The Shield (Aspis) and The Arbitration (Epitrepontes)* (Oxford 2010) 5–6; S. Ireland, "New Comedy," in G. Dobrov (ed.), *Brill's Companion to the Study of Greek Comedy* (Leiden 2010) 354–357; for the divinities speaking the prologue in Menander, see S. Miles, "Staging and Constructing the Divine in Menander," in A.H. Sommerstein (ed.), *Menander in Contexts* (New York-London, 2014) 75–89; N. Zagagi, *The Comedy of Menander: Convention, Variation and Originality* (London 1995) 142–168.

<sup>14</sup> As can be deduced from the preserved cast lists of Menander, it is typical to have the names listed in order of appearance.

<sup>15</sup> Gomme (Gomme and Sandbach [n. 1] 398–399) and Webster (n. 10) 28–34 (cf. T.B.L. Webster, *An Introduction to Menander* [Manchester-New York 1974]) provide a rough reconstruction of the missing parts of the play, the latter on the basis of Menandrian parallels. Having the characters' intrigues implemented during the second act is characteristic of Menandrian comedies. For the five-act structure in Menander, see S. Ireland (n. 13, 2010b) 351; R.L. Hunter, *The New Comedy of Greece and Rome* (Cambridge 1985) 35–42; A. Blanchard, *La Comédie de Ménandre: Politique, Éthique, Esthétique* (Paris 2007) 139–149; A. Blanchard, *Essai sur la composition des comédies de Ménandre* (Paris 1983) 3–64; A. Blanchard, "Recherches sur la composition des comédies de Ménandre," *REG* 83 (1970) 38–51; cf. Scafuro (n. 13) 221–222.

rape to Laches (esp. *Her.* 75–82), which will eventually lead to Laches' self-recognition as the perpetrator, needs a series of other scenes to precede it in order for the truth to be revealed. This part should belong to the fourth act, as this is the typical act where the recognition scene occurs or the comedy's central problem is solved in most of Menander's extant plays (e.g. *Dyskolos*, *Epitrepontes*, *Perikeiromene*).

(1st Act)	First leaf (of the <i>Heros</i> ) in the Cairo Codex	1–52
(2nd Act)	Lost	—
(3rd Act)	δεζ <i>verso</i> and <i>recto</i>	53–65
(4th Act)	γΟ <i>verso</i> and <i>recto</i>	66–82
—	θη <i>verso</i> and <i>recto</i>	83–97

Table 1: Position of the preserved text in *Heros*' Acts.

The assignment of the fragments to different acts and consequently to different folios contradicts the suggestion of earlier scholars that all three smaller fragments derive from the same papyrus leaf.<sup>16</sup> Each page on the Cairo Codex contains from 33 to 38 lines on either side; both δεζ and γΟ, however, give the impression of belonging to two emotionally powerful and important scenes whose development could hardly have been compressed into so few lines, as Gomme and Sandbach have already suggested.<sup>17</sup> Consequently, I suggest that the δεζ and γΟ fragments (and the θη fragment if it does belong to *Heros*)<sup>18</sup> derive from different folios.

In the tables below I offer the new arrangement of the Cairo Codex fragments (Table 2) in comparison with earlier reconstructions (Table 3),

<sup>16</sup> G. Lefebvre (n. 1) 1911; S. Sudhaus, *Menandri reliquiae nuper repertae* (Bonn 1914); C. Jensen, "Zu dem Menanderpapyrus in Kairo," *Hermes* 49.3 (1914) 382–432; C. Jensen, *Menandri reliquiae in papyris et membranis servatae* (Berlin 1929). Gomme and Sandbach (n. 1) 393 disagree with this view, arguing rightly that the 35 lines of one papyrus leaf do not suffice for the transition from γΟ *verso* to δεζ or θη *recto*, and from δεζ or θη *recto* to γΟ *recto*.

<sup>17</sup> See previous note.

<sup>18</sup> Recent editors also doubt the attribution of θη to this play, since both sides of it (especially the *verso*) are very damaged and no certain conclusion can be drawn regarding their content; nevertheless, the editors print it in their editions: W.G. Arnott, *Menander*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass.-London 1996) attempts to calculate the lines in the gaps between the fragments. He states that lines 53–57 (= 53–57 Blanchard) are followed by a gap of 1–19 lines (Arnott [n. 18] 28; cf. 24), and lines 66–74 (= 65–73 Blanchard) and 58–65 (= 74–81 Blanchard) are followed by a gap of up to 21 lines each (Arnott [n. 18] 30 and 32). Blanchard's (n. 1) notes on the lacunae are vague ("desunt pauci versus"), while Gomme and Sandbach (n. 1) simply mark the ends and the beginnings of fragments. For a detailed discussion of the papyri scraps, their attribution to *Heros* and their position in the comedy, see Arnott (n. 18) 22–39 and Gomme and Sandbach (n. 1) 393–394.

as well as the attribution of lines to different speakers than those proposed in the past (Table 4).<sup>19</sup>

(3rd Act)	δεζ <i>verso</i>	53–57	(53–57 Blanchard)
(3rd Act)	δεζ <i>recto</i>	58–65	(74–81 Blanchard)
(4th Act)	γΟ <i>verso</i>	66–74	(65–73 Blanchard)
(4th Act)	γΟ <i>recto</i>	75–82	(90–97 Blanchard)
—	θη <i>verso</i>	83–89	(58–64 Blanchard)
—	θη <i>recto</i>	90–97	(82–89 Blanchard)

Table 2: New Arrangement of the smaller Cairo Codex Fragments by Ioannidou.<sup>20</sup>

δεζ <i>verso</i>	53–57	(53–57 Blanchard)
θη <i>verso</i>	83–89	(58–64 Blanchard)
γΟ <i>verso</i>	66–74	(65–73 Blanchard)
δεζ <i>recto</i>	58–65	(74–81 Blanchard)
θη <i>recto</i>	90–97	(82–89 Blanchard)
γΟ <i>recto</i>	75–82	(90–97 Blanchard)

Table 3: Earlier Reconstructions by Lefèvre 1911, Sandbach 1990, and Austin 2013.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Given the different arrangement of the papyri scraps that this article suggests, as well as the attribution of lines to different characters, the line numbers refer to the lines of this article's edition accompanied by the matching lines in Blanchard (n. 1). The numbering of these fragments merely reflects the editors' consensus on how the play should be reconstructed; it does not imply that the scraps contain 45 lines of continuous text. It is clear that lacunae need to be posited between the extant fragments, but is impossible to verify their extent securely.

<sup>20</sup> The direction of the papyrus fibres shows the *verso* and the *recto* pages as facing each other – an important piece of evidence for reconstruction, as it gives the front and the back of the papyrus (see Gomme and Sandbach [n. 1] 43); the δεζ fragment is very damaged, and only a vertical trace on the top right of the scrap and a few letters (between 6–12) from the 6 lines are preserved together with the word ΧΟΡΟΥ between lines 3 and 4. Its *recto* preserves a more comprehensible 9-line text of a few letters. γΟ – the least damaged of all three fragments derived from the bottom of the leaf – contains on the *verso* the first part of 4 lines and an additional 5 entire lines, and on the *recto*, it has the endings of 4 lines and 5 entire lines of partly faint letters. θη – the most damaged of all three fragments – seems to contain the endings of 7 lines on its *verso* and the first part of 8 lines on its *recto*. It is important to note that the edition offered in this paper places the θη fragment after the δεζ and γΟ fragments because of doubt about its attribution to this play and not because of its content.

<sup>21</sup> Arnott (n. 18), who doubts that θη should be ascribed to *Heros* at all, prints both *verso* and *recto* of θη after δεζ and γΟ as an appendix to what he regards as the legitimate

	Ioannidou	Earlier Editors
δεξ <i>verso</i> : lines 53–57	Gorgias	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Laches (Austin = Blanchard, Arnott, Sandbach, Gomme and Sandbach [n. 1] 394, Webster [n. 10] 33)</li> <li>2. Pheidias (Körte, Jensen)</li> <li>3. Myrrhine (Sudhaus)</li> </ol>
δεξ <i>recto</i> : lines 58–65	Dialogue between Myrrhine and Sophrone	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Dialogue between Myrrhine and Sophrone (Gomme and Sandbach [n. 1] 395; Sonnenburg [n. 10] 81)</li> <li>2. Dialogue between Myrrhine and Laches (Austin = Blanchard, Arnott, Sandbach, Körte, Sudhaus)</li> <li>3. Myrrhine as one of the speakers (Jensen)</li> </ol>
γO <i>verso</i> : lines 66–74	Dialogue between Myrrhine, Gorgias and Laches	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Dialogue between Laches and Myrrhine (Austin = Blanchard, Arnott, Sandbach, Körte, Jensen, Sudhaus; Gomme and Sandbach [n. 1] 394, Webster [n. 10] 32)</li> <li>2. Dialogue between Myrrhine and Pheidias (Jensen)</li> </ol>
γO <i>recto</i> : lines 75–82	Dialogue between Laches and Myrrhine	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Dialogue between Laches and Myrrhine (Austin = Blanchard, Arnott, Sandbach, Gomme and Sandbach, Körte, Jensen, Sudhaus).</li> </ol>
θη <i>verso</i> : lines 83–89	—	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Pheidias (Körte, Jensen)</li> </ol>
θη <i>recto</i> : lines 90–97	—	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Dialogue between Laches and Myrrhine (Körte, Sudhaus)</li> <li>2. Dialogue between Myrrhine and Pheidias (Jensen)</li> </ol>

Table 4: Attribution of lines to speakers.

### 3. Summary of the Smaller Cairo Codex Fragments

The new arrangement of the smaller Cairo Codex fragments and the attribution of lines to different speakers lead to the following reconstruction of fragments δεξ and γO: after Daos has implemented his plan to take

text (Arnott's reconstruction: δεξ *verso* – γO *verso* – δεξ *recto* – γO *recto* – θη *verso* – θη *recto*). Fragments δεξ and γO have generally been placed by earlier editors at the end of the fourth act and the beginning of the fifth (alternatively, at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth act).

blame for Plangons' rape (*hyp.* 8–9), Gorgias decides to give Plangon away in marriage to Daos, the supposed father of the baby. This decision seems to have irritated someone who must know the truth about the real rapist or the real social status of the girl (δεζ *verso* = *Her.* 53–57). Myrrhine then seems to emerge on stage in distress, having been informed about the proposed wedding of Plangon with Daos. She cannot believe that her daughter is about to get married to a slave and confesses the whole story to Sophrone (δεζ *recto* = *Her.* 58–65; cf. *Her.* 84–88). The next papyrus fragment (γO *verso* = *Her.* 66–74) presents Laches as having returned from his trip and Gorgias as having learnt the truth about his sister's real seducer and real social status and decided to give her away to Pheidias. Gorgias' decision enrages Laches, who is unaware of Plangon's pregnancy with Pheidias' child, as well as of her real social status (γO *verso* = *Her.* 66–74). After this scene, the truth is gradually revealed with the recognition scene preserved on γO *recto* (*Her.* 75–82), where Laches finally realises that he himself raped Myrrhine and fathered the twins.

#### 4. *New Reconstruction of the Smaller Cairo Codex Fragments*

In this section, I discuss the new reconstruction of the Cairo Codex fragments, as this can be verified by the new arrangement of the fragments proposed in this article, together with the attribution of lines to different speakers.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> The discussion provided below does not include a full commentary on the text of the fragments; it only includes comments on the subjects relevant to the new arrangement and the reconstruction of the smaller Cairo Codex fragments proposed in this article. For a full commentary on fragments δεζ, γO and θη see K. Ioannidou, *Menander's Heros and Theophroroumene: Text – Translation – Commentary* (Berlin [under contract]). — The edition used in this article is the author's. The dicola printed in the Greek text reflect only those that appear in the Cairo Codex. Editions and other works which are cited in the Apparatus: W.G. Arnott<sup>1</sup>, "Notes on Eight Plays of Menander," *ZPE* 31 (1978) 1–32; W.G. Arnott<sup>2</sup>, *Menander*, vol. 2 (Cambridge Mass.-London 1996); C. Austin, *Menander: Eleven Plays*, *Cambridge Classical Journal* suppl. 37 (Cambridge 2013); A. Blanchard, *Ménandre: Le Héros, L'Arbitrage, La Tondue, La Fabula Incerta du Caire*, vol. 2 (Paris 2013); O. Gueraud, "Quelques notes sur le papyrus de Ménandre," *BIFAO* 27 (1927) 127–57; C. Jensen<sup>1</sup>, "Zu dem Menanderpapyrus in Kairo," *Hermes* 49.3 (1914) 382–432; C. Jensen<sup>2</sup>, *Menandri Reliquiae in Papyris et Membranis Servatae* (Berlin 1929); A. Körte<sup>1</sup>, *Menandrea ex Papyris et Membranis Vetustissimis* (Leipzig 1912); A. Körte<sup>2</sup>, *Menandri quae Supersunt. Pars Prior, Reliquiae in Papyris et Membranis Vetustissimis Servatae* (Leipzig 1938); J. van Leeuwen, *Menandri fabularum reliquiae in exemplarium vetustorum foliis laceris servatae* (Leiden 1919); G. Lefebvre, *Catalogue Général*



decide about the girl's future indicates that Laches is not her *kyrios*; this could not be the case since Plangon and her brother are not enslaved to Laches but work for him *temporarily*, until they pay off the debt (*Her.* 36 ἀπεργαζόμενος),<sup>24</sup> which they inherited from their foster father.<sup>25</sup> Another element of great importance in this discussion is the fact that Daos does not seem to consider Plangon to be a slave (*Her.* 18–19 παιδίσκην (...) / κατ' ἐμαυτόν) or to have been enslaved due to Tibeios' debt (*Her.* 20 δούλη 'στιν; – οὕτως, ἡσυχῇ, τρόπον τινά, “is she a slave? – Well, yes – nearly, in a way”). Another possibility is to consider Laches as the girl's *kyrios de facto*, until the twins pay off their debt. However, no evidence suggests that a temporary *kyrios* could give away a girl in marriage. The only person who could be Plangon's *kyrios* is her brother, Gorgias, who has become her *kyrios* after their father's death (e.g. *Dem.* 46.18).

As we may conclude from Gorgias' exasperated tone, he must be arguing with someone about his decision to give away his sister in marriage “to a groom”, that is to Daos, the supposed father of Plangon's child (*Her.* 56 διῶμι νυμφ[ί]ω). The colloquial ἔα μ' (*Her.* 55) makes it more likely to have been a dialogue rather than a monologue; however, the possibility of having Gorgias use it in a monologue should not be excluded.

<sup>24</sup> Harris interprets the term ἀπεργαζόμενος as describing a debt-bondage relationship (“paying back a loan from one's labour” and not “being enslaved due to a loan”), quoting a fragment of Isaeus preserved by Harpocration (s.v. ἀπεργασάμενος): ἀντί τοῦ ἀποδοῦς ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ὧν εἰργάσατο. Οὕτως Ἰσαῖος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀπολλόδορον; E.M. Harris, “Did Solon Abolish Debt-Bondage?,” *CQ* 52.2 [2002] 421; cf. Harris [n. 3] 256–258). On debt-bondage in contrast to enslavement for a loan, which is believed to have been abolished by Solon, see P.W. Rose, *Class in Archaic Greece* (Cambridge 2012) 201–266 and 338–341; Harris (n. 24, 2002) 415–430 (= Harris [n. 3] 249–269) with further bibliography; S. Lape, “Solon and the Institution of the “Democratic” Family Form,” *CJ* 98 (2002–2003) 117–118 and 126; cf. Lape (n. 3, 2001) 86, n. 30 on Solonian abolition as the distinction between citizens and slaves. However, Gomme and Sandbach (n. 1) 390–391 believe that the Solonian law was not applied to non-citizens, on the basis of Isocrates 14.48 πολλοὺς μὲν μικρῶν ἔνεκα συμβολαίων δουλεύοντας, ἄλλους δ' ἐπὶ θητείαν ἰόντας (cf. *Lys.* 12.98: οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ξένης μικρῶν ἂν ἔνεκα συμβολαίων ἐδούλευον ἐρημῖα τῶν ἐπικουρησόντων). A similar example occurs in Terence's *Heautontimoroumenos* (600–610), where Antiphila is given by her (supposed) mother to the hetaera Bacchis as a pledge for a loan given by Bacchis to the mother. Antiphila and her mother were Corinthians, not Athenians; thus, the Solonian law could not have protected them (see *Brothers on Ter.* *Heauton.* 603); Harris questions this view ([n. 24, 2002] 420–421 with nn. 21–22). Traill (n. 10) 47 with n. 71 also considers social status crucial for the use of the Solonian law; S.C. Todd, *The Shape of Athenian Law* (Oxford 1993) 181 with n. 26; P.C. Millett, *Lending and Borrowing in Ancient Athens* (Cambridge 1991) 78–79; G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (London 1981) 163.

<sup>25</sup> A.R.W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1968) 124–130, esp. p. 124 with nn. 3–4 catalogues several instances where children inherit their fathers' or brothers' debts (e.g. *Lys.* 17.3 and *Dem.* 35.44).



If we accept the reading ἔα μ' ἀμαρ[τάνειν as a continuous text without a colon between them, it could bear an ironic echo: “let me make the mistake.” If we accept that Gorgias has already consented to his sister’s marriage to Daos, he is probably talking to Pheidias, Myrrhine or another person, who knows the truth about Plangon’s real social status or the real paternity of her baby (if the girl’s rape has already been revealed after Daos’ plan in the second act)<sup>26</sup> and tries to convince Gorgias to change his plans by telling him the truth. This plotline resembles *Aulularia*, where Megadorus cancels his wedding to the girl after Lyconides informs him, as well as the girl’s *kyrios*, that he himself seduced the girl and wants to marry her (Pl. *Aul.* 789–795).

δεξ *recto* 58–65 (lines 74–81 Blanchard)

58	]οντρ[	“[        ]: ...
59	ὥς γὰρ ἀνδριᾶ[ς	because [...] (like) a statue
60	ὡς οἰκτρὸν ἦ τὰ τοῖα ὤτα [δυσ]τυχῶ μ[όνη	[Myrrhine]: How sorrowful! All the misery I must suffer alone is
61	ἂ μηδὲ πιθανὰς τὰς ὕπερβολὰς ἔχ[ει	so terrible that no one could ever
62	] πάθος ἢ γνώμη σφόδρα	imagine anything worse [...] but
		courage triumphs over misfortune
		...
63	ἀλλ' ἠδίκηκε]ν ἐκ βίας σέ τις ποτέ[	[Sophrone]: [has anyone treated you] violently in the past?
64	]ν :	[Myrrhine]: ...
	ὕπονοεῖς ὅ[στις	[Sophrone]: Do you have an idea
65	τ]ι γημ[	of who this might be?”

59 ὥς γὰρ suppl. Sudhaus | ἀνδριᾶ[ς suppl. Körte<sup>1</sup> 60–61 Stob. 4.40.13 62 σφόδρα suppl. Lefebvre 63 ἀλλ' ἠδίκηκε]ν suppl. Sudhaus 64 γὰρ suppl. Sudhaus | ὅσ[τις suppl. Sudhaus

Although no *dicola* or *paraphi* are preserved, verbs in the first-person and the second-person singular forms (*Her.* 60 ]τυχῶ and 65 ὑπονοεῖς) and two pronouns in the second-person singular form (*Her.* 63 σέ τις ποτέ) indicate that this scene comprises a dialogue between two characters. One is possibly a woman (*Her.* 60 [δυσ]τυχῶ μ[όνη), most probably Myrrhine, since she is the only speaking character who was also a rape victim (*hyp.* 3; cf. *Her.* 63 ἐκ βίας σέ τις ποτέ). The second

<sup>26</sup> Martina (n. 13) 189 believes that in the beginning, Pheidias was afraid to confess to his father his love for the poor and humble young girl, who was a servant in Laches and Myrrhine’s household.

interlocutor is probably Sophrone, as suggested by Sonnenburg,<sup>27</sup> and not Laches, as recent editors have thought.<sup>28</sup> This view is supported by the content of δεζ *recto*, which brings to mind a scene in *Georgos* (*Her.* 22–88), where the distressed Myrrhine emerges on stage with Philinna (probably her nurse), with whom she discusses her struggle to keep her daughter's pregnancy a secret and laments her inability to prevent her daughter's arranged wedding to Kleostratos (*Her.* 22–30, 84–88), since in doing so, she would bring to light her daughter's violation and pregnancy. In addition, the new arrangement of the fragments suggests that the δεζ fragment derives from the third act, right after Daos' plan, and before the return of Laches and the recognition scene, which must take place in the fourth act (see the discussion on Fragment γO – *verso* and *recto* – below). It is noteworthy to mention that Sudhaus reads an undotted ρ in line 64, followed by Sandbach, Arnott, Austin and Blanchard, contrary to the new reading of the dotted ν that this edition provides.

Myrrhine (*Her.* 58–59) begins to narrate her story to the slave Sophrone, perhaps the nurse of Plangon or Myrrhine, who has no idea about what Myrrhine had gone through (*Her.* 61), and for this reason, she asks for more details about Myrrhine's rape (*Her.* 63: ἀλλ' ἡδίκηκε]ν ἐκ βίας σέ τις ποτέ). Myrrhine must have been informed about Gorgias' decision to have Plangon marry a slave. She is therefore upset, as the hypothesis attests (*hyp.* 9–10), since her daughter – the daughter of a free Athenian – is considered the daughter of Tibeios (a shepherd and former slave) and will be married to a slave. If Plangon's rape has also been revealed at this point, Myrrhine's anxiety could have been also caused by the act supposedly being committed by a slave. Myrrhine fears that this series of events requires her involvement in order to save her daughter from being married to a slave. However, the revelation of the truth about Plangon's social status will possibly cost Myrrhine her marriage to Laches, – at least temporarily –, since she will have to reveal her secret about the rape and the birth of the children; the father of the children is still unknown and therefore, Laches could have accused Myrrhine of infidelity and left her, as happens in *Epitrepontes*, where Charisios leaves his wife after the revelation of her rape and pregnancy.

<sup>27</sup> Sonnenburg (n. 10) 81.

<sup>28</sup> F.H. Sandbach, *Menandri reliquiae selectae: iteratis curis nova appendice auctas recensuit* (Oxford 1990); Arnott (n. 18); C. Austin, *Menander: Eleven Plays* (Cambridge 2013); Blanchard (n. 1); see also A.W. Gomme, "Menander's *Heros* 55–97," *CR* 61 (1947) 73.

*Fragment γΟ*γΟ *verso* 66–74 (lines 65–73 Blanchard)

66	] . . . ισι . ο[	“[ ]: ...
67	τούτω :	
	_____ πο[	[ ]:
68	μᾶλλον δι . [	[ ]: rather
	_____ τὴν Θρᾷττα[ν	[ ]: the Thracian (slave)
69	_____ σὺ τάλαινα τί	woman
70	_____ φ[α]νερῶς γε νῆ Δί’ ὃ γύναι	[Myrrhine]: Oh, poor girl.
	_____ ἐς κόρακας ἐξέστηκας :	What –
71	_____ οἷα γὰρ λέγεις	[Laches]: By Zeus, it is obvious, woman!
	_____ ἃ καὶ ποιήσω καὶ δέδοκται μοι πάλαι	(To Gorgias) Go to hell! Are you out of your mind?
72	_____ ἰδρώς ἀπορία :	[Gorgias]: What are you talking about?
73	_____ νῆ Δί’ εὖ γ’ ὃ Μυρρίνη	This is exactly what I am going to do. I’ve taken my decision long ago – oh, sweat, perplexity!
	_____ ἐπ’ ἐμαυτὸν ἔλαβον ποιμέν’ ὃς βληχῶμενον	[Laches]: By Zeus, Myrrhine, I did well
74		to appoint a shepherd for my household, only to get a bleating ...”

70 τί; φ[αν]ερῶς Sudhaus : συταλαιναφ[α]νερωσγενηδιωγυναιτι C 72 ποιησω C: ποιήσω Blanchard

The fragment γΟ *verso* preserves traces of *paragraphi* (*Her.* 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73) and *dicola* (*Her.* 67, 71), which indicate a dialogue but without any traces of the speakers’ names. The swift change of speakers and the tense atmosphere with the frequent *antilabe*, the questions (*Her.* 70 and 71) and the aggressive interjections (e.g. *Her.* 71 ἐς κόρακας) suggest a dialogue between characters about an important and difficult issue. Based on a parallel scene in *Samia* (369–416), where Demeas expels his concubine Chrysis from his house, thinking that she has committed adultery and given birth, it has been generally accepted that this fragment preserves the scene where Laches is informed of Plangon’s pregnancy and expels someone from the house (*Her.* 71). Gomme argued that Laches expels Gorgias, as implied by the reference to the shepherd (*Her.* 74 βληχῶμενον) and the ‘sympathetic’ way Laches talks to

Myrrhine.<sup>29</sup> Finding the *Samia* parallel (352ff., 369ff.) suitable for this scene, Webster<sup>30</sup> believes that Laches expels Myrrhine from their house, while Arnott<sup>31</sup> suggests that Laches expels Plangon and the Thracian woman (i.e. Sophrone, whom some scholars assumed to be Tibeios' widow).<sup>32</sup> However, the new arrangement that I propose in this article makes this view implausible. The preserved text suggests that the subject matter of this heated conversation deals with Gorgias' decision (*Her.* 72 ἄ καὶ ποιήσω), which enrages Laches (*Her.* 71–72): (L.): “Are you out of your mind? – (G.): What are you talking about? This is exactly what I am going to do.”

Contrary to all these earlier views and the attribution of lines 66–74 to different speakers (see Table 4), based on the content of the lines, I believe that this dialogue can be reconstructed as a scene with three characters: Gorgias (*Her.* 72 ἄ καὶ ποιήσω καὶ δέδοκται μοι πάλαι), Myrrhine (*Her.* 73 ὃ Μυρρίνη) and Laches (*Her.* 74 ἐπ' ἐμαυτὸν ἔλαβον ποιμέν'). Laches returns and eavesdrops on Myrrhine and Gorgias' discussion about the latter's decision to give away Plangon to another man, not to Daos, since Gorgias now must know the truth about Plangon's rape and her real seducer, as well as their real social status; otherwise, a discussion about a marriage of the daughter of a shepherd and former slave to an Athenian citizen would have been out of the question according to the social norms of antiquity.<sup>33</sup> However, Laches remains ignorant of these facts and

<sup>29</sup> See Gomme (n. 28) 72–73; Gomme also adds that Laches, returning from abroad, is possibly told by Getas that the twins are Myrrhine's (Gomme and Sandbach [n. 1] 398).

<sup>30</sup> Webster (n. 10) 33 and T.B.L. Webster, “Three Notes on Menander,” *JHS* 93 (1973) 196.

<sup>31</sup> Arnott (n. 18) 29.

<sup>32</sup> C. Robert, review of Sudhaus' *Menanderstudien* and *Menandri reliquiae nuper reperiae*, *GGA* (1915) 249–292; J. van Leeuwen, *Menandri fabularum reliquiae in exemplarium vetustorum foliis laceris servatae* (Leiden 1919) followed by Arnott (n. 18) 29; cf. Gomme and Sandbach (n. 1) 394.

<sup>33</sup> According to the Periclean citizenship law of 451/450 BCE, someone could only be considered an Athenian citizen if they were born from two Athenian citizens and they could only get married to another Athenian citizen (see Lape [n. 3, 2004] 14–17, 15, n. 47 and 23–24; C.B. Patterson, *Pericles' Citizenship Law of 451/50 B.C.* [New York 1981]). Lape (n. 3, 2001) 81: “What gives Menander's betrothal plots their political bite is the fact that the democratic state used marriage as an institution of civic membership and reproduction. In 451 BCE, on Pericles' proposal, the Athenians passed a law that excluded those not born from two “natives” from membership in the polis (n. 9: [Arist.] *A.P.* 26.4; cf. *Plut. Per.* 37.2–4; see further below). This law redefined what the state recognized as a legitimate marriage by requiring that both the man and the woman have Athenian citizen status. In order for a male citizen to transmit his property and reproduce his familial and

is therefore enraged by the news. Laches possibly believes that Gorgias cannot give Plangon to an Athenian citizen; he thus interrupts the discussion between Myrrhine and Gorgias by emerging enraged onstage (*Her.* 70–71).

According to the new reconstruction that I propose in this article, the words *σὺ τάλαινα* are ascribed to Myrrhine, as referring to Plangon (*Her.* 70 “oh, poor girl”), possibly after Gorgias reveals the truth about the real seducer of his sister.<sup>34</sup> The next word in my edition, *τί*, has generated a scholarly debate about its position. The papyrus has the word *τί* at the end of line 70, following *γύναι*. Sudhaus (1914) placed *τί* between *σὺ τάλαινα* and *φανερῶς* to restore the metre: [Λ.]: *σὺ τάλαινα*. [Μ.]: *τί* [Λ.]: *φ[α]νερῶς γε, νῆ Δί', ὃ γύναι*. This view has been followed by all later editors and is also adopted in my edition: the large space between *γύναι* and *τί* could suggest that *τί* was omitted by the scribe and placed at the end of the line as a marginal correction. Therefore, *τί* follows Myrrhine's *σὺ τάλαινα* and comprises the beginning of what would have been a question to Gorgias (*Her.* 70): “oh, poor girl! And now what – [are you planning to do with Plangon]?”

Myrrhine's question is interrupted by Laches, as argued above, who emerged on stage to confront Gorgias about his decision. All editors mark a change of speaker after *σὺ τάλαινα*, attributing the word *τί* to Laches. The *paragraphus* under line 70 indeed suggests a change of speaker at some point on line 70. However, there is no *dicolon* at that point. On the contrary, there seems to be an upper dot at the end of the line after *τί* (*Her.* 70) that could come from a *dicolon*. Therefore, I propose to follow the papyrus' reading, which suggests no change of speaker after *σὺ*

civic identity, he had to marry and have children with an Athenian woman. Menander's plays are about creating the conditions for making legitimate marriages as defined by the democratic state. There seems to be a contradiction between Menandrian Comedy's generic imperative to reproduce Athens' matrimonial citizenship system in strict accordance with Athenian law and the violent, seemingly criminal, means by which many of the comedies achieve that end.”

<sup>34</sup> The vocatives *τάλαν*, *τάλαινα* are thought to be used only by women, and as Bain notes, “if there is one word that characterises women in Menander, it is *τάλας*” (D.M. Bain, “Female Speech in Menander,” *Antichthon* 18 [1984] 33); see E. Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address from Herodotus to Lucian* (Oxford 1996) 162–163 with notes: “In Aristophanes, Menander, and some other poets *τάλαν* seems to be “women's language;” that is, it is used primarily or exclusively by women (see A.H. Sommerstein, *Talking about Laughter* [Oxford 2009] 22–23);” cf. Gomme and Sandbach (n. 1) 394–395 quoting A.C. Dedoussi, “Studies in Comedy,” *Hellenica* 18 (1964) 3. Dedoussi (*ibid.*) has suggested that the speaker could be the Thracian woman or even Laches echoing the use of this phrase by his wife, as in *Samia* 370 (see T.B.L. Webster, “Restorations in Menander,” *BJRL* 30 [1946] 122: L: “[Take] the Thracian girl [Sophrone and go!, M.: Who is to go?], L: You, unhappy one”). For reasons given above, it would not be wise to ascribe the line to the Thracian woman.

τάλαινα but possibly a change of speaker after the omitted τί. Considering the content and the context of these lines, the words φ[α]νερῶς γε νῆ Δί' ὃ γύναι / ἐς κόρακας ἐξέστηκας<sup>35</sup> are attributed to Laches for two reasons: 1) ὃ γύναι is a form of address that is most commonly spoken by husbands to their wives,<sup>36</sup> and 2) the oath to Zeus, which is most often uttered by men,<sup>37</sup> is used again in line 73, almost certainly by Laches (see the last paragraph in this section; cf. e.g. *Epitrepontes* 303, 376; *Samia* 421). Consequently, lines 70–71 serve to answer Myrrhine's unfinished question: (L.): "it is obvious!", that is, Gorgias is planning to give away Plangon to Pheidias.

The *dicolon* after ἐξέστηκας (*Her.* 71) is clearly indicated on the papyrus and suggests a change of speaker. Körte (1938) suggested that the *dicolon* was mistakenly put there and should be placed after ἐς κόρακας. Even Jensen,<sup>38</sup> who indicates a change of speaker after ἐξέστηκας, does not print it. I propose to follow the papyrus' reading, which at the same time provides a logical interpretation of the text and puts the *dicolon* after ἐξέστηκας. The next speaker must be Gorgias, since he is the only character who needs to put a lot of thought into his decision (*Her.* 72): ἂ καὶ ποιήσω καὶ δέδοκται μοι πάλαι ("a long time ago"). If this conversation between Gorgias and Laches is placed in the fourth act, Gorgias has enough time to make up his mind after he finds out the truth about Plangon's rapist<sup>39</sup> or even to learn about their real social status from

<sup>35</sup> The same verb is used in *Samia* (279, 620) to indicate that someone is out of his mind (see LSJ s.v. ἐξίστημι A2). Perhaps Laches has been annoyed with Gorgias for not protecting his sister's honour properly, as a girl's *kyrios* should (e.g. Aeschin. 1.182–183; [Dem.] 40.57), in what can be viewed as a parallel to Gorgias' words and behaviour in *Dyskolos* about his half-sister's honour that was not protected, according to him, by the girl's father, Knemon (*Dysk.* 220–224); see Blanchard (n. 1) 16, n. 3 and Webster (n. 10) 33.

<sup>36</sup> According to Dickey (n. 34) 87: "In Menander and Aristophanes γύναι is often used by a man to his wife." See also Dickey (n. 34) 225: "In Menander (...) wives usually receive γύναι (*Epitr.* 303, 376) but can also get FN [= First Names] (Πόδη, fr. 592) or Fts [= Friendship Terms] (γλυκυτάτη, *Epitr.* 888)." Gorgias could also call Myrrhine γύναι since it could also be applied "from men to unrelated women" (Dickey [n. 34] 87), but the content of the preserved text suggests that the two lines should be ascribed to Laches.

<sup>37</sup> Feneron argues that this oath is pronounced only by men, yet, Myrrhine in *Georgos* (34) and Glykera in *Perikeiromene* (757) are swearing by Zeus (J.S. Feneron, "Some Elements of Menander's Style," *BICS* 21.1 [1974] 88–91 and J.S. Feneron, *Some Elements of Menander's Style* [diss. Stanford 1976] 78–79); see Sommerstein "The Informal Oath," in A.H. Sommerstein, C. Torrance, and I. Berlin (eds.), *Oaths and Swearing in Ancient Greece* (Berlin-Boston 2014) 321–322 with n. 47. It is not impossible to have a woman in Menander's work swear by Zeus, but it is still rare. As Sommerstein (2014, 322) notes, "Indeed, by the time of Menander, only the oath by Zeus remains 'unisexual,' and even that has become rare in the mouths of women."

<sup>38</sup> Jensen (n. 16, 1914) 425.

<sup>39</sup> See p. 242 with n. 46 about the play's "second plan," possibly in the third act.

Myrrhine. Even if Gorgias lacks enough time to think about his decision, this should not pose a problem, since *πάλαι* in Menander's works is usually spoken by characters who have only recently appeared on stage in order to show what they have been doing off stage or to describe an offstage event (e.g. *Dysk.* 585, 776; *Epitr.* 854; *Sa.* 675; *Geo.* 17). It can also refer to recent incidents (e.g. *Epitr.* 383–384 ἐχθὲς *πάλαι* / ἔπινον) or those occurring during the same act of a play (e.g. *Dysk.* 555) or during an abstract period of time (e.g. *Perik.* 391). For instance, Sostratos' mother in *Dyskolos* appears on stage when the fourth act begins (430), but only 125 lines later, Getas tells Sostratos that his mother arrived in Phyle "long ago" (*πάλαι*).<sup>40</sup>

Gorgias' οἷα γὰρ λέγεις (*Her.* 71) indicates the misunderstanding between him and Laches, due to Laches' ignorance of the latest events. Gorgias cannot understand Laches' anger (and why he believes that it is nonsense to allow Plangon to marry her child's father). However, Laches is ignorant of the real facts and his anger must originate not only from his promise to Daos but also to the fact that marrying the daughter of a former slave to a free citizen was a senseless decision back then.

The words ἰδρῶς, ἀπορία (*Her.* 73), which must be spoken 'aside', should describe the distressed condition of one of the scene's characters. This character should be Myrrhine, as earlier editors have already suggested, who must have been very distressed during Laches and Gorgias' heated conversation, since she knows that she will have to tell Laches the whole truth about her rape and her decision to give up the twins, something that will cause serious problems in her marriage – little does she know about how this revelation will unite her with her twins and their father. The next two lines are ascribed to Laches for two reasons: 1) Laches is the one who utters the oath to Zeus again in line 70, and 2) the speaker of these lines refers to a shepherd's appointment to his household (*Her.* 74) and only Laches has appointed a shepherd to his household (he could refer either to Tibeios or Gorgias: see *Her.* 21–22).<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Cf. also Soph. *Ant.* 279, where the chorus has only just heard the Guard's report about Polyneices' body, but has been thinking *πάλαι* about divine involvement in the burial. Consider also Hunter's (n. 15) 36 argument that the choral interludes between acts give characters plenty of time, even for travelling from one place in Attica to another.

<sup>41</sup> Laches addresses Myrrhine by name, after the ὦ γύναι of line 70, and the different address within three lines emphasises his tension: on this, see A. Scafuro, "Menander: Personal Address and Addressing the Audience," *Tokyo Classical Studies* (2013) 108: "Elsewhere, when variety of address appears between equals, as between Moschion and his father, it happens under the pressure of *strong emotion*," and E. Dickey, "Forms of Address and Markers of Status," in E.J. Bakker (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language* (Chichester 2010) 332: "Address by name could have meaning in a context where another term would be expected; for example addressing one's wife by name rather than with



The word βληχόμενον (*Her.* 74) is being chosen on purpose by Menander in order to make a pun exploiting the double definition of the verb βληχάομαι, which is used to describe a sheep's bleating or a baby's cry.<sup>42</sup> Laches seems to sarcastically comment that he hired a shepherd only to get a crying baby: "I did well to appoint a shepherd for my household and instead of getting a bleating sheep [as I expected] I got a crying baby." If that is the case, then βληχόμενον goes with τέκνον or παιδίον and implies that Plangon's baby has already been born, as suggested by Blanchard.<sup>43</sup> Gomme and Sandbach go one step further by suggesting that Laches talks angrily about Tibeios, whom he considers the father of Myrrhine's children.<sup>44</sup>

Regarding the position of the γO fragment in *Heros*, it seems that Sophrone's question (ὑπονοεῖς ὅ[στις]) on line 64 of the δεξ fragment, which indicate that the truth about the real rapist of Myrrhine has not been revealed, must precede the scenes preserved on the γO fragment, where a recognition scene must have taken place (*Her.* 75–82). I therefore place the γO fragment after the δεξ fragment and possibly not in the same act but in the following fourth act. This view is strengthened by the fact that the fourth act is where Menandrian comedy often solves any problems faced by the young lovers through sudden and important events, such as Knemon's fall into the well in *Dyskolos*, which leads Knemon to reconsider the way he treats Gorgias and to give his consent so that Sostratos can marry his daughter, or through recognition scenes (e.g. *Epitrepontes*, *Perikeiromene* and *Sikyonioi*).<sup>45</sup> Therefore, the fourth act of *Heros* must have included fragment γO *verso* (*Her.* 66–75), when Laches has already returned from his trip and is unaware of Plangon's

γύναϊ "wife" appears to have been a sign of emotional strain." For the use of ὄ in both addresses and its connotation, see Dickey (n. 34) 201: "Gomme and Sandbach (1973 [n. 1] on *Dysk.* 823) suggest that, since in Menander the absence of ὄ is the norm, its presence must be meaningful and can indicate appeals, remonstrance, gnomic speeches, or solemnity." Laches is indeed very angry and stressed, and these emotions are obvious when the second time he addresses Myrrhine, he uses her name – accompanied by ὄ – to emphasise his tension.

<sup>42</sup> LSJ s.v.; Arnott (n. 18) 31; cf. D.M. MacDowell, *Aristophanes: Wasps* (Oxford 1971) on *Wasps* 570 for the latter definition.

<sup>43</sup> Blanchard (n. 1) 16, n. 3.

<sup>44</sup> Gomme and Sandbach (n. 1) 394.

<sup>45</sup> In some instances, the misunderstanding is solved in the fifth act, as in *Samia*, but the wedding there has already been prepared from the beginning of the play and the plot is based on the misunderstandings. The plot in *Heros* is divided into more than one story: Daos' love for Plangon and their arranged marriage, Plangon's violation, Myrrhine's violation, the recognition of Laches as Myrrhine's violator, and the recognition of Myrrhine and Laches as the parents of Plangon and Gorgias. Webster (n. 10) 34 also places the recognition scene in the fourth act, adding a slave scene or two to complete the act (Daos tells Getas the news he learnt from Sophrone).

rape, and when Gorgias has already learnt the truth about Plangon's rape, her real seducer and her real social status,<sup>46</sup> important details to unfold the story and lead to the double recognition scene, part of which is preserved on γO *recto* (*Her.* 75–82).

γO *recto* 75–82 (lines 90–97 Blanchard)

75	ἢ γε σύ	“[            ]: ...
76	...]ς ὅτι	[            ]: ...
77	...]ρέστατον :	[            ]: ...
78	...] πρῶτον λέγε	[Laches]: ... tell me first. That
79	[ἔ]τι 'στιν ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκ' :	happened eighteen years ago?
	οὐ[κ] ἔστιν μόνη	[Myrrhine]: But [(s)he/it] is not
80	ἄντ' ἔστω δὲ τοῦτ' εἰ σοὶ δοκεῖ	alone ... [but still] let it be as
		you say, if you'd like.
81	ἄσαφέ]ς τὸ πρᾶγμα γίνεται πῶς λανθάνει	[Laches]: Things are becoming
82	ὁ π[ρ[οσ]πεσών σε πῶς δ' ἀπέλ[ι]πε πηνίκ[α	[harder to understand]. How did
		you not see your attacker? How
		did he escape? When ...”

76 ὅτι or ὅ τι Arnott<sup>2</sup> 79 μόνη or μόνη Arnott<sup>2</sup> 80 σ[οι] corr. Sudhaus: συ C | τοῦτ' C: ταῦτ' Blanchard 81 ἄσαφέ]ς suppl. Körte<sup>1</sup> : τρανέ]ς Körte<sup>2</sup> 82 ὁ π[ρ[οσ]πεσών suppl. Jensen<sup>2</sup> | ἀπέλ[ι]πε suppl. Sandbach | πηνί κ[α]

Lines 75–82 preserve a dialogue, as indicated by the *dicola* at the end of line 77 and after δέκ' in line 79. Jensen (1914) suspected a *dicolon* at the end of line 80 and a *paragraphe* under this line. As can be inferred from the mention of a rape committed eighteen years ago, the speakers must be Myrrhine and Laches. It is clear that Laches has started to realise that Myrrhine is probably the girl he raped eighteen years ago (*Her.* 78–79 ...) πρῶτον λέγε / [ἔ]τι 'στιν ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκ').<sup>47</sup> He starts to bombard her with questions (*Her.* 79, 81–82), showing his impatience to confirm his suspicion and learn about this incident – something that will (unintentionally) save his marriage. This is the characteristic technique used in recognition scenes, where successive questions about past incidents are

<sup>46</sup> A second intrigue could have taken place in the third act, that of Pheidias and Myrrhine. The first intrigue, which, as has been already suggested, must have occurred during the second act, is implemented by Daos in order to win Plangon by representing himself as the father of her child (*hyp.* 8–9). The second plan could have referred to that of Pheidias in order to marry the girl (e.g. Daos' plan in *Aspis* in order to help Chairestratos and Chaireas get the girl from Smikrines; Gorgias and Sostratos' plan in *Dyskolos* to obtain Knemon's consent to give away his daughter to Sostratos). The two plans in *Epitrepontes* offer a good parallel, since they show that the first plan takes place during the second act, while the second plan takes shape in the third. The plans in Menander tend to resolve any misunderstanding and overcome any potential obstacle (e.g. Daos' plan in *Aspis* to help Chaireas win the girl from his uncle Smikrines).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Gomme (n. 28) 73–74.

asked to help the characters arrive at the recognition.<sup>48</sup> The scene on γΟ *recto* alludes to the *stichomythia* scenes before a recognition in Greek tragedies<sup>49</sup> and suggests that it indeed follows the scene on γΟ *verso*, where Laches seems to have just returned from his business trip and to be unaware of Myrrhine's and Plangon's rape. This double recognition scene is referred to in the *hypothesis* (*hyp.* 3, 7) and will lead Laches to identify himself as Myrrhine's rapist and the father of the twins (*Her.* 75–82), in turn enabling Plangon, as the free daughter of an Athenian citizen, to marry Pheidias (*hyp.* 12).<sup>50</sup>

The verb γνωρίσας that is attested in the *hypothesis* of the play (*hyp.* 11) is frequently used by Menander in his recognition scenes<sup>51</sup> and can also allude to the γνωρίσματα (birth tokens),<sup>52</sup> which could have been used in *Heros*. Myrrhine's οὐ[κ] ἔστιν μόνη (*Her.* 79) is problematic. Here it is translated as “but [(s)he/it] is not alone” following Arnott's and Blanchard's readings (“there's more than one” and “il y en a plus d'une”, respectively). She must be talking about another girl, possibly Plangon, who suffers what Myrrhine is going through, since the verb εἰμί is in the third-person singular form; otherwise, this line could be ascribed to Sophrone, as the third speaker in this dialogue, addressing Laches and talking about Myrrhine.

Laches' words suggest that he now knows that Myrrhine is unaware of the seducer's identity, but he still cannot comprehend how this is possible if we follow Körte's (1938) supplement (*Her.* 81 ἀσαφέ[ς] τὸ πρῶγμα γίνεται). Arnott gives convincing arguments for Körte's (1912) first reading ἀσαφέ[ς], against Körte's (1938) last reading, τρανέ[ς] (“it's

<sup>48</sup> This technique is employed again in Menander in the corresponding scenes of *Perikeiromene* (768–828) and *Epitrepontes* (858–869; cf. 470–492), where the characters try to recall past incidents through interrogation (see n. 11 above on the recognition scenes in Menander).

<sup>49</sup> These refer to *Stichomythia* scenes, especially between Oedipus and Jokasta in *Soph. OT* 1054–1072. For a stichomythic scene in a Menandrian recognition play, see *Perikeiromene* 758–828 with Furley (n. 13) ad loc and Furley (n. 11) 106–115.

<sup>50</sup> Del Corno (n. 10) 138 says that either Myrrhine tells Laches that he is the father or he himself realises it from Myrrhine's reaction; Webster's (n. 10) 32, with n. 1 suggestion about Sophrone or possibly Sangarios (cf. *Heros* fr. 5) having helped in the recognition of the twins is also plausible, given similar examples in New Comedy, such as the *Epitrepontes*' recognition scene, where Onesimos and Habrotonon help in the recognition and the reunion of Pamphile and Charisios.

<sup>51</sup> See e.g. *Epitr.* 303, 331, 341; *Perik.* 816; *Sik.* 142, 248; for the recognition motif in Menander's work, see n. 11.

<sup>52</sup> For the word γνωρίσματα, see *Perik.* 742 with Furley (n. 13) ad loc.; cf. E. Capps, *Four Plays of Menander: The Hero, Epitrepontes, Perikeromene and Samia* (Boston 1910) 7 and 9. Birth tokens are likely in *Heros*, too, if we assume that Myrrhine wrapped her twins in a garment and exposed them with some kind of a recognition item, such as a ring, as in *Epitrepontes*, or a garment, such as in *Perikeiromene*.

clear”).<sup>53</sup> Arnott argues that τρᾶνέ]ς is wrong and introduces a solecism into Menander’s Greek, while σαφέ]ς (van Leeuwen 1919) is too short to fill the gap in the papyrus.<sup>54</sup> Gomme and Sandbach (1973) support Körte’s τρᾶνέ]ς, citing Polybios iv.78 as a parallel.<sup>55</sup> Webster supports van Leeuwen’s supplement as an indication that Myrrhine and Laches have found out the truth<sup>56</sup>: “it’s obvious; that is what has happened.” However, the following lines, with Laches asking Myrrhine, “How did you not see your attacker? How did he escape?” (*Her.* 80–82),<sup>57</sup> indicate that matters are becoming confusing rather than obvious, as Arnott rightly argues. It is becoming apparent that Myrrhine was raped during a nocturnal festival, where it was easy to commit such a crime without being seen or recognised.<sup>58</sup>

The recognition scene must have solved any misunderstanding caused by the relationship between Myrrhine and the twins and by Laches’ decision to let Daos live with Plangon. Gomme suggests (without providing a parallel) that before the scene with Myrrhine, Laches knows that the children are hers, probably having been told by Getas, and that he wants to find out the father’s identity.<sup>59</sup> This view could have provided Laches with a cause for jealous rage, since he would believe that Myrrhine had sexual intercourse before their marriage, and that the twins are not his own children. He would then be expected to leave their house himself (similar to Charisios in *Epitrepontes*, who leaves Pamphile because he believes that her child is the offspring of her pre-marital relationship with another man), or else he will force Myrrhine to leave (as Demeas does in *Samia*, where he forces Chrysis to leave their house, since he considers Moschion and Plangon’s child to be hers with another man). In any case, Laches will be eventually recognized as Myrrhine’s seducer and the twins’ father and the family will be reunited.

### *Fragment θη*

As mentioned above, the assignment of fragment θη to this play remains uncertain and lies solely in the appearance of the papyrus leaf.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>53</sup> W.G. Arnott, “Notes on Eight Plays of Menander,” *ZPE* 31 (1978) 7.

<sup>54</sup> Arnott (n. 53) *ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Gomme and Sandbach (n. 1) 396.

<sup>56</sup> Webster (n. 30) 196.

<sup>57</sup> For the insistent questions with the anaphoric πῶς that indicate strong emotions, see Feneron (n. 37) 86.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. the rape of Pamphile by Charisios at the Tauropolia in *Epitrepontes*.

<sup>59</sup> Gomme and Sandbach (n. 1) 398.

<sup>60</sup> For the purpose of this paper, a short discussion of the θη fragment is offered given that earlier editors print it in their editions of *Heros*.



The *paragraphi* under lines 91, 92, 94 and 96 suggest that the scene represents a dialogue. One speaker must be male, since he swears by Poseidon (*Her.* 95), an oath uttered only by men.<sup>63</sup>

The speaker gives Athena's name in the Doric dialect (*Her.* 92), in a possible reference to a Peloponnesian cult. Athena Alea was worshipped in Alea (Argolis), as well as at Mantinea and Tegea in Arcadia.<sup>64</sup> Menander uses Doric in special scenes with a specific purpose: in *Aspis* (439–464), where the fake doctor speaks in Doric, the dialect spoken in famous medical centres, such as Sicily and Kos, to be more convincing,<sup>65</sup> and in *Theophroroumene* (36–41), where the character who sings a ritual hymn to Cybele uses the Doric dialect in a traditional lyric song. As for *Heros*, or whatever other comedy of the Cairo Codex this scrap derives from, the Doric dialect is either the utterance of an ethnic Doric speaker or is part of a tragic quotation, since the Doric form of the goddess Athena occurs in Greek tragedy (e.g. Aesch. *Eum.* 235, 443; Soph. *Aj.* 91, 112, *Phil.* 134; Eur. *Suppl.* 1227, *Tro.* 52, 802, 979).

Körte was right to disagree with Jensen's and Sudhaus' view that Athena Alea in this fragment could refer to Myrrhine's violation in the shrine of Athena Alea.<sup>66</sup> It is not economical to suggest that Myrrhine and Laches had separately gone from Attica to a festival in the Peloponnese, so far away from Ptelea. Körte suggested an allusion to the Auge story, which Koenen followed,<sup>67</sup> arguing that the words may come from Euripides' lost tragedy *Auge*, of which we possess the opening line: Ἀλέας Ἀθά[νας ὄδε πολὺχρυσος δόμος].<sup>68</sup> The tragedy's plot, in which Aleus' daughter

<sup>63</sup> Cf. p. 240–241, n. 41 above and Martina (n. 13) 184.

<sup>64</sup> Pausanias 2.17.8.23; for the cult of Athena Alea and her temple in Tegea, see C. Tarditi, "Il santuario di Atena Alea a Tegea: continuità di culto dall'età proto-geometrica alla fine del periodo romano," in E. Villari (ed.), *Il paesaggio e il sacro: l'evoluzione dello spazio di culto in Grecia: interpretazioni e rappresentazioni* (Geneva 2013) 77–92; G.C. Nordquist, "Evidence for the Pre-classical Cult Activity Beneath the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea," in R. Hägg (ed.), *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11–13 June 1994* (Stockholm 2002) 149–158.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Gomme and Sandbach (n. 1) 99 on *Aspis* 439–464, noting other examples of Old and Middle Comedy, where foreign dialects are more frequently used; cf. A. Willi, "The Language(s) of Comedy," in M. Revermann (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Comedy* (Cambridge 2014) 182–183.

<sup>66</sup> A. Körte, *Menandri quae supersunt. Pars Prior, Reliquiae in papyris et membranis vetustissimis servatae* (Leipzig 1938) xv, n. 3; Jensen (n. 10) xvi–xvii.

<sup>67</sup> L. Koenen, "Eine Hypothese zur Auge des Euripides und tegeatische Plynterien (P.Colon. inv. 264)," *ZPE* 4 (1969) 9.

<sup>68</sup> Eur. *Auge* fr. 264a, test. iia *TrGF*; supplement and discussion: Koenen (n. 67) 7–18, followed by most scholars and editors; see esp. Gomme and Sandbach (n. 1) 395–396;

Auge, the mother of Telephus and a virgin temple servant of Athena Alea, is raped by Heracles and forced to conceal her pregnancy, with the father exposing the newborn baby, shows some similarity to the plot of *Heros* and that of *Epitrepontes*, where two verses of the *Auge* are quoted by the slave Onesimos to explain to Smikrines that nature arranges events for humans and, consequently, that Pamphile's child is actually Charisios' own (*Epitr.* 1123–1124: “(On.): Nature led where morals fear to tread. Such is woman's lot. (Sm.): What? (On.): Are you thick? I'll recite the whole of Auge's tragic speech, if you still don't catch on Smikrines” – transl. Furley 2009).<sup>69</sup> Koenen's proposal has the advantage of both explaining Menander's use of a Doric form and presenting an evocative tragic story parallel to the main intrigue of the play. Nonetheless, nothing can be stated with certainty, since Merkelbach's reconstruction of *Auge*'s opening line is based on the *Heros* fragment.

Therefore, we might imagine – if  $\theta\eta$  does belong to *Heros* – that Myrrhine is narrating her story of rape in a holy place by reciting the opening line of Euripides' *Auge*, identifying herself with Auge, who was raped by Heracles in the sanctuary of Athena Alea while she was washing the goddess' robe (*P.Colon.* 264).<sup>70</sup> Laches then remembers that he once raped a girl in a holy place, and his interrogation establishes the recognition. The reconstruction that Körte suggests,<sup>71</sup> which calls for tragic irony in Laches' mouth about Myrrhine's rapist (whose identity is still unknown), provides a dialogue between Laches and Myrrhine: (L.): “Did the man not feel any shame before the god's holy place? (M.): Did Heracles feel any shame in front of the shrine of Athena Alea?”. However, Gomme and Sandbach rightly observe that there is “no case where an Attic author uses a non-Attic name for a god merely because he is recounting a mythological tale with a foreign setting.”<sup>72</sup>

Arnott (n. 18) 37–39; A. Martina, *Menandrea: Elementi e Struttura della Commedia di Menandro*, vol. 3 (Pisa-Rome 2016) 93–94 and 183–184.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Furley (n. 13) on *Epitrepontes* 1123–1124; Rosivach (n. 3) 43–44; W.S. Anderson, “Euripides' *Auge* and Menander's *Epitrepontes*,” *GRBS* 23 (1982) 165–177; for other tragic quotations in Menander's works, see *Asp.* 418, *Epitr.* 326–333, *Kol.* 122–124, *Plokion* (fr. 334) and *Sa.* 495–497; Sommerstein (n. 3) 36–40; Furley (n. 13) 2–8; C. Cusset, *Ménandre ou La comédie tragique* (Paris 2003) 121–162; Omitowaju (n. 3) 154–162 with n. 44 for further bibliography; K. Gutzwiller, “The Tragic Mask of Comedy: Metatheatricity in Menander,” *ClAnt* 19 (2000) 108–113.

<sup>70</sup> Koenen (n. 67) 7; this allusion to the story of Auge Martina (n. 11) 135 uses to suggest that when Menander wrote *Heros*, he had in mind Sophocles' *Mysians* (fr. 409–412), a play from a tetralogy dealing with the myth of Auge and her rape by Heracles.

<sup>71</sup> Körte (n. 65) on *Heros* 84, followed by Blanchard (n. 1) 17 with n. 1.

<sup>72</sup> Gomme and Sandbach (n. 1) 396.



## TEXTUAL REMARKS ON TWO PAPYRI OF THE GREEK NOVEL<sup>1</sup>

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*Abstract.* — New readings and supplements in two recently published papyri of the Greek novel (*Calligone* and Lollianus, Φοινικικά).

*Keywords:* Greek novel, Calligone, Amazons, Lollianus, magic, love-sickness

### 1. P.Oxy. 83.5355 (*Mertens-Pack*<sup>3</sup> 2628.01)

This piece, published by Peter Parsons in 2018, is our second witness for the “novel of Calligone,” besides *PSI* 8.981 (*Mertens-Pack*<sup>3</sup> 2628); see Stephens and Winkler, pp. 267–276<sup>2</sup>; López Martínez, no. XII.<sup>3</sup> The two fragments do not belong to the same book roll.

The new papyrus (photo in ed., plate 8) preserves an important scene, that of the first meeting of the heroine Calligone with the Amazons under Queen Themisto: in fr. 1.2.5ff. we are told how Calligone (along with some companions) fell into the Amazons’ hands and was led before their queen, whose first reaction upon seeing her was one of admiration for her looks. There followed an exchange between the two women, of which only parts have survived the deterioration of the papyrus: according to Parsons’ very plausible reconstruction (comm. on fr. 1.2.24ff. and on fr. 2) the small fr. 2 preserves portions of the last lines of fr. 1.2, with Calligone’s self-presentation; of the question by Themisto which must have prompted this, nothing intelligible remains at the end of fr. 1.2. In the upper part of the following column (fr. 1.3) 16 lines have been lost or only survive in exiguous and unintelligible remnants; these will have contained the end of

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Chara Armoni (Cologne), Elke Fuchs (Heidelberg), and María Paz López Martínez (Alicante) for providing literature unavailable to me; and Daniela Colomo (Oxford) for a high resolution scan of the first text discussed here. I am also grateful to the journal’s two anonymous readers for their suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> S.A. Stephens and J.J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments* (Princeton 1995).

<sup>3</sup> M.P. López Martínez, *Fragmentos papiráceos de novela griega* (Alicante 1998).

Calligone's speech (the last line of fr. 2, and thus very probably of col. 2, belongs to this speech and ends mid-word) and Themisto's reply or comment, and conceivably more besides. The better-preserved lines of this column, ll. 17–32, are presented as follows:

17 Μαιῶται ἡμεῖν [ . . . . .  
 18 νοι, ἄρχει δὲ κακεῖνων γυ-  
 19 νή. ἡ δὲ Καλλιγόνῃ [ . . . . .  
 20 ρωτα . π . [ . ]μεν . [ . . . . .  
 21 Μαιωτῶν . . [ ]ει . [ . . . . .  
 22 τε και . . . . .εως. ὅπως δὲ  
 23 . . των Ἀμαζόνων καὶ ο  
 24 . . . . .μον . αι .  
 25 . . . σ . . . . . και . . . . .  
 26 πλίσιν . . . . . ἐφαί-  
 27 νετο αὐτῇ ὑπὸ ἀκοσμίᾳ[ς  
 28 βλάπτεσθαι, διακρε[ί]ν[ου-  
 29 σα λόχους ἐποίησε καὶ λο[χα-  
 30 γο]ὺς ἐπέστησεν καὶ συν-  
 31 θ]ήματα ἐδίδ[αξεν] ὅφ' ὧν  
 32 μ]αχεῖσθαι τ[ ] . μάχην χρη (end of column)

Parsons' translation reads: "Maeotians ... and them too a woman rules." But Calligone ... love ... (took care of?) the ... and armour of the Maeotae. And so that the ... of the Amazons ..., (since the army) seemed to her to be harmed by its indiscipline, she divided it up and established battalions, and put battalion-commanders in charge, and taught them the signals by which [they should expect?] to fight the battle ..."

Parts of this text are clear, others less so. At the beginning, ll. 17–19, we have the end of direct speech, which must be by Themisto, as it cannot be by Calligone; "[e]nd of a speech by Themisto to the Amazons (ἡμεῖν)?" comments Parsons on 3.17–19. After this the text again becomes clear with ll. 26ff.: Calligone, apparently having won the trust of her captors with amazing speed,<sup>4</sup> manages to identify the weaknesses of the

<sup>4</sup> Her self-presentation may have contained information calculated to win them over. One possibility: in fr. 2.5–7 she mentions her father; could she then have gone on to speak of her mother, and could that lady herself have had Amazonian blood? Cf. fr. 2.8. But note that in *PSI* 8.981.35–40 Calligone unmistakably contrasts her identity as a Greek woman to that of the Amazons.

Amazonian army and proceeds to remedy them by introducing a new military order “on Greek lines” (ed., p. 64).<sup>5</sup>

What comes between these two points, ll. 19–26, is, as the transcription makes obvious, very badly preserved. According to Parsons’ reconstruction, the period concerning Calligone’s military innovations already begins in l. 22 with ὅπως δέ, introducing a final clause: “The general sense may be: ‘And in order that the army of the Amazons (and others?) should fight effectively, given that it seemed to her to be damaged by indiscipline, she divided it into companies ...’” (on 3.22ff.).

As to what precedes, for ll. 19–20 Parsons suggests as a “dubious possibility” ἡ δὲ Καλλιγόνῃ [τὸν ἔ]ρωτα ὀπω[σα]μένη, a supplement which may be thought to receive support from the *PSI* text: here, at a later stage of the story,<sup>6</sup> we find Calligone on a military expedition, driven to despair at some news concerning a man, Erasinus, to whom she is romantically attached. Parsons notes: “But here it would be a matter of ‘pushing away love’ itself: because her lover (Erasinus) fights for the other side?” (cf. also his observation in the introduction, p. 64). For ll. 21–22 Parsons considers σ[τολής] | τε καὶ ὀπλίσεως. The thought should be “Calligone, having pushed away her love, turned her attention to the military equipment and arms of the Maeotians;” but Parsons could not find a restoration to satisfy palaeography, required meaning and syntax.

I would like to propose an alternative restoration for ll. 19–26, one that, among other things, eliminates the early mention of Calligone’s love affair (which thus need not yet have commenced at this stage of the story). Lines 19–23 could have run as follows:

- 19            ἡ δὲ Καλλιγόνῃ [ . . η-]  
 20    ῥώτα ὀπω[ς] μέγ τ[ὰ τῶν]  
 21    Μαιωτῶν ἔχει σ[τολής]  
 22    τε καὶ ὀπλίσεως, ὅπως δέ  
 23    τὰ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων

“Calligone in turn inquired how things were with the Maeotians in regard to military equipment and weaponry, and how they were with the Amazons ...”

<sup>5</sup> One of the journal’s anonymous readers suggests that this is to be seen as a display of Calligone’s “Hellenic *paideia*,” to be compared with the use of this motif in the extant novels; the comparison concerns not only the other heroines, but also the men: the same reader notes that many of Calligone’s actions mirror those of the male protagonists of the novels.

<sup>6</sup> See Parsons, *P.Oxy.* 83, p. 64.

19–23 For πῶς ἔχεις τινός et sim. see LSJ ἔχω B II 2b; Kühner-Gerth 1.382–383; in use by the Atticists.<sup>7</sup> Cf. Ach.Tat. 5.22.2: Τὰ μὲν ἐμὰ ὅπως ἔσχεν, ἔφη, πρὸς σὲ φιλανθρωπίας, περισσὸν εἰδυῖα σοὶ λέγειν; more instances in O’Sullivan’s *Lexicon*<sup>8</sup> s.v. ἔχω A II 1b (p. 171). The question whether the Maeotians were the Amazons’ enemies or their allies (Parsons on fr. 1.3.17–19 and 21) cannot really be decided on the basis of the juxtaposition here restored.

19–20 [ . . η] | ρῶτα: If not a short word + [ῆ] | ρῶτα, then ἀνθρώτα or διηρώτα or ἐπηρώτα (or even προσηρώτα?). ἀνερῶτᾶν and ἐπερῶτᾶν would create hiatus, see the next note; the present case would be tolerable as an instance of “hiatus before a verbal prefix.”<sup>9</sup>

– [ . . η] | ρῶτα ὀπω[ς]: Of the letter transcribed here as *omikron* only “a single doubtful trace” remains (Parsons on fr. 1.3.19–20). ὅπως rather than πῶς is required for reasons of space and supported by the recurrence of the word in ll. 22 and 24–25 (for my new reading see below). Cf. Heliod. *Aeth.* 2.27.3: Τὸν μὲν δὴ πρότερον χρόνον ἄλλοτε περὶ ἄλλων ἡμῖν αἱ ζητήσεις ἀνεκινούντο, καὶ ὁ μὲν τις ὅπως τοὺς ἐγχωρίους οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι σέβομεν θεοὺς ἀνθρώτα, ὁ δὲ δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν ἄλλα παρ’ ἄλλοις τῶν ζῶων ἐκθειάζεται καὶ τίς ὁ περὶ ἐκάστου λόγος ἐπυνθάνετο. However, the hiatus is jarring; it does occur at a pause “[b]efore an adverbial clause or noun clause” (Reeve [n. 9] 517, no. 5[a], and cf. 518, 522, 526, 529), but it is still difficult to believe that an author sensitive to such matters would not automatically have chosen πῶς. Now, Reeve (n. 9) did indeed include *PSI* 8.981 among those fragments of novels in which this stylistic “mistake” appears to be studiously avoided (p. 537, on Pack<sup>2</sup> 2628, cf. p. 536 for the meaning of the asterisk); yet in the new piece we meet with fr. 1.2.17: Θεμιστῶ ὄνομα; 3.17: Μαιῶται ἡμεῖν (cf. Reeve, p. 515)<sup>10</sup>; and 3.27: αὐτῇι ὑπό. Reading the two papyrus texts side by side, one is struck by their different tone, the *PSI* piece being less fast-paced and far more “rhetorical” (see also n. 13); the stylistic variation

<sup>7</sup> W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern*, 5 vols. (Stuttgart 1887–1897) 1.122, 267; 2.114; 3.127; 4.176–177.

<sup>8</sup> J.N. O’Sullivan, *A Lexicon to Achilles Tatius* (Berlin-New York 1980).

<sup>9</sup> See M.D. Reeve, “Hiatus in the Greek Novelists,” *CQ* N.S. 21 (1971) 520, 523, and 527; among the cases Reeve lists from the three novelists note particularly (p. 527) Chariton 5.8.1: ἰδοῦσα δὲ ἡ Καλλιρόη ἀνέκραγε.

<sup>10</sup> Owing to the fragmentary state of preservation, it cannot be excluded that there was a pause between the two words.

could have been reflected also in the degree of attention the author felt was to be paid to evading hiatus.<sup>11</sup>

21 Parsons ad loc. thought *εχει* a possible reading, but ultimately rejected it because “to judge from the spacing (cf. *εχει* at ii 15) another letter intervened between *χ* and *ει*.” But given that the scribe is not particularly consistent and that the papyrus at this point is somewhat fragmented, I think Parsons’ original reading can be retained.

23 “If τῶν is the article, perhaps τᾶ, but nothing remains of the first letter but some specks,” Parsons ad loc.

The following lines are very difficult indeed. For ll. 23–25 I incline toward the following restoration:

- 23 τᾶ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, καὶ ὁ-  
 24 πόσαι τ[ὸ]ν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ὅ-  
 25 πως τάσσονται

“... and how many they [sc. the Amazons] are and what their battle formation is ...”

23–24 καὶ ὁπόσαι τ[ὸ]ν ἀριθμὸν: μόν at the end was read by Parsons; before this, the *iota* and the *theta* seem to me reasonably certain, thus securing the reading ἀριθμόν. In what precedes, I think *nu* is certain and *tau* probable; both must have been written fairly large. I had thought of ἀριθμός = “muster, troop inspection” (see LSJ s.v. II), but this proved a dead end (see on ll. 25–26). ὁπόσαι seems to me more or less consistent with the traces in l. 24. For the omission of the copula (εἰσίν), common enough in indirect questions (Kühner-Gerth 1.41),<sup>12</sup> see, e.g., Chariton 8.1.14: τίς ἂν φράση τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην πόσων διηγημάτων μεστή, πόσων δὲ δακρύων ὁμοῦ καὶ φιλημάτων; Heliod. *Aeth.* 6.12.3: ἔπειτα προσιεμένης, ὄντινα πενθοίη καὶ τίς ὁ πόλεμος ἡρώτων. 9.22.2: τῶν τε Νειλῶν ἥτις γένεσις παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἐκπυνθανόμενος καὶ εἴ τι θαύματος ἢ θεάματος ἄξιον κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιδεικνύναι ἔχουσιν. For the expression cf. Chariton 6.8.7: συντέτακται γὰρ ἀπὸ Κύρου, τοῦ πρώτου Περσῶν βασιλεύσαντος, ποῖα μὲν τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰς πόλεμον ἰππεῖαν καὶ πόσων (Hercher: πόσον *cod.*) τὸν ἀριθμὸν δεῖ παρέχειν,

<sup>11</sup> Could the discrepancy pointed out to Parsons by W.B. Henry, comm. on fr. 1.3.30–31 (συνθήματα in *P.Oxy.*, but ξυμφοραῖς in *PSI*), also be explained on the same general principle?

<sup>12</sup> Alternatively, one could, I suppose, construe ἡρώτα ὁπόσαι καὶ ὅπως τάσσονται.

ποῖα δὲ πεζὴν στρατιὰν καὶ πόσῃν, τίνας δὲ τοξότας καὶ πόσα ἐκάστους ἄρματα ψιλὰ τε καὶ δρεπανηφόρα, καὶ ἐλέφαντας ὁπόθεν καὶ πόσους, καὶ χρήματα παρ' ὧντινων, ποῖα καὶ πόσα.

24–25 καὶ ὅπως τάσσονται: καὶ read by Parsons on l. 24, who then saw “a narrow ω rather than ο;” but the *omikron* seems to me clear, at least on the scan. In the next line I am fairly confident about the *omega* (already suggested by Parsons in his palaeographical commentary); the *sigma* is certain. After this, *tau* seems possible. At the end, Parsons on ll. 25–26 discerned ται. The rest of the word is purest guesswork (although I almost think I can see part of the outline of the *nu*; I have chosen τάσσονται over τάττονται for reasons of space, but am not sure the latter would be impossible). The verb would have the significance LSJ s.v. I 1: “draw up in order of battle, form, array, marshal, both of troops and ships;” cf. Thuc. 1.48.4: οὕτω μὲν Κερκυραῖοι ἐτάξαντο; Xen. An. 1.2.15: ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς νόμος αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην οὕτω ταχθῆναι καὶ στήναι.

In l. 25 or, at the latest, l. 26, we must finally have the transition to the period concerning the military innovations championed by Calligone. I have a suggestion, but must stress that there are problems with the readings:

25 καὶ εἰ ἐξό-  
26 πλισιν οἷδασιν ὥς δὲ ἐφάι-  
27 νετο αὐτῇ ὑπὸ ἀκοσμίᾳ[ς]  
28 βλάπτεσθαι, κτλ.

“... and whether they are familiar with the inspection of troops under arms; and as it [sc. the inspection] appeared to her to be vitiated by lack of discipline, etc.”

25–26 καὶ εἰ ἐξόπλισιν οἷδασιν: ἐξόπλισις I understand as “review of troops under arms,” used for the more common ἐξοπλισία/ἐξοπλασία (see LSJ s.vv.). For the form here restored LSJ only gives the significance “getting under arms,” but see now *DGE* vol. 8 s.v. 3: “*revisión de armas*, *revista*, *inspección* παρήγγειλεν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ἐξόπλισιν τοῖς στρατιώταις *encargó a los soldados recuento y revision de armas* Polyæn[us, *Strategemata*] 5.27, cf. 47 [ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐξόπλισιν ποιήσας τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἀριθμεῖν καὶ δοκιμάζειν ἐπειρᾶτο, κτλ.].” The advantages of this restoration are obvious: we thus avoid the repetition of the simplex ὅπλισις from l. 22, and understand how Calligone was enabled to determine the problems of the Amazonian army: we are to infer that this

last question prompted the women to proceed to an ἐξόπλισις (a first for them? see the next paragraph but one), allowing Calligone to spot their weaknesses and reorganise them.<sup>13</sup> We are also furnished with a subject for ἐφαίνετο and βλάπτεσθαι. But I admit that what is printed at the end of l. 25 between καί and the *omikron* (both established by Parsons on ll. 25–26) was divined rather than read. At least I do not think the reading is actually precluded by the scanty traces on the papyrus.

I am more confident about the reading οἷδασιν (the *nu* is certain; the connection between the putative *sigma* and *iota* does look different from the other instances in the papyrus [fr. 1.2.10: σκευεσι; 2.16: βασιλευουσαν; 3.26: -πλιν]). The plural form οἷδασιν is used by Achilles Tatius at 5.26.3; elsewhere he employs the older form, prevalent in Attic prose, ἴσασι(ν),<sup>14</sup> as do also Chariton, Longus and Heliodorus.

For ἐξόπλισιν εἰδέναι cf. Strabo 7.3.7 (vol. 2 Radt, 300 C., ll. 18–20): ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν εἰσιν [sc. ἱππημολγοί, γαλακτοφάγοι and ἄβιοι], ἀμάξοικοι καὶ νομάδες καλούμενοι, ... θησαυρισμὸν δ' οὐκ εἰδότες οὐδὲ καπηλείαν πλὴν ἢ φόρτον ἀντὶ φόρτου. Herodianus 3.14.7–8: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐσθῆτος ἴσασι χρῆσιν ... θώρακος δὲ ἢ κράνους οὐκ ἴσασι χρῆσιν. Lib. Decl. 12.6 (vol. 5 Foerster, 538.5–6; speaking of animals): τίνας κόμους ἢ μέθας, τίνας ἴσασι καὶ μοιχείας; The first two parallels seem particularly apt, as they concern “barbarians” foreign to cultural practices of the Graeco-Roman world; Calligone might well be unsure whether the Amazons were acquainted with an important military practice familiar to her as a Greek. (Given the general lack of order and discipline Calligone went on to discover, it seems rather improbable that they would have known what an ἐξόπλισις was without her telling them.) Cf. Hdt. 4.110.2, of the Amazons: πλοῖα δὲ οὐ γινώσκειν αὐτὰς οὐδὲ πηδάλίοισι χρᾶσθαι οὐδὲ ἰστίοισι οὐδὲ εἰρεσίῃ.

26–27 φς δὲ ἐφαίνετο αὐτῇ κτλ.: Between the first letter of this sequence and the last of the preceding one (*nu*) there is a space; cf. Parsons in the introduction, p. 63: “Some but not all spaces between words may represent punctuation.” At the beginning, I see what I take to be the left part of an *omega*; after this, there are traces of three letters before εφαι- (if I correctly identify the *epsilon* of this); *sigma* seems to me acceptable, the next two letters are dubious in the extreme. For “temporal

<sup>13</sup> If this is correct, the cursoriness of this part of the narration appears quite remarkable; see also above, second note on ll. 19–20, concluding observations.

<sup>14</sup> But οἷδασιν is attested for Xen. *Oec.* 20.14, as noted in LSJ s.v. \*εἶδω B (only one codex has ἴσασιν instead, see the eds.).



[ὥς] passing into causal” in Achilles Tatius see O’Sullivan (n. 8) s.v. A IV (p. 438); for the scriptio plena in δὲ ἐφ- cf. fr. 2.5: δὲ ἐν (and see Parsons on fr. 1.2.5).

The reconstructed text would thus read as follows:

19 ἡ δὲ Καλλιγόνη [ . . . η-]  
 20 ρώτα ὅπως μὲν τῶν  
 21 Μαιωτῶν ἔχει σ[τολῆς]  
 22 τε καὶ ὁπλίσεως, ὅπως δὲ  
 23 τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, καὶ ὅ-  
 24 πως αὐτῶν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ὅ-  
 25 πως τάσσονται, καὶ εἰ ἐξό-  
 26 πλίσιν οἷδασιν ὥς δὲ ἐφεί-  
 27 νετο αὐτῇ ὑπὸ ἀκοσμίᾳς]  
 28 βλάπτεσθαι, κτλ.

“Calligone in turn inquired how things were with the Maeotians in regard to military equipment and weaponry, and how they were with the Amazons, and how many they [sc. the Amazons] are and what their battle formation is, and whether they are familiar with the inspection of troops under arms; and as it [sc. the inspection] appeared to her to be vitiated by lack of discipline, etc.”

## 2. P.Oxy. 73.4945 (*Mertens-Pack*<sup>3</sup> 1284.31)

Our third witness for Lollianus’ Φοινικικά, this piece was published by Dirk Obbink in 2009. For the other two papyri (1284.2 and 1284.3) see Stephens and Winkler (n. 2) 314–357; López Martínez (n. 3) no. XIV. The piece here under discussion is not difficult to read,<sup>15</sup> but there is text loss of varying extent on both sides of the column; the typically *outré* content does not make for easy restoration and interpretation.

Obbink thus summarises the text (ed., p. 106): “(i) someone has just returned (to the dwelling place of the brigands?). (ii) an old woman speaks in direct speech, addressing someone, with references to marrow/brain (or a person named Myelos) and myrtle ?wine (or a woman named Myrrhine) and water. (iii) A group of men leaves (the dwelling?), while someone else does something else with his head (covering it? in grief?) [iv] At the same time (and perhaps occasioning this reaction), a young

<sup>15</sup> An image is available through *Oxyrhynchus Online*; see also ed., pl. 8.

woman turns pale and is on the point of death. Meanwhile, a woman, Arginna, burns with love for a male character (or inflames him with desire). [v] Lying awake in the night, he confides his desire to one of his friends (or expresses it in a monologue) and forms a plan to meet her. [vi] Then he directs his friend or a servant to go to Glauketes and tell him to (arrange this meeting) in the evening in a secret place. [vii] The messenger goes as instructed and reports the instructions to Glauketes. [viii] Glauketes agrees to do as asked. [ix] A reference to an intended sacrifice (perhaps in an attempt to secure the success of the love-meeting) is the only certain reference in the remaining lines 28–41, etc.”

Further hints are to be found in Obbink’s introduction and commentary: The first part of the text (points 2–4 above) could involve a magical ritual, for which the marrow was used (see Obbink’s notes on ll. 3, 4, 5, 6). The dying young woman of point 4 (παίδισκη in l. 9) could be identical with the Arginna of l. 11 (Obbink’s note on l. 9, παίδισκη). The group of men mentioned in l. 7 (point 3) might be the brigands already known to us from Mertens-Pack<sup>3</sup> 1284.3, hosting the magical ritual in their dwelling from that text (introduction, pp. 105 and 106; notes on l. 3 [ἡ δὲ γρᾶϋς] and l. 7). In a separate publication,<sup>16</sup> Obbink largely restored the fragment *exempli gratia*, with translation but no further discussion. Note in particular his reconstruction of ll. 9–11 to denote that the unnamed male character’s passion for Arginna came about as a side effect of the magical ritual.

A subsequent contribution to the establishment of the text and its interpretation is owed to Angelo Casanova.<sup>17</sup> According to his understanding, the first part of the fragment does indeed concern a magical ritual conducted by an old woman with the help of bone marrow from an animal; its purpose was to free the woman Arginna from her unwelcome passion for a man who was himself present at this “exorcism.” However, because the magic inadvertently caused him to reciprocate the girl’s feelings, he now loses his sleep and is driven to engage his friend and Glauketes in arranging an assignation. The man could be one of the Cologne bandits, but this is impossible to prove (pp. 127–128 and 130); the ritual takes place at the witch’s dwelling, Glauketes’ and Arginna’s own place of residence could be the brothel featured in the Cologne fragments (p. 129

<sup>16</sup> “Vanishing Conjecture: Lost Books and Their Recovery from Aristotle to Eco,” in D. Obbink and R. Rutherford (eds.), *Culture in Pieces. Essays on Ancient Texts in Honour of Peter Parsons* (Oxford 2011) 30–31.

<sup>17</sup> “Un’interpretazione del nuovo frammento di Lolliano,” in M. Tulli (ed.), *Φιλία. Dieci contributi per Gabriele Burzacchini* (Bologna 2014) 115–132.

with n. 23). Casanova offers a fairly full restoration of the fragment to fit his interpretation (pp. 123–125).

Finally, the fragment was very recently discussed by María Paz López Martínez and Consuelo Ruiz-Montero.<sup>18</sup> They also consider the group of men to be brigands (but see the qualification on p. 1244); these have enlisted the help of an old witch to revive a girl who appears dead. The ritual unintentionally causes one of their number to fall in love with her, robbing him of sleep and leading him to seek Glauketes' help, etc. (p. 1227). López Martínez and Ruiz-Montero also believe that Arginna is the sick παιδίσκη (p. 1237, on l. 11); various possibilities for the interpretation of the fragment are discussed on pp. 1242–1245 (with parallels).

I incline to a different overall reconstruction and interpretation of the fragment but must defer presentation of this to a future occasion. In this contribution, I am solely concerned with the restoration of ll. 15–20, where the lovestruck man confides to his friend what ails him (point 5 in Obbink's summary quoted above). These lines appear in the ed. in the following form (reproduced here with two very slight changes)<sup>19</sup>:

15 ] μὲν οὖν ἀγρυπνῶν τῆς νυκτ[ὸς  
 16 ]λεγ[ . . . . . ] . . νατῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐτ . [  
 17 ] . υ[ . . . ] . τε ἔμοι αὐτῇ ἡ γυνὴ οἱ[  
 18 ] . μὴ καὶ οὕτως ἐχούσῃ π . [  
 19 γ]ῆρ συνγένωμαι, ῥαιον δοκ . [  
 20 ] . ι' ἀλλὰ ἄπιθι καὶ ἀπάγγελ[λε

Obbink in the edition translates:

“... He, then, lying awake during the night ...  
 ... said ... of his own ...  
 ... for me this woman ...  
 ... although she may not be in the same condition (as me?) ...  
 ... for (if?) I meet with her, I expect very easily to ...  
 ...; but go away and report (this?), etc.”

<sup>18</sup> “Magia y erotismo en la novela griega: *P.Oxy. 4945* de las *Feniciacas* de Loliano,” in J.F. Martos Montiel et al. (eds.), *Plutarco, entre dioses y astros. Homenaje al profesor Aurelio Pérez Jiménez de sus discípulos, colegas y amigos*, 2 vols. (Zaragoza 2019) 2.1223–1249.

<sup>19</sup> ἐχούσῃ for ἐχούσῃ in l. 18 (by a lapse Obbink thought the form might be either a nominative or a dative, see his comm. on the line); and ἀπάγγελ[λε for ἀπάγγελ[ε in l. 20 (noted by Casanova [n. 17] 119).

It is clear that a new thought began just before the μέν in l. 15, very probably with the subject of the sentence (e.g., ἐκεῖνος or a personal name [Obbink ad loc.], οὗτος [Luppe (n. 23)], ὁ [López Martínez and Ruiz-Montero (n. 18) in their text, p. 1230]). For l. 16 Obbink in his note plausibly suggests ἔ]λεγε[ε πρὸς] τινα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐτα[ίρων, introducing an address to said friend that ends in l. 25<sup>20</sup>; López Martínez and Ruiz-Montero prefer [ἔ]λεγε[ε . . . πρ]ὸς ἓνα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐτ[αίρων].<sup>21</sup> In l. 20 the speaker concludes his short explanation / confession, and proceeds to instruct his ἐταῖρος as to the steps now to be undertaken (i.e., the man should go to Glauketes, acquaint him with the situation and apparently ask of him to arrange a meeting with the woman desired [ll. 20–25, point 6 in Obbink’s summary above; the meaning of ll. 23–24 is unclear]).

But what was said in ll. 17–20? Three suggestions offered by Obbink in his notes I find very attractive: a vocative in -τε for the beginning of l. 17 ([φίλε ἡ]δύ[τ]ατε Obbink, combining supplements by G.M. Browne and A. Henrichs)<sup>22</sup>; ] . μὴ καὶ for that of l. 18; and [ἐὰν γ]άρ for that of l. 19. In what follows in the same line, ῥαῖον can really only be the adjective or adverb ῥᾶιον (Obbink mentions “the neuter participle of ῥαίω (‘crushing’)” as a very remotely possible alternative). In all other cases where the *iota adscriptum* was to be expected in our text, the scribe did not write it; I note the discrepancy without at present being able to investigate its cause.

The rest is a matter of uncertain conjecture: In his attempt at a complete restoration (n. 16), Obbink prints (ll. 14–20): [ἐ]κεῖνος] μέν οὖν ἀγρυπνῶν τῆς νυκτ[ὸς ἐ]κείνης ἔ]λεγε[ε πρὸς] τινα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐτα[ίρων]· | “φίλε ἡ]δύ[τ]ατε, ἐμοὶ αὕτη ἡ γυνή οἱ[σ]τρεῖ. εἴλη δὲ αὕτ]ῃ μὴ καὶ οὕτως ἐχούσῃ πλ[εῖον ἔ]ρωτος. ἐὰν γ]άρ συνγένωμαι, ῥᾶιον δοκῶ [τοῦ]το πυθέσθ]αι· κτλ.;” this he translates as follows: “Now he, lying awake during the night, I said to one of his friends: | “Dearest comrade: this woman is in a frenzy for me. | In the state she’s in, she can’t have any more desire. | Now, I think that if I meet with her, she will easily realize this. etc.” According to the notes in *P.Oxy.*, the supplements οἱ[σ]τρεῖ,

<sup>20</sup> Alternatively, Obbink had thought of a monologue by the lovestruck man (obviously requiring different supplements in l. 16), see his summary quoted above, point 5, further p. 105 and notes on ll. 16–17 and 20; but the interpretation and supplement recorded above seem far more plausible.

<sup>21</sup> But Obbink’s *tau* and *iota* seem to me to be the better reading after the lacuna.

<sup>22</sup> Casanova (n. 17) 124 and 127–128 prefers [ὁ γλν]κύ[τ]ατε; I do not think *kappa* can be read.

εἴη δέ, τοῦτο πυθέσθ)αι are owed to Browne. In the note to l. 18 in the ed., Obbink had offered a different interpretation of μὴ καὶ οὕτως ἐχούσῃ: “although she doesn’t feel it as I do,” perhaps “although she doesn’t feel mo[re passion for me than for another],” supplementing πλ[εῖον e.g. πάθος] at the end of the line. In either case, I do not understand the Greek of l. 18 as reconstructed (cf. Casanova [n. 17] 128).

A restoration based on Obbink’s interpretation with some modifications was offered by Wolfgang Luppe in his review of *P.Oxy.* 73,<sup>23</sup> without translation or commentary: [οὕτως] μὲν οὖν ἀγρυπνῶν τῆς νυκτ[ὸς ἐκείνης] ἔ]λεγε[ε πρὸς] τινα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἑτα[ίρων· ἰ φίλε ἡ]δύ[τ]ατε, ἐμοὶ αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ οἰ[στρεῖ ἰ τὸν πόθον] μὴ καὶ οὕτως ἐχούσῃ πλ[ησι-άσαι· ἰ (sic) ἐὰν γ]ὰρ συνγένωμαι, ῥᾶιον δοκε[ῖ τοῦτο πυθέσθ)αι].

Casanova (n. 17) 124–125 reconstructs the passage as follows: [ἐ]κεῖ-νος] μὲν οὖν ἀγρυπνῶν τῆς νυκτ[ὸς ἐπιλούσης] ἔ]λεγε[ε πρὸς] τινα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἑτα[ίρων· ἰ “ὦ γλυ]κύ[τ]ατε, ἐμοὶ αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ οἰ[στρεῖ· οὐ ἰ τῇ κακῇ φ]ήμῃ καὶ οὕτως ἐχούσῃ πλ[εῖον πιστεύω. ἂν γ]ὰρ συνγένωμαι, ῥᾶιον δοκῶ [αὐτὴν ἰ ἰάσεσθ)αι· κτλ.;” to wit: “Egli dunque, non riuscendo a dormire la notte seguente, diceva ad uno dei suoi compagni: ‘Carissimo, a me questa donna mi eccita: alla sua cattiva fama, anche se è così, io non dò troppo credito. In effetti, se vado con lei, credo che la guarirò più facilmente. etc.’” For the end of l. 19 Casanova in comm. (p. 128) offers the alternative suggestion ἄμφω, i.e., ῥᾶιον δοκῶ [ἄμφω ἰ ἰάσεσθ)αι, meaning “curerò entrambi” (“me and her”). κακὴ φήμῃ would refer to Arginna’s tainted reputation (cf. Casanova ad loc. [p. 128] and on l. 13a [p. 127]); the illness to be “cured” would be the passion that lady feels for the speaker or (supplementing ἄμφω instead of αὐτὴν) the pair’s reciprocal love: “la cura più facile per guarire l’amore è fare sesso” (p. 128).

In their text of ll. 17–20 (p. 1230), López Martínez and Ruiz-Montero (n. 18) only print the supplements οἰ[στρεῖ] (l. 17, end) and [ἐὰν γ]ὰρ (l. 19, beginning); they translate (p. 1232) “... a mí esta mujer (me excita)... aunque ella no se halle en esa situación... Pues si me uno a ella, creo que... con más facilidad...” In their commentary they mention the possibility of supplementing a second person plural imperative in -τε at the beginning of l. 17 (pp. 1238–1239); and suggest that the lost infinitive depending on the form of δοκεῖν at the end of l. 19 could have concerned recovery of health by the man (currently afflicted with impotence?) or the woman (p. 1239).

<sup>23</sup> *Gnomon* 83 (2011) 595.

Beginning with ἐχούση in l. 18, I believe it is most economical to refer this participle, as Obbink, Luppe, and López Martínez and Ruiz-Montero all do, to the woman who is the object of the speaker's desire (as opposed to Casanova's φήμη). οὕτως ἔχειν, "to be in such a state" (LSJ s.v. ἔχω B II 2a), is surely best taken here as a reference to her ill health (that is, after all, the only thing we know about her – although this need of course not have been the case with her suitor); cf. Ar. *Eccl.* 528–531 (Praxagora and Blepyros): Πρ. γυνή μέ τις νύκτωρ ἑταίρα καὶ φίλη / μετεπέμψατ' ὠδίνουσα. Βλ. κᾶτ' οὐκ ἦν ἐμοὶ / φράσασαν ἰέναι; Πρ. τῆς λεχοῦς δ' οὐ φροντίσαι / οὕτως ἐχούσης, ὄνερ; Lucian, *Gallus* 10: καὶ ἐδήλου δὲ πονηρῶς ἔχων· ὑπέστενε γοῦν καὶ ὑπέβηττε καὶ ἐχρέμπετο μύχιόν τι καὶ δυσπρόσοδον, ὥχρὸς ὅλος ὢν καὶ διωδηκῶς, ... καὶ αἰτιωμένου γε Ἀρχιβίου τοῦ ἱατροῦ διότι οὕτως ἔχων ἀφίκετο, "Τὰ καθήκοντα," ἔφη, "οὐ χρὴ προδιδόναι, καὶ ταῦτα φιλόσοφον ἄνδρα, κἄν μυρίαί νοσοὶ ἐμποδῶν ἰστῶνται. κτλ."

I agree with Obbink (ed., on l. 18), with Casanova, and with López Martínez and Ruiz-Montero (cf. their respective translations quoted above), that the participle should be taken as concessive ("even though she is in this state"); typically, καὶ precedes (LSJ B 9). Now, we do know of something that was going on "despite" the girl's sorry state: one would normally (even in Lollianus' world) not expect a woman near death to inflame the passions, but this is exactly how our speaker has been affected by Arginna. A similar thought has already been expressed in ll. 11–13:

- 11 ]ν· τῷ δὲ Ἀργιννα ἐξεκαετο . [  
 12 ] γὰρ ὥχρ᾽ καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν δο[  
 13 ]η ὅμως αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο· ἐπεὶ κα[

There is no doubt that the end of l. 11 is to be supplemented with ἐξέκαε τὸ σ[τῆθος] (Browne's suggestion in Obbink, ed., note on l. 11, second part) or some variant of this, the reference being to the love incited by Arginna in the unnamed speaker of ll. 17–25 (τῷ [δέ] in l. 11, αὐτῷ in l. 13).<sup>24</sup> Lines 12–13 are generally, and surely correctly, taken to mean "for *although* pale and appearing near death, *yet* she seemed lovely to him" (proposed supplements vary somewhat).

<sup>24</sup> Obbink's alternative supplement was Ἀργιννα ἐξεκάετο ἑ[ρωτί] vel sim., making the girl equally lovestruck with her admirer. It has very little to recommend it and has justly not been taken up in the subsequent discussions (Obbink himself chooses the other interpretation in "Vanishing Conjecture" [n. 16]; for Casanova's overall reconstruction see above).

To return to l. 18: One way of restoring the text to express the contradiction just spoken of (“though she is near death, I want her”), and also account for the presence of the negative μή and the dative ἐχούσῃ, is the following:

18                   ἐὰν μὴ καὶ οὕτως ἐχούσῃ πλ[ησιάζω]  
19 [αὐτῇ·

“... if I should not sleep with her, even in her condition ...”

18 At the beginning of the line, the “high speck” remaining (see Obbink’s palaeographical commentary) is not incompatible with a *nu*; at its end, “Λ [is] suggested” (Obbink *ibid.*). The verb πλησιάζειν in its euphemistic sense (LSJ II 3) was already suggested by Luppe, see above<sup>25</sup>; in the next line, the synonym συγγίνεσθαι is used (understood as “meet with” by Obbink, but in the sexual sense by the other interpreters).

19 For the question of the (original) punctuation see n. 27.

The next foothold the text offers us could be seen in ῥᾶιον, “easier,” “more easily” in l. 19; in the present context, where so much has been said about ill health, one is reminded of expressions such as ῥᾶον ἔχειν / διατίθεσθαι (διακεῖσθαι), meaning “to get better,” “to mend from an illness” (see for the adjective LSJ s.v. ῥᾶδιος A II 2, and cf. the verb ῥαῖζω. ῥᾶον ἔχειν is thus used, e.g., in Chariton 1.3.3: Χαίρεας δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ῥᾶον ἐσχηκότος ἔσπευδε πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα. *Heliod. Aeth.* 1.8.4 and 7.16.3). But note also Casanova’s suggestion above, ῥᾶιον ἰάσεσθαι, which falls within the same context, but retains the primary significance of the adverb, “more easily.”

If what has been said this far is true, a chiasmic structure seems to emerge in ll. 17–19/20: “this woman ... me, if I should not sleep with her, even in her present state; for if I do have her, I believe that ... better.” For the thought thus expressed, I see two possibilities: either “I am lost if I cannot have this woman, even in the state she is in; for if I sleep with

<sup>25</sup> πλησιάζειν does not appear in this significance in the extant novels (s. S. Beta et al. [eds.], *Lessico dei romanzieri greci*, vol. 4 [Hildesheim et al. 1997] s.v.), but is otherwise not discouragingly rare or technical (a collection of examples in K.S. Kontos, “Κριτικά καὶ γραμματικά,” *Athena* 26 [1914] 244–247). The Lollian papyrus P.Colon. inv. 3328 has συνιέναι (συνέρχεσθαι) in B.1 v<sup>o</sup> 21 (ταῖς γυναιξὶ συνήεσα[ν]); cf. συνου[σίας] in A.2 r<sup>o</sup> 9. That the lovestruck man uses decent language in speaking to his comrade of his desire, may or may not have been of importance for his characterisation; the whole question is beyond our present evidence.



Of these two possible reconstructions, the one that leaves us with fewer open questions is the first; a hyperbolic statement such as “I shall die if I cannot have this woman” is no less common in literature than in real life (cf., e.g., Ach.Tat. 4.6.2: Δέομαι δὲ παρὰ σοῦ χάριτος, σοὶ μὲν ῥαδίας, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀνασώσεις τὴν ψυχὴν, ἂν θέλῃς. Λευκίππη με ἀπολώλεκε. Σῶσον δὲ σύ [the στρατηγός Charmides desires Leukippe]. 5.22.6: δός μοι τι ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν ὑπερήφανον· σώσεις γάρ μου τὴν ψυχὴν διαρρεύσασαν ἤδη [Melite wishes to consummate her marriage with Kleitophon]; and the memorable scene in 5.25–6.1 with νόσος, φάρμακον and ἰᾶσθαι). The juxtaposition of two different “illnesses” in closest proximity (Arginna’s real or apparent near-death state and the speaker’s lovesickness) would have caused no difficulties to a reader of the complete, undamaged text.

Be that as it may, I cannot think of a good supplement for l. 17(–18) under the first assumption, whereas under the second the following suggests itself:

“My opinion is that this woman is done for, if I should not sleep with her, even in her condition”

<sup>26</sup> López Martínez and Ruiz-Montero (n. 18) 1239 with n. 26, point to a possible parallel from the *Margites*.

17 The *chi* cannot have had the exuberant form the letter has in *εχουση* (l. 18), because some part of it must then have survived at the edge; but cf. the more subdued *chi* in *ωχρα* (l. 12). For *οἴχεσθαι* = “to be lost, doomed, done for,” in similar, if more dignified circumstances, cf. Heliod. *Aeth.* 4.7.5: Ἐμοῦ δὲ “ὦ θεοί, τί τοῦτο λέγεις;” ἀναβοήσαντος “οἴχεται οὖν μοι τὸ θυγάτριον καὶ ἐλπίδος ἐκτὸς γέγονεν;” κτλ. (Charikles fears for the life of [love-]sick Charikleia).

18 Something like *δοκεῖ* is suggested by *ἐμοί* in l. 17; a form of this same verb is partly preserved in l. 19, but such repetition is not inconsistent with Lollianus’ style, cf. López Martínez and Ruiz-Montero (n. 18) 1232: “La repetición de cláusulas sintácticas o de lexemas es coherente con lo que podemos leer en otros fragmentos de la novela: así, en el papiro de Colonia, encontramos dos formas de *ἀνατρέπω* en dos líneas seguidas: *ἀνατρέποντες* y dos líneas más abajo *ἀνατετραμμέναις* (*Alrecto* 4 y 7)” and 1245: “el estilo de nuestro actual fragmento es muy repetitivo.” Cf. l. 12, quoted above, with *ἀποθνήσκειν* *δο*[ (“very likely *δο*[κεῖ or *δο*[κοῦσα, sc. Arginna,” Obbink ad loc.). I should further like to point to l. 9, where Obbink reads *ἐ]ώκει ἡ παιδίσκη ἀπο*[ and comments “very likely *ἀποθ*[νήσκειν;” though *omega* at the beginning of the line is quite satisfactory, I do not think it impossible that *ἵ]δοκει* might instead be read (admittedly, with a combination of *delta* and *omikron* that is not identical with the certain cases of ll. 12 and 19). Then one would have yet another instance of *δοκεῖν* + infinitive in this short stretch. (Either *ἐ]δόκει ἡ παιδίσκη* κτλ., if the text is to be reconstructed along Obbink’s lines, or *ἵ]δοκεῖ ἡ παιδίσκη* κτλ., if, as seems to me possible, ll. 9–10 contain direct speech by the people reported in l. 7 to be exiting the scene; more on this in the future contribution on the overall interpretation of the fragment promised above.)

Continuing along the same lines, a supplement for ll. 19–20 corresponding in length to what has thus far been proposed might be:

19           ἐὰν γ]ὰρ συνγένωμαι, ῥᾶιον δόκε[ῖ μοι δια-]  
20 [τεθήσεται]

“for if I do have her, I believe she will get better”

19 *δόκε[ῖ*: Obbink notes “*δοκῶ* or *δοκῶ[ν* or *δοκε[ῖ* would account for the final trace.”

19–20 For ῥᾶον διατίθεσθαι cf. Joseph. *AJ* 1.208: εἴργεται δὲ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὑπὸ νόσου χαλεπῆς αὐτῷ προσπεσούσης ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱατρῶν αὐτὸν ἀπεγνωκότων ὑπνώσας ὄναρ ὁρᾷ μηδὲν ὑβρίζειν τὴν τοῦ ξένου γυναῖκα, καὶ ῥᾶον διατεθεὶς φράζει πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, κτλ. In the place of the future infinitive, one could think of [ ἄν | διατεθῇν]αι; and obviously many other possibilities exist besides (see, e.g., Casanova's restoration quoted above).

20 On the first letter surviving see Obbink's palaeographical commentary: "oblique curving in from left at mid-level as of Α, Λ."

Thus the whole passage would run as follows:

- 17 ἐμοὶ αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ οἷ[χεσθαι]  
 18 [δοκεῖ, ἐὰν] μὴ καὶ οὕτως ἐχούση πλ[ησιάσω]  
 19 [αὐτῇ· ἐὰν γ]ὰρ συνγένωμαι, ῥᾶιον δοκε[ῖ μοι δια-]  
 20 [τεθήσεσθ]αι·

"My opinion is that this woman is done for, if I should not sleep with her, even in her condition; for if I do have her, I believe she will get better."

My supplements on the left comprise 7–8 or rather 8–9 letters,<sup>27</sup> on the right 6–7 letters, resulting in two completely restored lines of 32 and 36 letters; Obbink, ed. 103–104, reconstructed the line length at 30–35 letters. The line breaks chosen are arbitrary; it is at any rate certain that at least 7–8 letters stood to the left of the current beginnings of ll. 18–20.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> The *nu* at the beginning of l. 18 falls in the lacuna practically in its entirety, the *alphas* opening ll. 19 and 20 in part. Note further that according to his custom the scribe would have punctuated after αὐτῇ in l. 19; since he let "a slight blank space" follow his stops (Obbink, ed., p. 104), the eight letters supplied in this lacuna would require slightly more space than the same number restored at the beginning of l. 20. If the variation in letter-size and spacing the text shows is thought not to be enough to accommodate this, one could of course substitute ἄν for ἐάν in l. 19 (Lollian has ἐάν twice in P.Colon. inv. 3328 B.1 r<sup>o</sup> 16 and 17 [another instance in l. 16 by practically certain restoration]; no conditional ἄν in his fragments as yet). Casanova (n. 17) 124 also has ἄν in this lacuna for reasons of space (see p. 128 on l. 19).

<sup>28</sup> On the basis of l. 14, the one that reaches furthest to the left: here about six more letters are preserved, of which the first cannot have opened the line.

## PER UNA RIEDIZIONE DEL TRATTATO DI IEROSCOPIA P.GEN. INV. 161

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*Abstract.* — This article offers a detailed analysis of the text of P.Gen. inv. 161. The analysis allows us to identify the text as a hieroscopic manual.

*Keywords:* hieroscopy, divination, sacrifice

P.Gen. inv. 161 del II secolo d.C. è pubblicato da A. Hurst (2001)<sup>1</sup> e, quindi, da W. Furley e V. Gysembergh (2017, di seguito cit. FG),<sup>2</sup> i quali invalidano il riferimento al genere divinatorio dei frammenti riconosciuto già in precedenza nella ieroscopia, l'esame a fini divinatori delle viscere (τὰ ἱερά) della vittima immolata nell'ambito del sacrificio cruento (θυσία), con particolare attenzione per il fegato e le sue peculiarità.<sup>3</sup> Di contro, nell'*editio altera* viene avanzata l'idea di un rotolo dedicato alla tematica della mantica e del sacrificio in generale<sup>4</sup> ed è individuata, inoltre, una citazione dal corpus esiodeo (fr. 5, 5).<sup>5</sup> La lettura attenta del testo ci

<sup>1</sup> A. Hurst, "Le papyrus de Genève inv. 161 (Bibliothèque publique et universitaire)," in I. Andorlini et al. (curr.), *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Firenze 2001) 669–679, tavv. XXXVI–XXXVII.

<sup>2</sup> W. Furley e V. Gysembergh, "Divination, Pyromancy, Hesiod: P. Gen. Inv. 161 Has More to Offer," *ZPE* 203 (2017) 1–23.

<sup>3</sup> Per l'identificazione del pap. con un trattato di ieroscopia, vd. S. Costanza, "P. Gen. inv. 161: un trattato di ieroscopia," *Anal.Pap.* 16–17 (2004–2005) 39–44; Id., *Corpus Palmomanticum Graecum* (= di seguito CPG; Firenze 2009a) 100; Id., "La tipologia di P. Gen. inv. 161 inerente alla ieroscopia," *ZPE* 207 (2018a) 5–13; Id., "Il corpus dei papiri greci di ieroscopia: *addenda* e ulteriori considerazioni," *Anal.Pap.* 30 (2018b) 17–37. Sulla ieroscopia greca, cfr. P. Stengel, *Die Opferbräuche der Griechen* (Leipzig-Berlin 1910) 8–23; D. Collins, "Mapping the Entrails: The Art of Greek Hepatoscopy," *AJPh* 129 (2008) 319–324; M.A. Flower, *The Seer in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 2008) 188; CPG cit.; S. Costanza, *La divinazione greco-romana. Dizionario delle mantiche: metodi, testi e protagonisti* (Udine 2009b) 102–105, 125–126; M.R. Bachvarova, "The Transmission of Liver Divination from East to West," *SMEA* 54 (2012) 144, 157–159; W. Furley e V. Gysembergh, *Reading the Liver. Papyrological Studies in Greek Extispicy* (Tübingen 2015) 2–19; T. Vitek, "Greek Hepatoscopy and Its Criteria," *QUCC* 112 (2016) 141–146, in part. § III "The Hieroscopic Treatises," 147–155.

<sup>4</sup> Vd. la conclusione di FG, p. 23: "the fragments of P. Gen. 161 seem to come from a bookroll on the general subject of sacrifice and divination."

<sup>5</sup> Vd. FG, p. 1: "Quite late in the preparation of this article a new citation from Hesiod, no less, revealed itself in fr. 5; whether genuine or spurious, is at present impossible to say."

consente, tuttavia, di riaffermare la pertinenza di tali frammenti alla divinazione del sacrificio cruento e di rigettare il *nomen Hesiodi* postulato nel fr. 5, invalidando il conseguente richiamo ad un'opera genuina o pseudepigrafa ascrivibile al poeta. La riconsiderazione complessiva del papiro conferma, infatti, la prospettiva della θυτική sulla base delle *voces technicae* di sicura lettura quali κέλευθος, χάλαζα, ἐπιπτύσσω e la necessità d'intendere gli elementi attestati alla luce dei paralleli ricavabili dalla trattatistica *de extis*.<sup>6</sup> Si propone, dunque, una revisione critica del pap. di Ginevra.

*Fr. I, Col. 2*

La sezione iniziale (ll. 1–6) conferma la struttura tipica della mantica ed evidenzia che si tratta di un testo divinatorio, come si evince dalle osservazioni esposte di seguito.

l. 1 καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ θεῷ ἢ πρό- FG: oltre al significato letterale di “divinità,” il lemma corrisponde al contesto epatoscopico: la ieroscopia ha individuato, infatti, una parte del fegato contrassegnata dall'idea di “presenza divina” e designata, pertanto, θεός<sup>7</sup>; paralleli al riguardo si rilevano nella tradizione della ieroscopia mesopotamica (*manzāzu*).<sup>8</sup> Un'altra menzione di θεός è a fr. 7, col. 2.12. Non siamo sicuri che questa accezione sia applicabile qui o che il dat. sia connesso all'infinito al rigo seguente.

Al termine del rigo solo il digramma po è chiaramente leggibile, di seguito si scorgono tracce di una lettera ascrivibili a σ, donde πρός ovvero μέρος.

ll. 1–2 προθυ[μ]ία θύειν FG: vi sarebbe qui poco spazio per ι a l. 2, leggiamo, invece, θῦμα. Per il sintagma θῦμα θύειν, cf. Clem.Alex., *Strom.* 6.5.40: καὶ τὰ ἴδια βρώματα βρωτοῖς θύματα θύουσιν; *Schol.Vet. in Hom.Od.* 3.470: τὰ δὲ σπλάγχνα ἡσθιον δεικνύντες ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγκάτων ἐκ μέσης καρδίας θύουσι τὸ θῦμα τοὺς θεοὺς τιμῶντες καὶ μετὰ προαιρέσεως. Inoltre, le vittime sono menzionate al plurale nella stessa colonna a l. 16: θύμασι.

<sup>6</sup> Si annoverano inoltre *PSI* 10.1178 (= *Pack*<sup>2</sup> 2107, *TM* 63456, *LDAB* 4665) del II secolo d.C.; *Furley-Gysembergh* (n. 3) 72–76; *P.Ross.Georg.* 1.21 (= *Pack*<sup>2</sup> 2108, *TM* 63700, *LDAB* 4910), riprodotta da *Furley-Gysembergh* (n. 3) 31–35, riedizione Id.-Id., “A New Edition of *P.Ross.Georg.* I 21,” *ZPE* 208 (2018) 94–102; *P.Amh.* 2.14 (= *Pack*<sup>2</sup> 2104, *TM* 62379, *LDAB* 3544); *Furley-Gysembergh* (n. 3) 60–71. Inoltre, un papiro astrologico del II secolo d.C., *P.Mich.* 3.148.18–37 discute la melotesia planetaria sulle parti del fegato.

<sup>7</sup> Vd. Hsch. θ 298 s.v. σημειῶν (*scil.* ἐν θυτικῇ).

<sup>8</sup> Vd. *Furley-Gysembergh* (n. 3) 21.

1. 2 κῆϊτ[αι] FG: è altamente problematico, ma non si propone un'alternativa certa a partire dalle esigue tracce superstiti. In ogni caso con questa parola termina ragionevolmente l'unità sintattica del primo responso ieroscopico pervenuto. Bisogna pensare ad un avverbio che precisa le modalità del sacrificio ovvero un epiteto attribuito al sostantivo iniziale.

ἔάν: ha inizio, quindi, con la congiunzione condizionale un nuovo pronostico (ll. 2–5). Secondo la logica vigente nella mantica, qualora si rilevi un tal segno, si registra una conseguenza fattuale corrispondente, ne deriva la struttura binaria degli articoli dei trattati divinatori fondata sulla ripetizione sistematica di frasi ipotetiche.<sup>9</sup>

1. 3 κέλευθος: appare cruciale l'esegesi del lemma che compare sempre al nominativo ad inizio del rigo qui e a l. 7. Bisogna riconoscerne una *vox technica* della ieroscopia che designa un dotto epatico, come si rileva dai testimoni papiracei in materia.<sup>10</sup> L'assenza di tale dotto è osservata come un segno profetico infausto.<sup>11</sup> Si registra un'ulteriore occorrenza questa volta al dativo nel finora inedito fr. 9 (vd. comm. *ad loc.*).<sup>12</sup>

ἐφῆ FG: ἔ[χ]η.

ἐ[πει]δῆ FG: al termine del rigo non si concilia con l'esposizione dei responsi divinatori una protasi di tipo causale introdotta da una congiunzione correlata con σημαίνει come predicato verbale. In tale contesto σημαίνει corrisponde, invece, al secondo membro del discorso ipotetico ed ha la funzione di enunciare le conseguenze fattuali del responso; inoltre ἐ[πει]δῆ contraddice la struttura dei manuali divinatori impostatata, come notato, sulla riproposizione di frasi condizionali. Invece di ἐ[πει]δῆ si attende il complemento oggetto di ἔ[χ]η.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. A. Papathomas, "Eine neue palmomantische Schrift der späteren Römerzeit. Unbekannte Fassung aus dem Melampus-Traktat?" in J.M.S. Cowey e B. Kramer (edd.), *Paramone, Editionen und Aufsätze von Mitgliedern des Heidelberger Instituts für Papyrologie zwischen 1982 und 2004* (= APF Beih. 16) (Leipzig 2004) 18–19; S. Costanza, "Fateful Spasms: Palmomancy and Late Antique Lot-Divination," in A. Luijendijk e W.E. Klingshirn (edd.), *My Lots are in Thy Hands: Sortilege and Its Practitioners in Late Antiquity* (Leiden-Boston 2019) 81.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* 1.21.2.51–52: ὁδὸς κέλευθος ἐπὶ τάφον | φέρουσα e 58–59: κέλευθος | φέρουσα ἐπὶ γλυκεῖαν, con indicazione della bile per antifrasi. Nel pap. ricorre con la medesima accezione ὁδός, col. 1.5, 21, frutto d'integrazione, col. 3.91, cfr. Costanza (n. 3, 2005) 42; Id., "I manuali su papiro di *observationes* divinatorie: applicazione e diffusione del sapere magico," in M. de Haro Sánchez (ed.), *Écrire la magie dans l'Antiquité* (Liège 2015) 175. I papiri di ieroscopia discutono come segno profetico pure l'ἀντικέλευθος, la membrana epatica opposta, cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* 1.21.2.54–55, 3.98; *P.Amh.* 2.14 verso 19 e 20. Su questo punto, vd. Costanza (n. 3, 2018a) 6.

<sup>11</sup> Vd. Hsch. A 2316 s.v.: καὶ ἐν θυτικῇ σημείον, ὅταν μὴ ἦ κέλευθος.

<sup>12</sup> Vd. fr. 9 (= ined. 1), col. 2.17: ]αι ἐν τῇ κελε[ύθφ, già integrato da S. Costanza, "P. Ross. Georg. I 21 col. I l. 10 e l'origine della ieroscopia greca da Cipro," *ZPE* 200 (2016) 435, n. 11.

Forse un costrutto da non escludere a l. 3 è dato da φ[έρ]η ἐ[π' αὐτόν/ἐπὶ τοῦτον; cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* 1.21, 81: ἐὰν [ἐ]π' αὐτῶν ἡ δοχὴ ε[ὔ]σημος. Quest'integrazione presenta, tuttavia, la difficoltà che lo spazio per -ερ- di φ[έρ]η è piuttosto limitato.

ll. 3–4: un possibile supplemento alla fine del rigo è in forma dubitativa ἔ[ρυμα ἦ]δη. Il sostantivo è desunto dal lessico della ieroscopia, come conferma l'astrologo degli inizi del V secolo Efestione di Tebe nella discussione della melotesia, la signoria planetaria sulle diverse partizioni del fegato.<sup>13</sup> Conformemente alle regole è qui pronosticato un furto. L'occlusione del dotto epatico in esame rappresenta certamente un presagio negativo.

ll. 4–5: si legge qui l'apodosi, mentre a ll. 2–3 è preservata la protasi parentetica a suffragio del fatto che possediamo i resti di un trattato e non di un manuale enciclopedico.

l. 5 πῶρον η. [ : è tradito, ragionevolmente, il lemma iniziale del nuovo responso collocato in posizione incipitaria per ragioni di enfasi. Bisogna evidenziare che nel lessico della ieroscopia rientra ugualmente questa voce indicante un calcolo biliare rilevato nella membrana epatica.<sup>14</sup> Un senso plausibile è dato, quindi, dall'interpretazione concernente i calcoli individuati dallo *hieroskopos* sulla cistifellea. Sicuramente da respingere l'ipotesi di correggere πόρον con un anacronistico errore di omofonia (ο/ω).<sup>15</sup> Dopo le ultime tracce leggibili vi erano al massimo 4–5 lettere in lacuna.

l. 6 ἦ τι χαλεπόν ἐὰν . . . ν . [ FG: χαλεπόν costituisce insieme con πῶρον al rigo precedente il complemento oggetto del verbo della protasi, e.g. ἔ[χη] che si troverebbe dopo ἐὰν alla fine del rigo. Riguardo alla scrittura di ἔ[χη] da noi postulato dobbiamo sottolineare che vi sono soltanto due segni per il ν supposto con dubbio nella precedente edizione. Questi segni hanno indotto FG a leggere -ν, ma si adattano anche alle vestigia di un χ (angolo superiore ed inferiore destro).

l. 7 κέλευθος: in tal caso, denota il soggetto della proposizione: dal dettato dei righi precedenti (5–6) il trattatista individua il *signum* ieroscopico nella vena porta che è contrassegnata da calcoli biliari formati da una concrezione ematica. Fuorviante, invece, la spiegazione proposta da FG relativamente ad un dolore patito durante il viaggio.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Vd. Heph.Theb., *Apotel.* 3.6.15: ἡ δεξιὰ δρεπάνη, ἣν καὶ ἔρυμα καὶ μάχαιραν καλοῦσιν, cf. Viték (n. 3) 154–155.

<sup>14</sup> Il rinvio all'accezione anatomica di calcoli vescicali attestata in Hippocr., *Nat. Hom.* 14 è qui plausibile.

<sup>15</sup> Proposta già riusata da Furley-Gysemergh (n. 2) 4.

<sup>16</sup> A fr. 1, l. 5 πῶρον è "puzzling" per Furley-Gysemergh (n. 2) 4, che evocano una glossa del lemma come *pathos*, per intendere quindi "misery, grief on a journey."



π[όν]ον FG: di seguito appare un migliore supplemento κ[ακό]υ per due motivi: (1) dal punto di vista paleografico le due tracce superstiti di inchiostro si conciliano meglio con il *ductus* di κ invece che di π, perché non vi è l'accento di un segno orizzontale nel tratto superiore sinistro della lettera. (2) Il lemma κ[ακό]υ si concilia meglio con il sostantivo δυστυχία (l. 8): difatti un male imminente può causare una disgrazia in senso lato, mentre la sofferenza provoca una sensazione spiacevole, non già una generica avversità. Per l'uso di κακόν nella serie delle predizioni, cfr. anche l. 14.

ll. 6b–8: si evince dunque: ἐὰν μὴ ἔχη αὕτη ἡ κέλευθος, κ[ακό]υ καὶ δυστυχίαν σημαίνει.

l. 9 [±2] . . . δε ἐὰν ἀπόλωνται FG: la congiunzione ἐὰν presuppone la protasi di un nuovo articolo divinatorio. La forma verbale qui impiegata concerne l'assenza di un lobo del fegato e richiede un soggetto al plurale da ricercare all'inizio. Permane il problema che l'ultima lettera della parola somiglia più ad α che non a ι. Pensiamo che sia da postulare qui la menzione di τὰ ὄτα. Per le “orecchie” del fegato, cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* 1.21, ll. 105–107: καὶ καρδία εὔσημος | καὶ ἀπαλὴ καὶ εὐχρους, ὄτα | ἔχουσα. Si tratta, quindi, di piccole protuberanze del “cuore” del fegato intese come due orecchie in base alla metafora antropizzante del fegato concepito come un *mundus minor*. Queste parti erano spesso consunte o non facilmente visibili, come si specifica di seguito. Dal punto di vista sintattico, il supplemento viola lo *schema Atticum*, ma tale fatto non è inusitato in età imperiale ed è ammissibile in uno *specimen* subletterario come un manuale divinatorio.

l. 10 ἡ διὰ βρωθῶσιν η . . . [ . . . ] FG: η non è molto probabile dal punto di vista paleografico (vd. il primo η di l. 10), ma anche qualora si offra un significato soddisfacente, la lettura η permane improbabile, se non si ammette un'altra congiunzione disgiuntiva con una protasi implicante tre eventualità simultanee e concomitanti, vale a dire l'assenza o cattiva condizione di queste vescichette biliari o un'altra osservazione sul loro aspetto.

l. 11 . . . . . ἐνώνται, χρή [τοῖς FG: si propone: . . . . . γέγωνται ἄτ[υλα]; cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* 1.21, l. 47: ἄτ[υλα]. Teoricamente un'alternativa sarebbe: . . . . . γέγωντ' αἱ τ[ύλαι], ma è praticamente da escludere perché γένωνται non si elide. La ricostruzione proposta in precedenza presenta difficoltà dal punto di vista della sintassi del greco classico, giacché χρή non può essere un verbo personale, come intendono gli editori. Se fosse una forma impersonale, in tal caso si dovrebbe esigere un'infinitiva non ammissibile, dato il verbo di modo finito ricostruibile a ll. 12–13:

ση]μαίνουσιν. Con questa voce finisce qui un paragrafo divinatorio e si richiede un'interpunzione forte.

Il. 13–14 [ὁ]μῶς τ[ε καὶ] FG: è meglio integrare ἄ[λ]λως = ἐν ἄλλῳ (*scil.* βιβλίῳ), secondo una modalità usata frequentemente nella letteratura scolastica per distinguere tra diverse fonti esegetiche. La formula dell'ἄλλως-*scholion* consente di inglobare varie spiegazioni giustapposte in successione,<sup>17</sup> come si evince dagli *hypomnemata* euripidei.<sup>18</sup> In P.Osl. inv. 1662 con commento alle *Troiane* del V sec. d.C.<sup>19</sup> la doppia formulazione è introdotta proprio da ἄλλως integrato ad inizio di l. 8, che delinea una precisa strategia esegetica.<sup>20</sup>

Dopo ἄ[λ]λως nel pap. in esame si richiede un complemento oggetto all'accusativo retto dal verbo sottinteso σημαίνουσιν, come previsto dalla sintassi ellittica della proposizione. Pensiamo ad un oggetto quale ἔλευσιν a indicare l'arrivo di un male imminente.

l. 14 πα[ντοίου] FG: integriamo, invece, πᾶ[σι], presupponendo una conseguenza spiacevole per tutti. Alla fine del rigo è opportuno introdurre il supplemento [ἐὰν] o [ἐὰν ἦ].

l. 15 ἱκετεύειν: questa lettura non dà un significato soddisfacente nel contesto sintattico in esame. La lettura κέλευθος darebbe una soluzione concettuale ben più soddisfacente (Il. 14–15: Ἄ[λ]λως· ἔ[λευσιν] | μεγάλου κακοῦ πᾶ[σιν]. Ἐὰν ἦ | κέλευθος [?;]), ma provoca sfortunatamente difficoltà paleografiche, soprattutto per il riconoscimento delle lettere iniziali κ, ε, λ e di θ.

θεοῦς non pare una buona lettura.

l. 17 οὐόντων: a prima vista dovremmo distinguere -ου ὄντων. Forse si può interpretare come un *lapsus calami* con refuso del grafema iniziale

<sup>17</sup> Maehler osserva che negli *hypomnemata*, i compilatori bizantini riportano estratti di diversi *hypomnemata*, per cui spesso una spiegazione è unita mediante ἄλλως = oppure e dice la stessa cosa ma in modo un po' diverso (H. Maehler, "Dal libro alla critica del testo," in G. Cavallo et al. [edd.], *Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico* [Firenze 1998] 15).

<sup>18</sup> Cfr. H. Maehler, "Die Scholien der Papyri in ihrem Verhältnis zu den Scholiencorpora der Handschriften," in F. Montanari (ed.), *La philologie grecque à l'époque hellénistique et romaine* (Genève 1994) 109. Vd. anche P.Würzb. 1 ad Phoen., VI sec.<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Ed. S. Eitrem e L. Amundsen, "From a Commentary on the 'Troades' of Euripides. P. Osl. Inv. No. 1662," in *Studi in onore di A. Calderini e P. Paribeni* 2 (Milano 1957) 147–150. Fr. di cod., è utilizzato il verso ed il recto non è occupato dalla scrittura, è un esempio di rotolo letterario inusitato in un periodo così tardo. Cfr. Maehler (n. 18) 113–115 contro gli edd. *prr*.

<sup>20</sup> Cfr. Maehler (n. 18) 112: la citazione di Filocoro rappresenta l'ἄλλως-*scholion* e concorda con schol. Vat. Gr. 909.

(o/θ), ma non si esclude una differente lettura per θυόντων, pensando ad una barra mediana di θ scritta molto in alto e sovrapposta al semicerchio superiore di o; cf. il *ductus* di θ in κέλευθος (l. 7) e col. 3 (= fr. 6), l. 1: θυσίαν.

οινος; forse οἰωνός[ς].

ll. 17–18 ρο[ . ] . κ . . . . ο . [ FG: si postula [χεῖ]|ρο[ν κ]ακόν.

Di seguito, potremmo pensare alla conclusione del rigo ση[μαίνει. Ἐάν].

l. 19 ἡ χάλαζα[v] FG: si postula una *iunctura* al nominativo (ἡ χάλαζα) invece di una congiunzione disgiuntiva seguita dall'accusativo. Il lemma rappresenta la fonte del pronostico di un nuovo paragrafo ed è preceduto logicamente dall'articolo. Per χάλαζα si respinge l'accezione letterale di "grandine" con riferimento ad un'intemperia nel corso del viaggio pronosticato al consultante, come ipotizzato nell'*ed. alt.* Difatti, per traslato è designato così nel lessico medico un chicco di forma granulare prodottosi nelle palpebre, nella cute ed in altre parti del corpo.<sup>21</sup> Una secrezione epatica è comparabile alla grandine per colore e forma, come afferma esplicitamente Esichio di rimando al lessico della ieroscopia: χάλαζα· σημεῖον θυτικόν, καὶ πάθος περὶ τὰς σῆς.<sup>22</sup> La glossa esichiana inserisce la χάλαζα tra i segni divinatori riscontrati nell'esame delle viscere delle vittime e la qualifica, inoltre, come una patologia della quale sono affetti i suini. Secondo la tradizione le viscere di tali animali furono sezionate per la prima volta a fini divinatori nel santuario cipriota di Pafos.<sup>23</sup> Di conseguenza, si evince che il redattore del trattato osserva una

<sup>21</sup> Si vedano i trattati περὶ χαλάζης nei mss. astrologici medievali entro ampie sezioni dedicate all'interpretazione di tutti i segni celesti, cfr. Costanza (n. 3, 2009b) 56. Nel lessico oculistico la patologia del calazio si riferisce alla granulazione delle palpebre, vd. il dossier dei loci in Costanza (n. 3, 2004–2005) 44, n. 34. Nell'ambito della teoria degli umori vige l'opposizione tra umore caldo, la bile e umore freddo, il flemma, vd. Arist., *Probl.* 1.29, 862b28: ἡ χολὴ μὲν ἐστὶ θερμὸν, τὸ δὲ φλέγμα ψυχρόν. Gal., *Dignot.* 6.832 K., ed. Guidorizzi 1973, 81: ὁμβρος δὲ ψυχρὰν ὑγρότητα πλεονάζειν ἐνδείκνυται· χιῶν δὲ καὶ κρύσταλλος καὶ χάλαζα, φλέγμα ψυχρόν. La sentenza ritorna pressoché invariata in Gal., *In Hipp. I epid. comm.* III 17a.214 K., ed. CMG 5.10.1.a Wenckenbach è confermata l'associazione di un fiocco di neve o di un chicco di grandine al flegma freddo.

<sup>22</sup> Hsch. χ 32. Cfr. Arist., *H.A.* 8.21, *Probl.* 34.4 (963b33–34, 39–40): διὰ τί ἡ γλῶττα σημαντικὸν πολλῶν; καὶ γὰρ τῶν πυρετῶν ἐν τοῖς δχεσί νοσήμασι, καὶ ἐὰν χάλαζαι ἐνῶσιν. (Perché la lingua fornisce numerose indicazioni? Così è segno di febbre nelle malattie acute e se è coperta di vesciche simili a chicchi di grandine. Per i suini si tratta di un noto difetto che si sviluppa sotto la lingua).

<sup>23</sup> Ivi Zeus è onorato come σπλαγχνοτόμος "sezionatore delle viscere" (Paus. 6.2.5) e l'estispicina è attivamente praticata sotto la guida dei Ciniradi; documenti storici e mitici attestano la mediazione esercitata da Cipro per la diffusione della ieroscopia nel

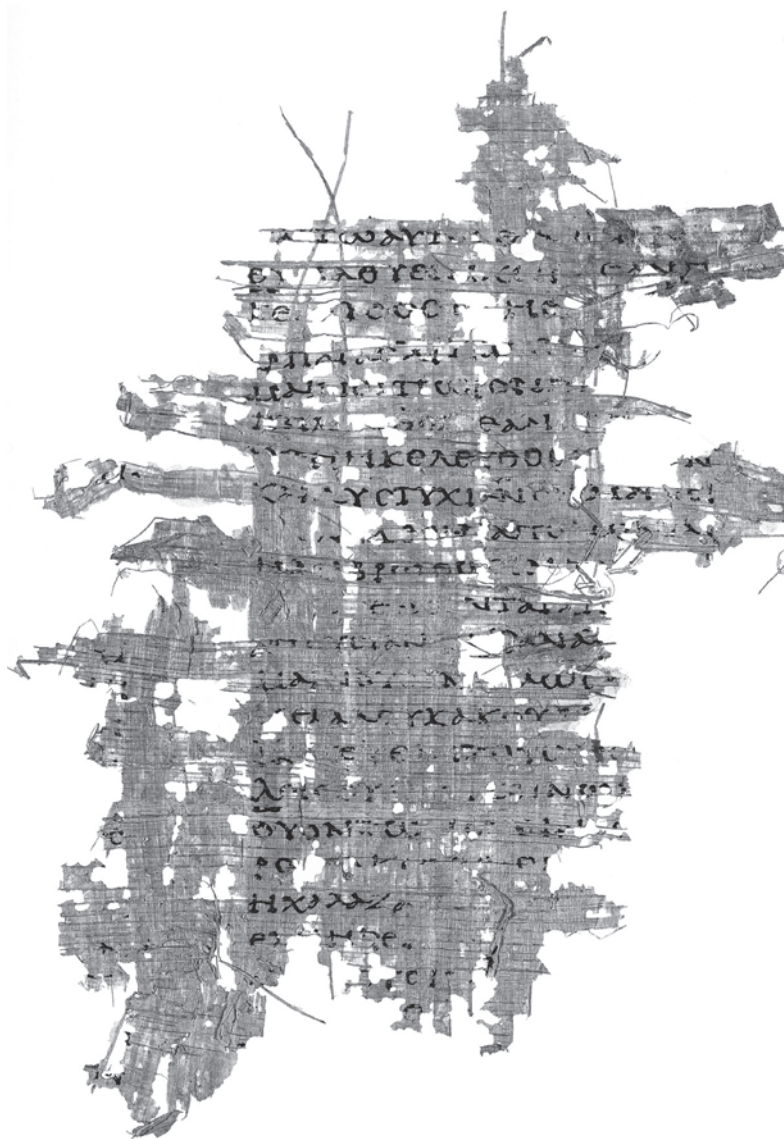
ciste simile ad un chicco di grandine nel fegato della vittima e commenta le conseguenze di tale evenienza nei righi seguenti sfortunatamente mutili. Pertanto, si riconosce il riferimento alla ieroscopia e bisogna ristabilire il nominativo *ad loc.*, perché in questo paragrafo un'escrescenza simile ad un chicco di grandine è palesemente la fonte del pronostico e non già una conseguenza fattuale in accusativo.

1. 20 ἐλεήσῃ[ν FG: ἔχει ἢ σε . [. Si riconosce qui la protasi del discorso ipotetico.

1. 21 . . [ . . ] . στοι . . [ FG: nella sequenza di lettere riconoscibili si preferisce leggere ποι, da collegare con ogni probabilità a ποιέω.

- καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ θεῷ . . . . ο .  
 θῦμα θύειν . . . . Ἐὰν ἡ  
 κέλευθος ἔ[χ]ῃ ἔ[ρυμα, ἡ]δη  
 ἄρπαγὰς χρημάτων ση-  
 5 μαίνει. Πῶρον ἢ . [ ±4 ]  
 ἢ τι χαλεπόν, ἐὰν [δ]ὲ ἔχ[η]  
 αὕτη ἡ κέλευθος, κ[ακὸ]ν  
 καὶ δυστυχίαν σημαίνει.  
 [Τ]ὰ ὅττα δ' ἐὰν ἀπόλωνται  
 10 ἢ διαβρωθῶσιν ἡ . . [ . . . ]  
 . . . . γέγονται ἄτ[υλα,]  
 ἀπουσίαν τοῦ θανάτου ση-  
 μαίνουσιν. Ἀ[λ]λως· ἔ[λευσιν]  
 μεγάλου κακοῦ πᾶ[σιν]. Ἐὰν ἡ  
 15 κέλευθος (?) . . . τοὺς . . . [ .  
 λοις θύμασι . . . ὦν .  
 ———  
 ουοντων . . οινος  
 [χεῖ]ρο[ν κ]ακὸν ση[μαίνει. Ἐὰν]  
 ἡ χάλαζα . . . [ .  
 20 ἔχῃ ἢ σε . [ .  
 . . [ ]ποι . [ .  
 [ ]ο[ .  
 . [ .

continente greco, cfr. Bachvarova (n. 3) 157; Costanza (n. 12) 438; Id., “Οἱ Κύπριοι ὡς εφευρέτες τῆς ιεροσκοπίας. Αρχαιολογικές, παπυρολογικές και λογοτεχνικές πηγές,” in A. Papathomas et al. (edd.), “Ἡματα πάντα. Τιμητικός τόμος στον Καθηγητὴ Ἀνδρέα Ι. Βοσκό (Atene 2020) 236–245.



(ll. 1–2) “... a questo dio ... sacrificare una vittima.”

(ll. 2–5) “Se il dotto epatico presenta un’occlusione, significa appunto furti di ricchezze.”

(ll. 5–8) “Se questo dotto ha una vescica ... o un ispessimento, significa qualcosa di male e avversità.”

(Il. 9–13) “Se le ‘orecchie’ sono perdute o consumate o siano senza lobi, significano assenza di morte.”

(Il. 13–14) “Diversamente, l’imminenza di un grave male per tutti.”

(Il. 14–18) “Se il dotto verso la vena porta ... per le vittime ... un male peggiore.”

(Il. 18–21) “Se la cisti epatica come un chicco di grandine ha ..., o ... fa ...”

## Fr. 2

1. 2 ξυλα [ἀ]μπέλι[να FG: proponiamo meglio πύλα[ι], ma non è sicuro e richiede di essere discusso. Riguardo al lemma seguente, la ricostruzione degli edd. non può essere corretta, fra le altre cose perché la lettera dopo λ non può essere in alcun caso ι. Leggiamo, invece: ἀπέχο[υ].

Il. 2–3 τῆς] ἑστίας. Oltre al significato letterale di altare che è postulabile agevolmente in questo frammento in accordo con il lessico della divinazione del sacrificio cruento, non va dimenticata l’accezione ieroscopica corrispondente al “cuore” del fegato attestata da una fonte bizantina.<sup>24</sup>

1. 3 μαλ[άβραθρον FG: la *iunctura* non è registrata nei lessici. Per le modalità di combustione della materia del sacrificio è improbabile pensare ad una rara pianta esotica dalle proprietà curative come il cinnamomo di Ceylon (l. 3: μαλ[άβραθρον) usata per preparare vari rimedi, ma oltremodo costosa ed estranea alle pratiche cultuali della divinazione cruenta.<sup>25</sup> Proponiamo, invece: μάλ[λον].

1. 4 καθαρόν καὶ . . [: è una nota a proposito delle indicazioni rituali per lo svolgimento della *thysia*,<sup>26</sup> il richiamo alla purità corrisponde agli indirizzi peculiari degli ambienti esoterici.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Vd. Theophilus Protospatharius (IX–X sec.), *De corp. hum. fabr.* 2.13: ἐνδεδυται δὲ τὸ ἥπαρ τὰς μὲν φλέβας καὶ τὰς ἀρτηρίας ἄνωθεν τε καὶ κάτωθεν, ἐξωθεν δὲ τὸ περιτόναιον, σχιζόμενον εἰς λοβοὺς τέσσαρας. Καὶ τις ἀνὴρ τῶν μαθηματικῶν ἱατρῶν τοῖς λοβοῖς ὀνόματα προσηγόρευσε ταῦτα, τράπεζα, ἐστία, μάχαιρα, καὶ ἡνίοχος, cfr. Vítek (n. 3) 146 e n. 4.

<sup>25</sup> Per i prezzi esorbitanti di questa spezia, vd. Plin., *N.H.* 12.59 (129). Sulle attestazioni del prestito dal sanscrito *tamāla-pattra* con fraintendimento della prima sillaba reinterpretata come articolo vd. A. Ernout, *Pline l’Ancien, Histoire Naturelle, Livre XII* (Paris 1949) 103–104; Furlley-Gysembergh (n. 2) 8 *ad loc.* con un dossier da integrare con altre fonti, e.g. *P.Eg.* 4.48, *Geop.* 6.6.

<sup>26</sup> Il sacrificio è evocato nel fr. 6, l. 1. Per il richiamo alla purità in un frammento della mantica coevo, precisamente di idromanzia, vd. S. Costanza, “*PSI X 1179*: un frammento di idromanzia,” *Anal.Pap.* 18–20 (2006–2008) 51–72. Sugli elementi concernenti il sacrificio, vd. Hurst (n. 1) 677.

<sup>27</sup> Vd. P.Gen. inv. 161, fr. 2, l. 15: καθαραὶ ἢ μέλαι[ναι], ove si rimarca la purità e il nitore della parte del fegato in opposizione ad un aspetto nerastro, quindi infausto. Tale

I. 5 ὑποθέτην δε δ[ FG: le tracce all'inizio sono malsicure. Il gruppo τηγ rappresenta forse un art., vd. ἄλλην (I. 6), ma quanto precede non è facilmente determinabile come unità lessicale autonoma.

I. 6 ἔχης, δαῖε χέας FG: leggiamo, invece, ἔχη. Ἐὰν κτλ. Con ἔχη termina il responso, mentre con ἐὰν ha inizio un nuovo paragrafo divinatorio.

I. 7 [δρ]υὸς φύλλα καὶ δάφνης FG: φύλλα è chiaramente leggibile nel testo, non accogliamo la lettura δάφνης malsicura e non giustificata per ragioni contenutistiche.

II. 8–9 καὶ κριθὰς καὶ ἔλαιον FG: leggiamo καὶ ὕγρὸν [ἔ]λαιον. Il lemma finale permane più probabile di λαιόν relativo al lato sinistro in una serie di membra ripartite tra lato destro e sinistro. Difatti, il sintagma ὕγρὸν ἔλαιον occorre già in un verso omerico (η 107: καιροσέων δ' ὀθονέων ἀπολείβεται ὕγρὸν ἔλαιον), citato e discusso anche da Plutarco.<sup>28</sup>

II. 9–10 ἐπιχέας ἐπιτίθει FG: ἐπιχέας ἐπι[ι τὸ ἥπαρ], dato il contesto epatoscopico ci pare più pertinente, senza necessità di replicare l'imperativo leggibile a I. 14.

I. 10 μελλοκτέρισ[μα FG: è un lemma non altrimenti attestato, non convalidabile.<sup>29</sup> Meglio scrivere: τὸ με<ν> [ἄ]λλο (scil. ἥπαρ) κηρίον. Alcuni problemi alla nostra proposta sono rappresentati dall'omissione di ν, che trova paralleli, tuttavia, in altri papiri<sup>30</sup> e da ο, che assomiglia di più a σ. La stessa obiezione si rileva contro la lettura di FG, mentre una lettura -λλσκ- non offrirebbe alcun senso plausibile. Sembra, inoltre, che κηρίον sia scritto κ η ριον con una spaziatura insolita. Quanto al significato del lemma non va accolto nell'accezione letterale di “favo di miele,” “decotto di miele” o “miele” *tout court*, bensì in quella traslata di una ciste, un'escrescenza simile ad un favo individuata sulla membrana epatica. Tale

logica di esegesi perviene all'omoplatoscopia bizantina, la tecnica di trarre pronostici dai segni nella scapola di un ovino, vd. S. Costanza, “Un trattato bizantino di omoplatoscopia (*Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 1493), ff. 155<sup>v</sup>–159<sup>r</sup>,” *Byz.* 82 (2012) 74.

<sup>28</sup> Cfr. Plut., *De Pythiae oraculis* 396b–c: ὑπολαβὼν δ' ὁ Θέων· τί γάρ, εἶπεν, ὃ ξένε, κωλύει ταῦτόν εἶναι καὶ λεπτόν καὶ πυκνόν, ὥσπερ τὰ σηρικὰ καὶ τὰ βύσσινά τῶν ὑφασμάτων, ἐφ' ὃν καὶ Ὀμηρος (η 107) εἶπε· ‘ και<ροσέ>ων δ' ὀθονῶν ἀπολείβεται ὕγρὸν ἔλαιον’, ἢ ἐνδεικνύμενος τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ λεπτότητα τοῦ ὕφους τῷ μὴ προσμένειν τὸ ἔλαιον ἄλλ' ἀπορρεῖν καὶ ἀπολίσθάνειν τῆς πυκνότητος οὐ διείσης;

<sup>29</sup> Furley-Gysembergh (n. 2) 9 richiamano il verbo dal sapore epico κτερίζω “rendere gli onori funebri,” in relazione al rituale classico della cremazione e giustificano il lemma con l'accezione: “ciò che sarà bruciato come offerta.” I composti in μελλο- citati (μελλό-γαμβρος, μελλόνυμφος, μελλόποσις) sono desunti da un diverso ambito semantico attinente a relazioni parentali da sanzionare in futuro. Il secondo formante è documentato solo al plurale (κτερίσματα) ed equivale ad “offerte deposte sulla tomba.” Tale neologismo permane, quindi, aleatorio.

<sup>30</sup> Per l'omissione della nasale finale, cfr. F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* 1 (Milano 1976) 111–112.



accezione si sviluppò ragionevolmente da un uso analogo del lessico botanico e medico, cf. Dioscorid. *De mat. medica* 2.135: ὑγιάζει δὲ καὶ κηρία καταπλασθεῖσα <λεία> μετὰ [τοῦ] μέλιτος; Gal. 7.728: Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀχώρ, ἔλκος μικρὸν ἐν τῷ δέρματι τῆς κεφαλῆς, εἰκάσαις δ' <ἄν> αὐτὸ φλέγματος ἄλμυροῦ καὶ νιτρώδους ἔκγονον ὑπάρχειν. Ἐκρεῖ γοῦν αὐτοῦ τις ἰχώρ οὗθ' ὕδατῶδης ἀπλῶς οὗτ' ἤδη παχὺς ὥσπερ τὸ μέλι καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς κηρίοις ὀνομαζομένοις. Un'analogia evoluzione semantica si verifica per μελικηρίς, cf. e.g. Gal., *Thrasybulus sive utrum medicinae sit an gymnasticae* Kühn 5, p. 845: καθάπερ οἶμαι καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις μέρεσι περιεχομένων ὑγρῶν ἢ τῶν ὄγκων τῶν ὑδερικῶν ἢ γαγλίων ἢ ἀθερωμάτων ἢ μελικηρίδων ἢ στεατωμάτων.

l. 11 τούτου τὴν καρδί[αν]: è un supplemento obbligato, ma si tratta del “cuore” del fegato, non del muscolo cardiaco.<sup>31</sup> Vale a dire: τούτου *scil.* τοῦ ἥπατος.

l. 12 σκεψάμενος: è la forma del verbo semplice, senza preverbo, di cui si rilevano altre occorrenze nella letteratura ieroscopica, cf. *P.Amh.* 2.14, l. 5: σκεπτέον. Non vi è bisogno di postulare ἐπι- nella lacuna di l. 11, come vogliono FG, p. 9: ἐπι]σκεψάμενος, onde completare il rigo precedente.

ll. 12–13 καὶ [τὰς χεῖρ]ας, anche in questo caso si tratta delle “mani” del fegato in dipendenza dal part. σκεψάμενος. L'apparenza cromatica delle χεῖρες è discussa in *P.Ross.Georg.* 1.21.2.76.<sup>32</sup> Vedasi la menzione concomitante di ὄνυχες, le “unghie” del fegato<sup>33</sup> e di πόδες “piedi” nel fr. 12 di Ginevra.<sup>34</sup>

l. 13 αὐτῆς: vale a dire il “cuore” del fegato. Inoltre, il “cuore” e le “mani” del fegato sono assegnati alla signoria di Hermes dall'astrologo Efestione.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *P.Ross.Georg.* 1.21.3.105.

<sup>32</sup> Vd. Heph.Theb. 3.6.15, ed. Pingree 1973, 255.1–2; Heph.Theb., *Epit.* 4.81–91, ed. Pingree 1974, 284–286 (D. Pingree, *Hephaestionis Thebani, I Apotelesmatica, II Apotelesmaticorum Epitomae Quattuor* [Leipzig 1973, 1974]); per il passo discusso da A. Pérez Jiménez, “Prescrizioni astrologiche relative alla prassi religiosa,” in G. Sfameni Gasparro (ed.), *Modi di comunicazione tra il divino e l'umano. Tradizioni profetiche, divinazione, astrologia e magia nel mondo mediterraneo antico* (Cosenza 2005) 168–173, senza menzione dei papiri di ieroscopia, vd. Furley-Gysemergh (n. 3) 111–114 con trad.

<sup>33</sup> Fr. 7, col. 2, ll. 18–19, vd. *PSI* 10.1178.14: ἐν τῷι στῆθει ὄνυχας, cfr. Furley-Gysemergh (n. 3) 76 *ad loc.*

<sup>34</sup> = Ined. 4, l. 7. Nella melotesia zodiacale delineata da Heph.Theb. 3.6.16, ed. Pingree (n. 32) 1.255.4–14 è esplicita la distinzione tra il piede destro del fegato assegnato al controllo del Leone e quello sinistro governato, invece, dal Sagittario.

<sup>35</sup> Vd. Heph.Theb. 3.6.15, ed. Pingree (n. 32) 255.1–2; Heph.Theb., *Epit.* 4.81–91, ed. Pingree (n. 32) 284–286, per il passo discusso da Pérez Jiménez (n. 32) 168–173 senza menzione dei papiri di ieroscopia, vd. Furley-Gysemergh (n. 3) 111–114 con trad.

εἴ εἰσιν [ : non ci pare sicuro. Forse χεῖς *vel sim.* dal verbo χέω?

l. 14 ἀλλ' ἐπιτίθε' FG: ὃν ἐπιτίθε' ἴ'. Si tratta della fine della presente unità sintattica. Con ἐάν ha inizio un nuovo paragrafo divinatorio.

ll. 14–15 ἐάν [αὐταὶ καθαραὶ ἢ μέλαι[ναι ὅσι FG: secondo la logica di associazione di tali profezie *de extis*, bisogna supporre che i lobi epatici in esame non siano mondi oppure si presentino anneriti. Ricostruiamo, dunque, nella finale di l. 14: ἐάν [αἱ χεῖρες οὐ] | καθαραὶ ἢ μέλαι[ναι. Una forma di plurale femminile è qui necessaria ai fini della pronosticazione divinatoria, oltre a χεῖρες concorrono come alternative per es. πύλαι, τύλαι *vel sim.*

Alla fine ὅσι] non è necessario come supplemento, perché si annoverano di frequente frasi ellittiche del predicato verbale.

l. 16 . . . . . υχας ε[ FG, i quali propongono εὐχάς in sede di commento: ravvisiamo, invece: τὰς δοχὰς ἐ[άν. Vd. la menzione di δοχαί in fr. 13, l. 4.<sup>36</sup>

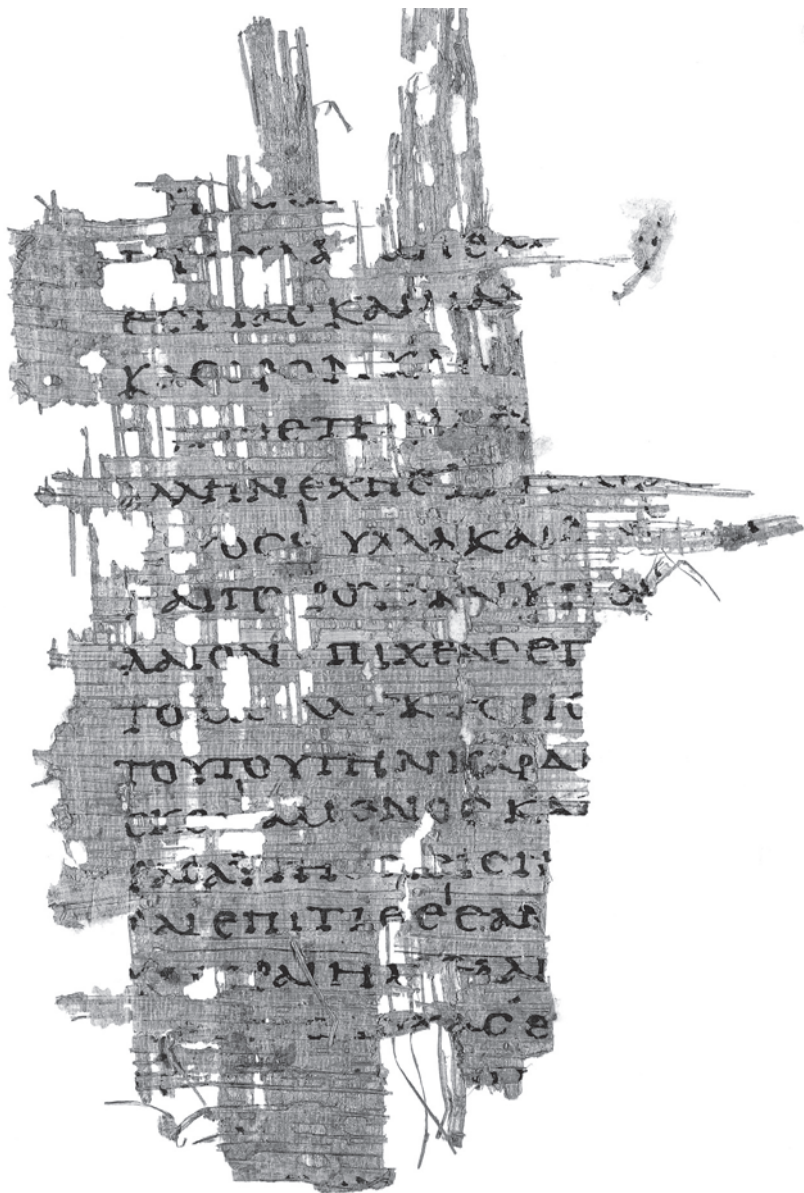
In δοχὰς il tratto che sembra far parte di υ, forse è una traccia di inchiostro.

La congiunzione ἐ[άν supplita in lacuna segna probabilmente l'inizio di un nuovo paragrafo. Un punto di inchiostro alto sopralineare tra σ ed ε può essere interpretato come un *punctus* a sostegno della nuova proposta di una divisione in cui una nuova sezione ha inizio con tale congiunzione ipotetica. La fonte del presagio è da riconoscere ragionevolmente nelle δοχαί.

- . . υ . . . [   
 πύλα[ι], ἀπέχο[υ τῆς]   
 ἐστίας καὶ μᾶλ[λον   
 καθαρόν καὶ . . [   
 5 ὑποθέτην δε δ[   
 ἄλλην ἔχη. Ἐάν . . .   
 [δρ]υὸς φύλλα καὶ δ . . .   
 καὶ ὑγρὸν [ἐ-]   
 λαιον ἐπιχέας ἐπ[ὶ τὸ ἥπαρ]   
 10 τὸ με<v> [ἄ]λλο, κηρίο[v   
 τούτου τὴν καρδί[αν   
 σκεψάμενος καὶ [τὰς χεῖ-]

<sup>36</sup> Per il plur. δοχαί, vd. Viték (n. 3) 143, n. 3, con riferimento a Eur., *El.* 828 δοχαὶ χολῆς; Plat., *Tim.* 71c δοχάς, Hsch. s.v. δέξις. La testimonianza papirologica suffraga il dato delle fonti letterarie e lessicografiche, il lemma corrisponde anche al dotto epatico che trasporta la bile dalla cistifellea (*choledochus*).

ρας αὐτῆς. Εἴ εἰσι [   
 ον ἐπιτίθε'ι. Ἐάν [αἱ χεῖρες οὐ]   
 15 καθαραὶ ἢ μέλαι[ναι   
 τὰς δοχὰς ἐ[άν



(Il. 1–4?) “Se la vena porta ..., astieniti dall’altare e piuttosto ... puro e ...”

(Il. 4?–6) “... un sostrato ... se ha un’altra ...”

(Il. 6–13) “Se ... foglie di quercia e ..., ed avendo versato olio limpido su una parte del fegato [vedi?] una ciste simile ad un favo di api e avendo esaminato il ‘cuore’ di questa parte del fegato e le sue ‘mani’ (i.e. le vescichette biliari ad essa connesse).”

(Il. 13–14) “Se sono ... colloca ...”

(Il. 14–16) “Se le ‘mani’ non sono monde o nere ... il ‘ricettacolo.’”

### Fr. 3

Col. 1, l. 2 δ]ιᾱβολῆς FG: la lettura è impossibile, si esclude δια-, perché il *ductus* di α è molto incurvato e si solleva di nuovo verso l’alto, il che non si verifica nel *ductus* di alcun altro α nel papiro, -βο- è difficile, l’o scende molto al di sotto del rigo, -λης è ammissibile, ma potrebbe essere anche -χης. Pensiamo forse meglio a προβολῆς da inserire nell’esposizione delle conseguenze annunciate al consultante.

Col. 2, ll. 1–2 [θε]λασάμενον FG: leggiamo ασαμονον e distinguiamo -ασα μόνον. In -ασα si ipotizza la finale di un participio, ma la perdita del rigo precedente e il contesto frammentario sconsigliano di avanzare ipotesi di integrazione.

l. 3 ἀπὸ Καλλιερειν θεοῖς καὶ FG: non si concorda col sintagma ἀπὸ Καλλιερειν, in quanto elemento di titolatura di un’edizione sulla ieroscopia, bensì si ravvisa una *iunctura* che designa la necessità di propiziarsi il favore degli dèi.<sup>37</sup> La *distinctio* degli editori (ἀπὸ Καλλιερειν) è più improbabile del composto (ἀποκαλλιερειν) postulato da A. Hurst, conforme alla logica dei consultanti, anche se non attestato nei lessici. Tale infinito ricorre senza preverbo in fr. 4, l. 2 ed in un altro papiro di ieroscopia per indicare la ricerca della benevolenza divina.<sup>38</sup> Tale *hapax* è dunque influenzato dalla tendenza alla prefissazione di forme semplici nella lingua tarda. Il preverbo potrebbe essere intensivo in riferimento all’idea di sacrificare, ottenendo buoni auspici.

<sup>37</sup> Vd. P.Gen. inv. 161, fr. 1 + 6, col. 2, l. 6: χρῆ θύειν.

<sup>38</sup> P.Amh. 2.14 recto 2: τὰ μεταβεβηκότα σημεία καλλε[ι]ερειν (l. καλλιερειν).

## Fr. 4

l. 1 Εὐδήμω[υ: la menzione di Eudemo coincide con il *nomen auctoris* utilizzato anche in *P.Ross.Georg.* 1.21.2.71, riguardo alla paternità della terza ed ultima sezione del manuale,<sup>39</sup> come rammentano pure gli editori.<sup>40</sup> L'enfasi sull'*auctor fictus* della sezione seguente è sottolineata graficamente dal fatto che il nome è isolato al centro del rigo. La coincidenza della pseudopigrafia fra il pap. di S. Pietroburgo e i frammenti di Ginevra comprova ulteriormente l'identità di genere di queste testimonianze attinenti a *hypomnemata* ieroscopici. Sulla base del confronto con *P.Ross.Georg.* 1.21.2.71 si propone il suppl. ἐμποριῶν in lacuna come indicazione sull'argomento esposto ai righi seguenti, a completare la titolazione. In ogni caso, si accerta che sotto la paternità di Eudemo circolavano scritti di ieroscopia in età imperiale romana.

l. 2 Κ[αλλιερεῖν [θεοῖς] FG: [κ]αλλιερεῖν [θεοῖς], vd. anche fr. 3, col. 2.2. In questo caso postuliamo di preferenza la forma semplice invece di ἀπο[[κ]αλλιερεῖν, integrando il preverbo da inserire al rigo precedente. Difatti, il margine sinistro della colonna è preservato a partire da l. 7, il che mostra lo spazio solo per una o due lettere all'inizio di questo rigo. A l. 1 si immagina tuttavia che fosse inserito solo il *nomen auctoris* ed un eventuale titolo di un'opera eventualmente ascrivita a Eudemo nella forma di un *hypomnema* sulla ieroscopia. Un libro del genere sarebbe, inoltre, intitolato in una forma differente da quella con infinito presupposta dagli editori. Di preferenza, si riscontra, infatti, il genitivo di titolazione retto da preposizione (ὕπερ, περί), come in *P.Ross.Georg.* 1.21,<sup>41</sup> o il nominativo epicletico.<sup>42</sup> Il supplemento Ἐμποριῶν è indicato *exempli*

<sup>39</sup> A ll. 72–122, cfr. Costanza (n. 12) 436 s. Il nome dell'autore è registrato comunemente al genitivo, che sancisce la paternità dell'opera letteraria, vd. M. Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale nel rotolo librario greco-egizio* (Bari 2007) 63–66.

<sup>40</sup> Vd. Furley-Gysembergh (n. 2) 9 s. Da sottolineare è, invece, il richiamo a Eudemo di Cipro, un eponimo del dialogo di Aristotele, non solo in quanto supposto autore di oniromanzia, ma soprattutto per le sue origini, dal momento che uno scrittore cipriota è ugualmente ricordato nel pap. di S. Pietroburgo.

<sup>41</sup> Nell'ambito della ieroscopia si vedano i titoli in *P.Ross.Georg.* 1.21.1.7–8: Ὑπὲρ εὐπραξίας καὶ ἰδυσπραξίας τῶν ἐνεστώτων καιρῶν, 72–73 Περί δὲ [ἐ]μπο[ρ]ι[ῶν] καὶ παντὸς κέρδους.

<sup>42</sup> Sul titolo espresso al nominativo o con costrutti preposizionali, vd. Caroli (n. 39) 72. Per un esempio nei manuali papiracei, vd. *P.Amh.* 2. 14 verso 2–3: τὸ δεύτερον ὁ[π]όμνημα τῶν [π]ρακτικῶν σημείων ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχεται. (“il secondo capitolo dei segni pratici inizia da qui”). Alla luce di τοῖς π[ρ]ακτικ[ο]ῖς ἰς καὶ παντ[ε]υτικοῖς σημείοις a ll. 15–16, va reintrodotta l'integrazione σημείων di Grenfell-Hunt *ad. loc.* invece del pleonastico

*gratia* come elemento di titolatura possibile, ma certo non sicuro, perché sotto la pseudepigrafia di Eudemo circolavano probabilmente vari scritti di ieroscopia.

Il. 3 e 4 [ vac. ] FG: non sono lasciate in bianco dallo scriba, ma sono largamente perite, invero Il. 1–2 non corrispondono entrambe al titolo. Come notato, l. 1 contiene il titolo con il *nomen auctoris* e forse un'eventuale indicazione del contenuto, mentre a partire da l. 2 e seguenti era riportato il testo divinatorio.

l. 7–8 εὐδοξίαν κ[αὶ ἐπίκτησιν . [ FG: è un elemento del pronostico, mentre è interamente perito il *signum* epatoscopico corrispondente.

Il. 8–9 νομό . δουκ[ FG: [παρά(?)]νομον δ' οὐκ [ (*exempli gratia* ἔχουσιν).

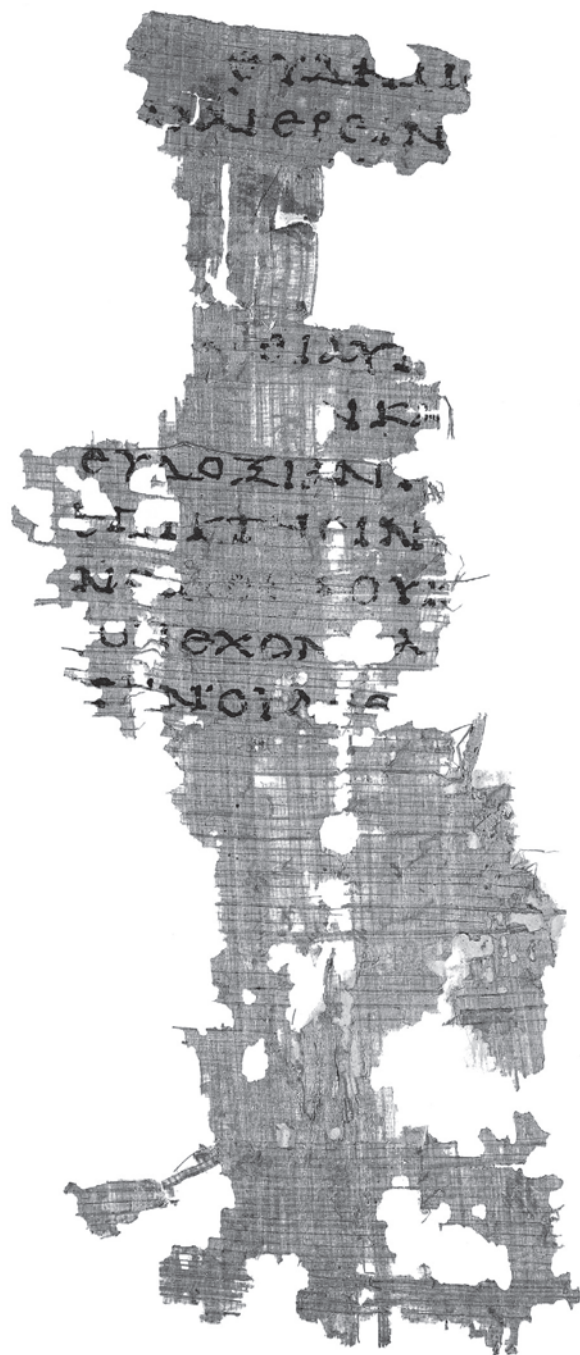
Gli editori pensano alla possibilità di un'omissione dell'oggetto come νόμου δ' οὐκ[. Lo υ di νομου è molto difficile. Si propone, invece: νόμον δ' οὐκ[.

l. 11 την' οὐδὲ θ[ε FG: την' οὐδὲ ε[ o alternativamente οἱ δὲ ε[ (dal punto di vista paleografico forse ι è da preferire a υ in οὐδέ/οἱ δέ). Si propone con dubbio δυσ[τήνου.

Alla fine forse: δέ, ἐ[ὰν].

Il. 9–11: si potrebbe pensare all'eventualità d'integrare: βίον ἔχον[τ]α [δυσ]τήνου (*scil.* ἀνδρός). Lo scriba del pap. di Ginevra mostra l'abitudine di dividere le parole, ma è inusuale nei papiri una divisione tra i lemmi come a Il. 9–10: βίον. Perciò con maggiore probabilità si postula a l. 10 l'art. τόν.

Εὐδήμο[υ Ἐμποριῶν (?)  
 [κ]αλλιερεῖν [θεοῖς]  
 ] [ ]  
 ] [ ]  
 5 ] . . εἰ αὐτ[ ]  
 ]νκα . [ ]  
 εὐδοξίαν κ[αὶ  
 ἐπίκτησιν . [ παρά(?)]  
 νομον δ' οὐκ [ἔχουσιν  
 τὸν ἔχον[τ]α [δυσ-]  
 τήνου δ . ε[ ]





“Libro di Eudemo, *Sui commerci* (?)”

“Procacciarsi il favore degli dei. ... celebrità e ... incremento ... illegale? non [hanno].”

*Fr. 5 (= col. 3)*

1. 1 [ . . . . . ] . ων δ: concordiamo con la lettura dei precedenti editori.

1. 2 ] . ν[ ] ερων διεπ . [ FG: ξντέρων suggerito dagli editori nelle note al testo ci pare più probabile da integrare, ma permane un problema con ε iniziale, da riconoscere forse nel tratto verticale prima di ν. Ugualmente occorre rilevare che il *ductus* di τ pare forse più largo del solito. Si propone meglio: τῶ[ν ἰ]ερῶν.

1. 3 ]ων χαλεπῶν δ . [ FG: non è una ricostruzione sicura, ma pare accettabile e si accorda con un’apodosi attesa in questo punto del trattato.

1. 4 ἐ]ντέλειαν ἔσεσθ[αι, ὥς FG: riguardo a tale ricostruzione il sostantivo proposto è pertinente ad un contesto della prosa filosofica e risulta estraneo ai frammenti divinatori in esame. Di converso si adatta alle tracce ὀφέλειαν, di φε si leggono il semicerchio sinistro e l’asta.

1. 5 φησι]ν Ἡσίδοος· ἔσθλ[: per ragioni papirologiche oltre che contenutistiche non è accettabile il *nomen Hesiodi* introdotto dagli editori, peraltro, non si registrano elementi riconducibili ad opere esiodee, genuine o spurie, in alcuno dei frammenti del rotolo in esame.<sup>43</sup> Dopo la lacuna si riconosce chiaramente solo la finale -δοος, mentre la prima parte del rigo è largamente perita, si riscontrano difficoltà paleografiche per η, ι, ο. Pertanto, si respinge la lettura: Ἡσίδοος. Inoltre, il supplemento a ll. 4–5: ὥς | φησι]ν esorbita lo spazio ipotizzabile all’inizio del rigo, anche se si postula la congiunzione nella finale del rigo precedente con un accapo inusuale. In alternativa della menzione di Esiodo si potrebbe pensare a [δ]δόος, una *vox technica* dell’epatoscopia equivalente a κέλευθος, che è impiegata in fr. 1 + 6 e 9. In accordo con le tracce precedenti, ricostruiamo, tuttavia, meglio: [λ]αῖοϛ π[ο]δόος. Per il *ductus* di π[ο]δόος, cf. i due π tracciati in ἐπεπυγμέ[ναι. Per υ di [λ]αῖοϛ, cf. υ in εὐδοξίαν a fr. 4, 7. Di ο si preserva solo il tratto superiore sinistro del semicerchio, che arriva quasi ad avvicinare il precedente ι. Quanto al contenuto, il sostantivo occorre anche in fr. 12, 7 al plur. (πόδες) e va inteso in entrambi i casi nell’accezione tecnica della ieroscopia. Per l’aggettivo precedente, si ricorda la consuetudine degli autori di ieroscopia coerente con la tendenza

<sup>43</sup> Difeso ancora in W. Furley e V. Gysembergh, “A Note on the Reading ‘Hesiod’ (ZPE 203 (2017) 1–23),” *ZPE* 207 (2018) 14.

vigente nella magia e nella mantica di applicare una bipartizione assiale,<sup>44</sup> distinguendo tra un lato fausto, propizio ed uno infausto, sfavorevole. Si veda in particolare l'opposizione tra *pars familiaris* (ἵδιος τόπος) e *hostilis* (ἄλλοδαπή, ξένη) vigente in *P.Ross.Georg.* 1.21, il manuale *de extis* citato.<sup>45</sup> Tale nozione è applicata al “piede” del fegato nella trattatistica, vd. e.g. *PSI* 10.1178.4: ποδὶ δεξιῶι e 10: τὸν δεξιὸν πόδα.<sup>46</sup> Pertanto, si deve ammettere di converso anche la menzione del lato opposto con l'uso di aggettivi quali ἀριστερός e λαιός per il piede sinistro. A tal riguardo, cf. la testimonianza dell'astrologo Efestione, *Sui giorni fausti ed infausti*<sup>47</sup>: ... τῷ Τοξότηι δὲ τὸν λαιὸν πόδα καὶ τὸ σκέλος (*scil. οικειοῦται*).

La nostra proposta è, dunque: Λαι[ο]ῦ π[ο]δὸς ἐσθλ[ (tr.: “Del ‘piede’ sinistro”).

Prima di [λ]αιῶ nello stesso rigo, un *addendum* probabile alla fine del rigo immediatamente precedente è da postulare nell'articolo τοῦ.

1. 6 ]. ἀ[έ]θλοισι χειριον[ FG: gli editori propongono e.g. 5–6 ἐσθλοὶ δ' οὐ χαλεποῖς ἀέθλοισι χειρίονές εἰσιν. Ricusato il *nomen Hesiodi* al rigo precedente e archiviati i tentativi di costruire una sequenza esametrica accettabile,<sup>48</sup> bisogna sottolineare che si riconosce una desinenza ionicopica del dat. plur. in -οισι di un sostantivo o epiteto, le cui lettere iniziali sono perite in lacuna a parte una traccia della prima lettera. Una tale occorrenza non dà scandalo se si considerano le peculiarità della letteratura divinatoria. Possediamo, infatti, i frammenti di un trattato coevo sull'idromanzia (*PSI* 10.1179) che è redatto in dialetto ionico.<sup>49</sup> I redattori degli scritti di magia e mantica palesano una predilezione spiccata per un idioma arcaico, desueto, che si distingue dal *sermo cotidianus* e risulta ormai di difficile comprensione. In generale, la presenza di epicismi e citazioni omeriche è un fatto consolidato nella divinazione di età imperiale con funzione nobilitante. Lungi dal postulare versi estrapolati da frammenti del corpus esiodeo, si evidenzia a tal riguardo una strategia peculiare dei redattori dei manuali delle pseudoscienze esoteriche al fine di veicolare

<sup>44</sup> Cfr. A. Pérez Jiménez, “Importancia de la oposición derecha/izquierda en la magia y la astrología,” in A. Mastrocinque et al. (edd.), *Ancient Magic: Then and Now* (Stuttgart 2020) 318–319, per documenti magici concernenti la bipartizione tra lato destro e sinistro in relazione alla melotesia planetaria e zodiacale.

<sup>45</sup> Cfr. Viték (n. 3) 151.

<sup>46</sup> Furley-Gysembergh (n. 3) 72.

<sup>47</sup> Ed. Pingree (n. 32) *Epit.* 4.81–91, cit. Furley-Gysembergh (n. 3) 111–112; Viték (n. 3) 154, n. 6.

<sup>48</sup> Cfr. FG, p. 12–13, consapevoli dell'aporia di attribuire ad Esiodo (e invero alla sua Scuola o ad un tardo imitatore) una sequenza metrica in cui ὅλ in ἀέθλοισι non faccia posizione.

<sup>49</sup> Cfr. Costanza (n. 26) 57–64; Id. (n. 10) 178–180.

meglio i propri scritti sul mercato librario della credulità nella tarda Antichità. È un fatto acclarato nei papiri omeromantici per ovvie ragioni,<sup>50</sup> ma tale caratteristica si rileva ugualmente nelle iscrizioni astragalomantiche dall'Asia Minore la cui redazione è contemporanea del papiro in esame,<sup>51</sup> come autorevolmente sottolineato da Johannes Nollé.<sup>52</sup>

1. 7 ἱεροῖς θεῶν ὄντων . [ FG: meglio ll. 6–7: [ἱε]ροῖς. Per il plur. di θεός, non si esclude la membrana epatica.

1. 8 ]αι ἐπεπτυγμέ[ναι Costanza (n. 3, 2004–2005): un altro elemento utile per la tipologia epatoscopica è dato dalla sequenza in cui il participio perfetto mediopassivo di ἐπιπύσσω (ἐπί + perf. m.-pass. ἔπτυνμαι) è un supplemento obbligato di rimando alle pieghe e creste del fegato, che offrono varie speculazioni agli interpreti degli *exta*.<sup>53</sup> Vd. *P.Amh.* 2.14 verso 16–17: ἐπιπτυχή μεικρά | [γε]γομένη. Perciò si propone di integrare al principio: [αἰ πύλ]αι. La referenza alla ieroscopia è palese.<sup>54</sup> Un segno di cattivo auspicio è dedotto dall'aspetto curioso della vena porta intricata e piegata verso l'interno, se si accetta tale integrazione o comunque di un'altra parte del fegato, se si preferisce un supplemento diverso all'inizio del rigo.<sup>55</sup> La protasi è una frase ipotetica ellittica.

1. 9 ἐνκλήματ . . . : si accorda meglio il costruito ἐνκλήματ[α (1. ἐγκλήματα) come soggetto del probabile predicato verbale [ἔσο]γται. Malgrado le riserve di FG (p. 13 *ad loc.*), questo sostantivo non contrasta l'esegesi proposta in quanto frammento del trattato ieroscopico, perché corrisponde alla conseguenza del pronostico, annunciando accuse spiacevoli al consultante.

<sup>50</sup> Si veda la supplica esametrica ad Apollo Licio in *P.Oxy.* 56.3831.6–11 = *PGM* VII 1–5, cfr. Meerson (n. 9) 139.

<sup>51</sup> Vd. la citazione da *Il. A* 72: μαντοσύνην τήν οἱ πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων nell'oracolo alfabetico del tardo II secolo d. C. da Adada a ll. 4–5, ed. J. Nollé, *Kleinasiatische Losorakel. Astragal- und Alphabetchresmologien der hochkaiserzeitlichen Orakelrenaissance* (München 2007) 232, note di commento *ibid.*, 234.

<sup>52</sup> Vd. Nollé (n. 51) 284: “Die poetischen Wendungen aus den Epen Homers sollten dazu beitragen, die einfachen Ratschläge und Prophezeiungen ein wenig aus der Banalität des Alltags herauszuheben und ihnen Nachdruck zu verleihen. Mit den altentümlichen Wörtern konnte natürlich auch die Autorität des Althehrwürdigen – der ἀρχαιότης – für diese Weissagungen gewonnen werden, denn für Kulte und Kultpraktiken war ein hohes Alter ehrfurchtsgebietend und stellte ein gewichtiges Argument für die Dauer und damit erwiesene Zuverlässigkeit einer religiösen Praxis dar.” Tale assunto è da sottoscrivere anche per il manuale ieroscopico ginevrino.

<sup>53</sup> Cfr. al riguardo Costanza (n. 3, 2004–2005) 45. Hurst (n. 1) 679 ipotizzò a l. 8 la spiegazione di citazioni poetiche ravvisabili a suo giudizio a ll. 4 e 6.

<sup>54</sup> Perfino Furley-Gysemergh (n. 2) 13 ammettono: “It cannot, however, be categorically ruled out that here we have a sign from extispicy.”

<sup>55</sup> Fr. 5, l. 9: [ἔσο]γται ἐνγλήματα. In *P.Ross.Georg.* 1.21.3.93 si osservano le πύλαι ἀνεφγμέναι.

- [ . . . . . ] . ων δ[ . . . . . ]  
 τῶ[ν ἱ]ερῶν διεπ . [ . . . . . ]  
 ων χαλεπῶν δ . [ . . . . . ]  
 ὠφέλειαν ἔσεσθ[αι.]  
 5 Λαί[ο]ϋ (?) π[ο]δὸς ἐσθλ[ . . . . . ]  
 . [ . . . ]θλοισι χέρειον [ἱε-]  
 ροῖς θεῶν ὄντων. Α[ἱ]  
 [πύλ]αι ἐπεπτυγμέ[ναι,]  
 [ἔσο]νται ἐνκλήματ[α]



(ll. 1–3) “... delle vittime sacrificali ... difficoltà”

(ll. 3?–4) “..., vi sarà un utile.”

(ll. 5–8) “Del ‘piede’ sinistro (?), ... peggiore per .... gli dei essendo ...”

(ll. 8–10) “La vena porta è ripiegata verso l’interno, vi saranno accuse.”

Fr. 6<sup>56</sup>

1. 1 σ[ὺ]ν θυσία ο in alternativa ϧ[ῡ]ν θυσία FG: tale costruito non trova paralleli, non si rilevano in effetti tracce sicure della prima lettera, come ipotizzano gli editori.

τοῖς . [: si potrebbe pensare al seguito della frase: τοῖς θ[ύουσι, cf. PSI 10.1178.6–7: ἰσχὺν | γὰρ καὶ κράτ[ος ση]μαίνει ἔσεσθαι τοῖς θύουσιν, 9: [ῥώμην γὰρ] [καὶ ἰσχ]ὺν τοῖς θύουσιν ἔσεσθαι, 15–16: εἰς τιμὴν | γὰρ τινά φησιν ἥξειν τον θύοντα.

1. 2 ] . ικαὶ τοῖς [ FG: si potrebbe pensare a molte ipotesi, fra le quali in accordo col contesto e le tracce si propone: ἔσεσθ[αι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις].

1. 3 ] . τοῖς δα . . [ FG: è improbabile un lemma che inizia con δα-, non troviamo una parola che soddisfi tale requisito e si accordi con un lessema richiesto da un manuale ieroscopico. Postuliamo più agevolmente due parole, per esempio: ] . τοῖς δ' ἄλλ[οις vel sim.

1. 5 το . . . [ . ] ημος FG: εὔ[σ]ημος pare più probabile che non il supplemento διάσημος ed è inoltre largamente attestato in un altro papiro ieroscopico, cf. P.Ross.Georg. 1.21.27–28; 81–82: ἐὰν [ἐ]π' αὐτῶν ἡ δοχὴ ε[ὔ]σημος· εὔσημος δέ, ὅταν κτλ.; 103–106: καὶ τ[ὸ] πᾶν ἦ ε[ὔ]σημ[ον] καὶ εὐμέγεθες καὶ στριφνόν, καὶ καρδία εὔσημος | καὶ ἀπαλὴ καὶ εὐχρους κτλ. Dal punto di vista paleografico sono problematici i resti di ε che non si accordano pienamente con il *ductus* di tale lettera altrimenti adottato dallo scriba.

Il. 7–9: non siamo sicuri che si tratti della fine del fr. 6: probabilmente i righi 1–6 e 7–8 non appartengono al medesimo frustulo del papiro.

Il. 7–8 τοῖς] | σοῖς θρέμμασι[ FG: σοῖς non è soddisfacente dal punto di vista logico-concettuale, perché la fraseologia del trattato non prevede la 2.<sup>a</sup> persona singolare, che non è contemplata nei testi divinatori a parte la serie di imperativi con invocazioni ilastiche, cioè propiziatricie, riguardo a una preghiera o un sacrificio da rivolgere alla divinità, per scongiurarne il favore. Per quanto concerne il significato di θρέμμα è allettante la possibilità che il lemma rimandi agli animali prescelti come vittime del sacrificio dallo *hieroskopos*, a tal fine dovevano soddisfare determinate caratteristiche, le quali potrebbero essere oggetto di una descrizione dettagliata in questo punto.

<sup>56</sup> Secondo l'edizione di FG, il fr. 6 comprende i righi del frustulo, la cui fotografia è pubblicata p. 6 (Il. 1–6) e altri tre (Il. 7–9) attaccati a col. 2 del fr. 1, vd. fotografia, ibid. p. 2.

## Fr. 7

Col. 1,<sup>57</sup> l. 5 ]εσοῦνται FG: meglio ]εσοῦντα[ι. Forse ἐμπεσοῦνται ο πεσοῦνται; cf. FG, p. 13.

l. 6 ] . υ . . ουσιγ FG: si attende qui la ricostruzione: ση]μαίγουσιγ, la lettura delle prime quattro lettere comporta difficoltà paleografiche. In alternativa, se postuliamo δ]ηλοῦσιγ, la lettura è improbabile sia per ragioni paleografiche sia per il fatto che questo verbo non è usato nel presente papiro per enunciare le conseguenze divinatorie.

l. 11 ] . πι FG: si può leggere la preposizione: ] ἐπί.

l. 16 ]γσι FG: Invece di σ si legge ξ, il che ci induce con grande probabilità a postulare nel nostro papiro il verbo usuale come enunciatore dei responsi: σημαί]γει, che ricorre come indicatore delle profezie.

l. 21 γσαι FG: la lettura αἰσαι ci sembra molto più probabile.

l. 22 ωπ . FG: Il *ductus* della prima lettera non si accorda con ω. Ci sembra più probabile la lettura ἄπο, che può essere la preposizione ἀπό, o la prima parte di un verbo composto o di un sostantivo (e.g. ἀποδημία, ἀπουσία).

l. 23 τ]ὸ ἡγέμον FG: nel contesto anatomico in esame ci pare più verisimile una ricostruzione del tipo κ[α]ῖ γέμον *vel sim.* + gen., e.g. ἡπαρ ... κ[α]ῖ γέμον | [χολῆς κτλ.] (cf. Lycophron, *Alexandra* 1115: πλήσει γέμοντα θυμὸν ἀγρίας χολῆς). Dato che lo scriba del papiro divide le parole tra due righe, è possibile che invece del neutro singolare γέμον possa avere impiegato un'altra forma del maschile o del neutro al singolare o al plurale, per es. γέμον[τος κτλ.], γέμον[τι κτλ.], γέμον[τα κτλ.], γέμον[τες κτλ.] etc.

l. 24 ἐρᾶτο η FG: la ricostruzione non trova paralleli nel presente contesto ieroscopico. Più ragionevole ci pare ricostruire quanto segue: [ἐξου]σία τὸ ἥ[παρ (al di sopra di α si distingue un tratto di inchiostro non interpretabile con sicurezza come segno diacritico o semplice macchia). Un'obiezione a tale ipotesi che postula le parole [ἐξου]σία (*vel sim.*) da un lato e τὸ ἥ[παρ dall'altro è che fra le parole [ἐξου]σία e τό si rileva un segno diacritico che possibilmente separa concettualmente le frasi. Quindi, in tal caso τὸ ἥ[παρ sarebbe l'inizio di un nuovo paragrafo con un ulteriore pronostico ieroscopico.

Col. 2, l. 5 εὐχη[ . . ] FG: invece di χ ci sembra più probabile un σ, cioè εὐση[μ-, i.e. εὔσημος come proposto per fr. 6.5. In alternativa, si

<sup>57</sup> Rispetto all'edizione di FG, p. 13 si rettifica la numerazione, tenendo conto anche dei righe precedenti in cui l'inchiostro è perito.

può ipotizzare εὔσι[ o εὔσυ[, postulando un lemma come εὐσύνοπτος, εὐσυνόπτως e simili.

l. 6 ] . υσαγοῦπο . [ FG: forse ] . υς ἀγουσῶν, presupponendo un genitivo assoluto? Bisogna aggiungere che può trattarsi di un verbo composto o di un altro sintagma, il problema con questa soluzione fra l'altro molto allettante è la lettura di ω, perché al centro di questa lettera mancano tracce d'inchostro.

l. 7 τὸ ἐ[π]ώνυμ[ον FG: s'integra, invece, τὸ ἐ[ῶ]ώνυμ[ον, considerata la simmetria tra lato sinistro e destro del fegato nella ieroscopia. Il riferimento alla parte sinistra è sicuro in vista della contrapposizione a quella destra, per cui è annotato al rigo seguente: τῷ δεξι[ῶ].

ll. 7 e 12: anche θεός, di cui si registrano due occorrenze in questa sezione, è ricordato al gen. a col. 3.1: θεοῦ, è riconducibile alla ieroscopia e indica una regione epatica, come conferma una glossa esichiana.<sup>58</sup> Il lemma equivale a δοχή, che compare all'accusativo plurale in uno dei frammenti ginevrini inediti (13, l. 4).<sup>59</sup>

ll. 7–8 ἀκολουθ[εῖ: ἀκολουθ[ο]ῦ[σ]ι[ν] [ἐπὶ] τῷ δεξιῷ. Del secondo υ di ἀκολουθ[ο]ῦ[σ]ι[ν] e dell'ῶ di δεξιῷ si sono salvate solo tracce molto esigue.

ll. 9–10 ὥς . . [ ] ἐ[σ]ταλμεν . . . . . ο ἔαν FG: gli editori ipotizzano che alla fine di l. 9 e all'inizio di l. 10 si debba ricostruire il verbo στέλλω. Tuttavia, pensiamo che sia più probabile postulare qui il composto ἐπιστέλλω. Proponiamo la ricostruzione del passaggio come segue: ὥς [ἐ]π[ε]σταλμέν . . . . . ο

ll. 10–11 ἐάν | δεκανα . . ασ FG: La ricostruzione proposta non ci pare soddisfacente. Di contro proponiamo: ἐάν | δ' ἐκτίγ[ω]σ[ι]ν. Tale protasi che descrive l'occorrenza del segno divinatorio va intesa con il significato: “se sono dilatati, espansi, allargati” alcuni lobi epatici sotto l'osservazione dello *hieroskopos*. Tuttavia, dobbiamo evidenziare che nel digramma γϞ le lettere sono molto ravvicinate tra di loro. In alternativa, si può pensare: ἐάν | δὲ καί.

l. 12 δύ[ω] ὁ' θεός: L'o al di sopra del rigo non configura una correzione ortografica di ω in δύω, come ritengono gli editori, bensì una aggiunta successiva dell'articolo ὁ, che è riferito alla parola seguente θεός. L'errore ortografico δύω rimase senza emendazione, come anche altri errori nel nostro papiro. Proponiamo la trascrizione: δύω (l. δύο) ὁ' θεός.

<sup>58</sup> Vd. Hsch. Θ 298 s.v. σημείον (*scil.* ἐν θυτικῇ).

<sup>59</sup> Vd. δοχάς in fr. 13 (= ined. 5), l. 4.



## Fr. 8

Si ricava solo una parola a l. 1: αὐτοῦ? e a l. 2 la traccia di una lettera.

## Fr. 9

Col. 2, ll. 4–5 δραπέτης FG: del gruppo δρα alla fine di l. 4 non rimane nulla, a parte tracce minimali, si giustifica solo per l'inizio del rigo seguente -πετης e soprattutto per il lemma δραπέτην a l. 7. Bisogna, tuttavia, rilevare che δραπέτης non si concilia necessariamente con quanto precede. Forse si tratta di più parole, non solo di una, per esempio le tre lettere finali potrebbero appartenere al genitivo dell'articolo femminile singolare τῆς.

l. 5 εὐρεθήσεται FG: la lettura proposta non si basa sulle tracce d'inchiestro preservate, in particolare per la finale, per il gruppo iniziale εὐρε vi sono alcune vestigia. Perciò non può essere accolta nel testo.

l. 6 χρηθύνειν FG: il lemma iniziale è accettabile, in θύνειν, ε è difficile, non si vede ι (θύε[ι]ν).

διώκοντα FG: qualche difficoltà presentano δ e κ.

ll. 7–8 δραπέτην, εἰ αἰνεῖ δι[α]δοκεῖν FG: si legge chiaramente il lemma iniziale, per il seguito non si legge affatto αἰνεῖ (“reading should be considered tentative” annotano giustamente FG, p. 19) né διαδοκεῖν (“divinatory reading,” *ibid.*) di cui si leggono con qualche certezza solo δι.

l. 9 διαφορᾷ τῆς σημειώσε[ως] FG: è esatto, alla fine bisogna segnare un punto fermo. Qui, infatti, ha termine un'unità sintattica e forse anche un capitolo del manuale *de extis* in esame. La *semeiosis* è da intendere in senso tecnico come l'interpretazione del segno divinatorio previamente offerta dallo *hieroskopos*.

ll. 10–12: sono perduti i rigi di scrittura per lacerazione delle fibre del papiro. Non sappiamo perciò se la superficie superiore perduta recasse tracce di scrittura oppure se vi fosse un *vacuum*, per rimarcare che subito dopo aveva inizio un nuovo capitolo del libro di epatoscopia.

l. 15 δραπέτου ο[ ] : la lettera finale prima della lacuna ci pare σ, donde -ετους[, mentre π presenta un *ductus* differente, si legge meglio ν, per esempio: ἐ]ὰν ἔτους [ *vel sim.*

l. 16 . . . κατατου η τ[ FG: una ricostruzione come ξγδοξα τὰ τοῦ non darebbe un senso soddisfacente nel contesto ieroscopico. Offriamo un tentativo di lettura possibile: κατὰ τοῦ . . . τ[. La lettera iniziale in ogni

caso non è η, perché la sezione inferiore destra di questa lettera è molto stretta ed inclinata verso sinistra.

1. 17 καὶ ἐν τῇ κελε[ύθωι Costanza (n. 3, 2004–2005) e FG: Del κ di καὶ sono preservate tracce minime. Si tratta evidentemente, come abbiamo anticipato, della κέλευθος, la membrana epatica, di cui si discute anche nel fr. 1–8, col. 2, non di un viaggio intrapreso dallo schiavo fuggito dalla custodia del suo padrone. In precedenza nel fr. 1, col. 1 è ordinato un sacrificio ilastico, cioè propiziatorio,<sup>60</sup> mentre nei rigli seguenti è discussa una divergenza interpretativa,<sup>61</sup> di rimando alle usuali controverse vigenti nella lettura delle viscere.<sup>62</sup> In tale sezione del manuale lo *hieroskopos* esamina ragionevolmente il medesimo dotto epatico, di cui si discute nel fr. 1 alla ricerca di un'anomalia, ad esempio una ciste, un ispessimento o un altro segno ritenuto premonitore, dal quale trae origine l'*observatio*. Nel fr. 9 è affrontato il tema del recupero di uno schiavo fuggitivo, un problema molto sentito in età imperiale e dunque ampiamente trattato nei manuali divinatori ed astrologici.<sup>63</sup> Il lemma non indica la via intrapresa dall'evaso, una volta sottrattosi alla tutela del padrone, come presumono FG, ma pertiene ancora al lessico tecnico dell'estispicina, che consente di risolvere il problema.<sup>64</sup>

Riguardo all'inizio del rigo vi sono due possibilità: possiamo leggere: καὶ ἐν τῇ κελε[ύθωι oppure: Ἀί ἐν τῇ κελε[ύθωι. In quest'ultimo caso

<sup>60</sup> Fr. 9, col. 2, l. 6: χρῆ θύειν.

<sup>61</sup> Fr. 9, col. 2, ll. 8–9: τ[ῆ]ι | διαφορᾷ τῆς σημειώσε[ως]. Sono note le dispute tra Senofonte e Silano, il comandante e lo *hieroskopos* ufficiale della spedizione dei Diecimila, vd. e.g. X. An. 5.6.17 e 29, Senofonte, insofferente degli intrighi orditi dallo *hieroskopos*, aspira a comunicare direttamente (ἀνακοινῶσαι) con gli dèi (6.1.22) attraverso i rituali dell'epatoscopia, cfr. A.D. Nock, "Religious Attitudes of the Ancient Greeks," *PAPhS* 85 (1942) 475 = Id., *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* (Oxford 1972) 2.539; S.I. Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination* (Malden/Mass.-Oxford 2008) 36.

<sup>62</sup> In età classica l'*Eingeweiðeschau* era ancora un sapere orale in ristrette cerchie di professionisti, mentre in età imperiale grazie al progresso della cultura libraria è diffusa su larga scala, come attestano i papiri. In tal modo tali conoscenze erano fruibili ai lettori interessati ai fondamenti della *technē*. La circolazione di materiale non risolse le divergenze tra profezie desunte da fonti eterogenee, ma contribuì alla cernita operata dai redattori tramite la giustapposizione di pronostici pur se talora contraddittori. Si pensi alle spiegazioni alternative addotte in *hypomnemata* di opere letterarie.

<sup>63</sup> Nell'astrologia catarchica del IV secolo Massimo di Efeso dedica al tema la sezione del suo poema astrologico *De auct. VIII Περί δραπετῶν* vv. 320–437, ed. A. Ludwich, *Maximi et Ammonis Carminum de actionum auspiciis reliquiae. Accedunt anecdota astrologica* (Leipzig 1872) 26–35 = N. Zito, *Maxime, Des Initiatives* (Paris 2016) 15–20; cfr. la questione Περί δραπετῶν in Heph.Theb., *Apotel.* 3.47 ed. Pingree <sup>(n. 32)</sup> 1.317–329; Id. *Epir.* 1.50, ed. Pingree <sup>(n. 32)</sup> 2.33–39.

<sup>64</sup> FG, p. 19 prediligono l'accezione letterale di "way," "route" in relazione ai fuggitivi. Invece, l'epatoscopia giova ad interpretare anche un problema pratico come la fuga dello schiavo.

al principio del rigo non c'è una lettera, ma una *paragraphos*. Bisogna integrare un lemma di genere femminile al nominativo plurale. La seconda possibilità offre il vantaggio che si presenta all'inizio di l. 17 un nuovo responso divinatorio. Vi è, tuttavia, il problema che si rileva una linea orizzontale abbastanza stretta.

Dalla serie di lettere  $\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota$  si potrebbe ricostruire  $\epsilon\gamma\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda[\lambda\omega\ \text{o}\ \epsilon\gamma\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda[\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma$  (*scil.*  $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega/-\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ), con la menzione di in un altro  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{o}\mu\eta\mu\alpha$  presupposto come una fonte dalla quale confluiscono diverse predizioni, come notato (vd. comm. a fr. 1, col. 2.13).

l. 19  $\delta\rho\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\omicron\iota$  FG: se la seconda lettera è  $\rho$ , il circolo è molto stretto, forse è da leggere:  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ . Se questo è esatto, si può pensare alla seguente ricostruzione del testo:  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \pi\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon$ . Bisogna, nondimeno, ammettere che per la seconda lettera della parola la  $\epsilon$  sembra dal punto di vista paleografico una lettura più verisimile che non  $\omicron$ .

Quindi, in  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\omicron\iota$  evidentemente per un refuso tipografico manca l'accento in  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ . L'ultima lettera, invece, non ci pare  $\omicron$ . Più verisimile è un  $\epsilon$ , potremmo pensare un supplemento come per esempio:  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\epsilon[\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta-$  (cf. l. 17).

l. 20 ] .  $\gamma\omicron$  .  $\epsilon$  . [ FG: alla fine forse  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}[\nu$  .

l. 22 ] .  $\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\mu\iota$  FG: alla fine ci sono tracce di una lettera, ma non si tratta certo di quelle di un  $\mu$ . Sarebbe più probabile per esempio  $\eta$ . Invece di  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\mu\iota$  o meglio  $\alpha\lambda\omega\sigma$  . [ si avanza la lettura: ] . .  $\alpha\mu\omicron\sigma$  . [. Tuttavia,  $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\varsigma$  non va postulato qui perché la prima lettera non può essere letta come  $\gamma$ .

l. 23 ]  $\tau\omega\delta\epsilon$  FG: forse]  $\tau\tilde{\omega}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$  [ e.g., meno probabili  $\tau\tilde{\omega}\delta\epsilon$ , [ $\tilde{\eta}$ ] $\tau\omega\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ ,  $\delta\epsilon-$ .

l. 24 ] .  $\gamma\kappa\omicron$  . [:  $\nu$  non è sicuro, forse si tratta di due lettere. Di seguito meglio  $\kappa\epsilon$ . Una ricostruzione allettante sarebbe: ]  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \kappa\epsilon[\lambda]\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon[\theta\omega$ , come a l. 17, tuttavia, il  $\lambda$  che dovrebbe essere postulato nella breve lacuna sarebbe molto stretto, il che rende tale ipotesi problematica.

### Fr. 11

Per la somiglianza della scrittura questo frammento (= P.Gen. inv. 485) è stato accostato al rotolo in esame da Paul Schubert e dai collaboratori della Biblioteca di Ginevra.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>65</sup> = Ined. 3.

Col. 1, l. 2 χῶρος FG: i bibliotecari di Ginevra avevano proposto κῶτος, ma questa lettura va respinta. Se non si esclude ι a fronte di ρ, il *ductus* di κ con tratti obliqui accentuati contrasta la resa della medesima lettera a col. 2.5. Tuttavia, pare opportuno segnalare un elemento di interesse di rimando al nome di un tiro degli astragali, il “tiro di Coo” corrispondente al lato stretto, concavo dal valore di 6 punti.<sup>66</sup> L’associazione tra ieroscopia e astragalomanzia non sorprende, se si immagina che i consultanti del manuale epatoscopico possano lanciare gli astragali prima di procedere all’esame del fegato. Del resto, la cleromanzia tramite il lancio di astragali s’impose in Grecia anche prima della ieroscopia. A Cipro nel santuario di Afrodite a Pafo, che è un centro di notevole rilievo per la splancnomanzia, fin dall’età ellenistica sono documentati oracoli tramite il lancio di astragali in concomitanza con la lettura degli *exta*.<sup>67</sup> Infine, sono documentati casi di χ in luogo di κ in posizione iniziale nei papiri,<sup>68</sup> ma in assenza di altri elementi probanti su tiri di astragali e simili nel frammento non ci si può arrischiare ad avanzare ipotesi in tal senso.

Col. 2, l. 5 βεβηκη . FG: si potrebbe proporre un caso obliquo come βεβηκῶ[τος, βεβηκῶ[τι etc., tuttavia è più probabile lettura di un ω e, quindi, del nominativo maschile βεβηκῶ[ς. A tal riguardo è da comparare ancora una volta il contesto epatoscopico di pertinenza: δεξιῶι ἀσφαλῶς βεβηκῶτι, riguardo al “piede” destro, un’appendice fissata saldamente al fegato.<sup>69</sup> E ancora citare τὰ μεταβεβηκότα σημεῖα, i segni concomitanti discussi in un altro papiro di ieroscopia.<sup>70</sup>

## Fr. 12

l. 5 δοῦλ[οι: si integra preferibilmente δούλω, preceduto da un segno d’interpunzione. Il dativo introduce qui una *vita*, cioè un pronostico individuale destinato ad una specifica categoria di consultanti come gli schiavi, conformemente ad una modalità caratteristica della letteratura divinatoria, notoriamente dei manuali palmomantici. Si pensi alla tetrade canonica di *P.Flor.* 3.391 (= *CPG* 1): δούλος, παρθένος, χήρα, στρατιώτης, in cui

<sup>66</sup> Per i nomi dei lati degli astragali, vd. Arist., *Hist.An.* 2.1, 499b26–31, *De cael.* 2.12, 292a28–29, cfr. Nollé (n. 51) 7–9, con analisi in dettaglio di tali *voces technicae*; S. Costanza, *Giulio Polluce, Onomasticon, Excerpta de ludis* (Alessandria 2019) 200–203.

<sup>67</sup> Cfr. Nollé (n. 51) 15, 269–276 per un oracolo alfabetico dal santuario cipriota di Afrodite a Soli.

<sup>68</sup> Cfr. Gignac (n. 30) 91.

<sup>69</sup> Vd. *PSI* 10.1178, fr. 1.3.

<sup>70</sup> *P.Amh.* 2.14 recto 2.

responsi per lo schiavo, la ragazza da marito, la vedova ed il soldato fanno seguito al pronostico generale, valevole per tutti indistintamente. La stessa serie regolare di βίοι è enumerata in *P.Param.* 4, ad eccezione del soldato che non vi è menzionato.<sup>71</sup> Nel trattato ieroscopico in esame si evince dal fr. 10 (= ined. 2) un riferimento alla *vita* dei servi (ll. 3–4) e delle donne (ll. 1, 2).

ll. 6–7 πο]λνοῦσιν πόδες FG: non va postulato qui un richiamo ai piedi doloranti, bensì il verbo enunciatore dei responsi divinatori, vale a dire: σημαί]λνουσιν. Πόδες. Beninteso si tratta sempre dei piedi del fegato.<sup>72</sup>

l. 10 τρῦοι ἐνπόδισ[α FG: si avanza ugualmente ἐν ποδι[. Tale pronostico si riferisce ai “piedi” da intendere quali appendici epatiche, come stabilito. Anche un sostantivo come ἐμπόδισμα mantiene in ogni caso l’associazione semantica collegata alla denominazione metaforica di tale membrana. I “piedi del fegato” menzionati a l. 7 esprimono, infatti, un impedimento a partire dall’idea per analogia di avere qualcosa tra i piedi che ci è di ostacolo, come confermano i paralleli della letteratura palmomantica.<sup>73</sup>

### Fr. 13

l. 1 . . . . τ[: forse τ[οῦτο.

l. 2 ξενοῦν θεοῦ[ FG: il primo lemma non è convincente, per θεοῦ probabilmente al singolare si rinvia a θεός, che, come rilevato, è un *signum* dell’epatoscopia.

l. 3 μέγ: è problematico.

l. 4 καὶ τοῖς δοχὰς θελ[ FG: alla fine leggesi δοχὰς ἐὰν. Bisogna ricusare l’idea che questo lemma indichi un ricevimento offerto ai propri familiari, come immaginano gli editori, sulla base di ‘feste’ presupposte al rigo seguente.<sup>74</sup> Le δοχαί hanno, invece, la valenza tecnica

<sup>71</sup> Per tali pronostici individualizzati nella letteratura palmomantica cfr. Papathomas (n. 9) 22; Costanza (n. 3) 94–97.

<sup>72</sup> Vd. FG, p. 21 *ad loc.*

<sup>73</sup> Per il tremito del piede sinistro è pronosticato in *P.Ryl.* 1.28 (sec. IV), ll. 189–190: δδὸν πορευομένῳ ἑνποδισθῆναι (l. ἐμποδισθῆναι). Vd. la recensione medievale *de palpitationibus* A 152, ove il polpaccio sinistro sussultando pronostica un ἐμπόδιον τῆς προκειμένης ὁδοῦ.

<sup>74</sup> A l. 5: περὶ ἑορ[τῶν. FG, p. 23: “Moreover in the next line we hear of ‘festivals’ so it seems more likely that δοχὰς here means ‘receptions’ for one’s own family (4 τοῖς σοῖς).” Altrimenti, si dovrebbe pensare alle cerimonie celebrate in occasione del sacrificio cruento oggetto dell’indagine divinatoria.

desunta dal lessico dell'anatomia epatica in quanto "ricettacolo" della bile, come nel fr. 2, 16.

l. 5 ὅταν δὲ περὶ ἑορτῶν: la lettura non è sicura, in particolare né per la congiunzione iniziale, né per il sostantivo integrato. Al riguardo non si può pensare in ogni caso a feste generiche, non meglio precisate (vd. comm. a l. 4).

l. 6 ποιοῦμεν FG: è un'altra lettura divinatoria, non suffragata dalle tracce superstiti. Si leggono chiare vestigia di -ου-. Dal punto di vista sintattico è ingiustificato l'impiego della 1. persona plurale, dal momento che il trattato prevede un'esposizione tecnica, in 3. persona. Ugualmente, da escludere θέλωμεν (l. 8).

### *Conclusioni*

Dal complesso delle osservazioni addotte si accerta che i frammenti della Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire di Ginevra preservano i resti di un manuale di ieroscopia, vale a dire un'esposizione articolata di pronostici concepita a fini didattici e destinata all'apprendimento dei principi basilari di questo metodo di indagine divinatoria. Evidentemente, la mantica applicata alla θυτική riscuote larga fortuna in età imperiale romana. Si giustifica, pertanto, la produzione e diffusione di copie di tali ὑπομνήματα destinati non soltanto alla ristretta cerchia di professionisti e addetti templari, ma invero a tutti i lettori interessati a conoscerne i fondamenti ed acquisire un controllo non superficiale delle regole semiotiche che presiedono all'esegesi nel processo dell'epatoscopia.

Le presenti notazioni giovano alla riconsiderazione critica e riedizione di tali frammenti fondata sul riconoscimento della loro pertinenza alla letteratura *de extis*, nel cui insieme rappresentano una testimonianza di indubbio interesse.

## CARBON DATING AND THE TCHACOS CODEX<sup>1</sup>

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*Abstract.* — In the 2007 National Geographic publication of the Tchacos codex, Herbert Krosney argued through radiometric evidence that the famous codex had a date of 280 CE ( $\pm 60$  years). Krosney's date would have placed this codex before the era of Constantine and the rise of official imperial Christianity and would indeed establish this codex as the earliest securely dated Christian manuscript. The present discussion will review Krosney's use of <sup>14</sup>C evidence and consider what limitations this method offers to scholars of ancient manuscripts in general.

*Keywords:* Tchacos codex, *Gospel of Judas*, radiometric dating, calibration, paleography

### *Gospel of Judas and Public Media Sensationalism*

In 1983, Stephen Emmel and Ludwig Koenen appraised three boxes containing the remains of papyrus manuscripts during a Geneva visit for Southern Methodist University.<sup>2</sup> The two scholars determined that these three boxes contained the partial remains of four codices which can be described as follows: a Greek Exodus codex, a Greek mathematical treatise codex, a Sahidic Pauline epistles codex, and the now infamous Sahidic codex containing the *Gospel of Judas* plus three other extra-canonical texts. The university rejected a three-million-dollar price for the manuscripts, and the manuscripts basically disappeared from public sight until Rodolphe Kasser announced the collaborative conservation and publication of the

<sup>1</sup> The author would like to thank the National Geographic Society for making the radio-carbon results available. Also, his gratitude extends to Timothy Jull, Lance Jenott, Josephine Dru and Peter Kirby who all provided valuable feedback on this piece. Suggestions from Peter van Minnen and two peer reviewers improved this article on many levels. The author presented an earlier version of this article at the 2014 Society of Biblical Literature, Nag Hammadi and Gnosticism section. Originally, this research was to be published in a Brill / Museum of the Bible volume along with the original lab results from 2005 as well as radiometric results from a variety of Green Collection and MOTB manuscripts. Unless otherwise stated, the present discussion uses OxCal 4.4.2 (IntCal 20).

<sup>2</sup> S. Emmel, "L'Évangile de Judas, de la tombe au musée: l'épopée rocambolesque du manuscrit damné," *Religions et Histoire* 11 (2006) 24–29.



manuscript by the National Geographic Society and the Maecenas Foundation during a 2004 International Congress of Coptic Studies.<sup>3</sup>

National Geographic paid two million dollars to the Maecenas Foundation for exclusive rights to publish the *Gospel of Judas* and launched a publicity campaign which presented the gospel as the text condemned by Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons.<sup>4</sup> The Sahidic *Gospel of Judas* was in this light a rehabilitation of the traitor Judas, a witness to a divergent sect of pre-Constantinian Christianity and ultimately supposedly shocking evidence for an entirely different Christianity formerly lost and forgotten. Although the National Geographic Society collaborated with a broad group of experts in Coptic and Christian Origins to publish the text through online PDFs and traditional monographs, the most public form of dissemination was the televised documentary and the media hype associated with its promotion. In this regard, the reader should consider the tone of the introduction of the documentary, which premiered exactly one week before Easter Sunday, 2006:

He's the one who handed over his friend. He's the one who brought about the crucifixion, and he's the one who's damned for all time. Now, hidden for nearly 2,000 years, an ancient gospel emerges from the sands of Egypt.

<sup>3</sup> R. Kasser, "Un nouvel apocryphe copte devient accessible à la science: ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΔ," in N. Bosson and A. Boud'hors (eds.), *Actes du huitième congrès international d'études coptes*, Paris, 28 Juin – 3 Juillet 2004 (Leuven 2007) 2.501–510. For the most complete account of the history of the codex, the reader should consult Herbert Krosney's magisterial monograph. Although the current discussion challenges his presentation of the radiometric dating, the monograph as a whole is an excellent resource. H. Krosney, *The Lost Gospel: The Quest for the Gospel of Judas Iscariot* (Washington, DC 2007).

<sup>4</sup> "And others say that Cain was from the superior realm of absolute power, and confess that Esau, Korah, the Sodomites, and all such persons are of the same people as themselves: for this reason they have been hated by their maker, although none of them has suffered harm. For Wisdom [Sophia] snatched up out of them whatever belonged to her. And Judas the betrayer was thoroughly acquainted with these things, they say: and he alone was acquainted with the truth as no other were, and so accomplished the mystery of the betrayal. By him all things, both earthly and heavenly, were thrown into dissolution. And they bring forth a fabricated work to this effect, which they entitle the *Gospel of Judas*." Trans. G. Wurst in Rodolphe Kasser, Marvin W. Meyer, and Gregor Wurst, *The Gospel of Judas* (Washington, DC 2006), 123. Latin: *Alii autem rursus Cain a superiore principitate dicunt, et Esau et Core et Sodomitae et omnes tales cognatos suos confitentur: et propter hoc a factore impugnatos, neminem ex eis malum accepisse. Sophia enim illud quod proprium ex ea erat abripiebat ex eis ad semetipsam, et haec Iudam proditorem diligenter cognovisse dicunt, et solum prae ceteris cognoscentem veritatem, perfecisse proditiōnis mysterium: per quem et terrena et caelestia omnia dissoluta dicunt, et confinctionem adferunt huiusmodi, Iudae euangelium illud uocantes* (*Adv.Haer.* 1.31.1, ed. A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau, *Sources Chrétiennes* 264 [Paris 1979] 386). For a discussion of the text in light of the discovery of the *Gospel of Judas*, see J. van Oort, "Irenaeus's Knowledge of the *Gospel of Judas*: Real or False? An Analysis of the Evidence in Context," *HTS Theological Studies* 69 (2013) 1–8.

It tells a different story. One that could challenge our deepest beliefs. This account turns the story of Christ's betrayal on its head. Here, the betrayer becomes a hero, and Jesus Christ arranges his own execution.<sup>5</sup>

Mario Roberty, the president of the collaborating Maecenas Foundation,<sup>6</sup> speculated that, "It is highly logical that the Catholic Church would have kept a copy of the forbidden gospels. Sadly, the Vatican does not want to clarify further."<sup>7</sup> The broader media attention on the subject only served to exaggerate the threat which the newly rediscovered *Gospel of Judas* offered to the traditionally-held Christian faith.

The prior paragraphs have presented the sensationalism related to the National Geographic publication of the *Gospel of Judas*. The present discussion will consider how the National Geographic Society misrepresented radiometric dating to suggest that the Tchacos codex had its origin in the late third century.<sup>8</sup> At that time, such a date would have made this codex the earliest securely-dated Coptic literary manuscript.<sup>9</sup> The present evaluation of the radiometric dating will argue for a probable origin in the fourth century.

### *National Geographic Society and Radiometric Dating*

Three print volumes resulted from the National Geographic investigation. The first, associated primarily with Marvin Meyer, included contributions from various other scholars. In this volume, the reader encounters the historic milieu from which the *Gospel of Judas* arose, learning about Sethian gnostic beliefs and how the *Gospel of Judas* related to pre-Constantinian Christianity.<sup>10</sup> A second scholarly critical edition, overseen by Rodolphe

<sup>5</sup> J. Barrat, "The Gospel of Judas" (National Geographic Channel, April 9, 2006).

<sup>6</sup> Roberty serves as president of the Maecenas Foundation and is also the personal attorney of antiquities dealer Frieda Nussberger-Tchacos. Tchacos would soon be arrested in Cyprus and deported to Italy to testify in the Giacomo Medici scandal; N. Brodie, "The Lost, Found, Lost Again and Found Again *Gospel of Judas*," *Culture without Context* 19 (2006) 25.

<sup>7</sup> H. Schutten, "The *Gospel of Judas* Surfaced," trans. M. van Rijn, *Het Parool*, October 7, 2005.

<sup>8</sup> Peter Head has already raised some general questions about the radiocarbon dating, and, in particular, the exclusion of the "loose fragment" mentioned here; "The *Gospel of Judas* and the Qarara Codices: Some Preliminary Observations," *Tyndale Bulletin* 58 (2007) 11–13.

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of dating Greek and Coptic manuscripts, cf.: Ch. Askeland, "Dating Early Greek and Coptic Literary Hands," in H. Lundhaug and L. Jenott (eds.), *The Nag Hammadi Codices in the Context of Fourth- and Fifth-Century Christianity in Egypt* (Tübingen 2018) 457–489.

<sup>10</sup> Kasser, Meyer, and Wurst (n. 4).

Kasser, presented the new manuscript to scholars with images, transcription, translation, commentary and a discussion of the Coptic dialect.<sup>11</sup>

The third print volume targeted a popular audience and focused on the broader history of the artefact. The author, Herbert Krosney, has produced a number of historical documentaries dealing with Russia, Israel, the Holocaust, and the Second World War for which he has won several awards.<sup>12</sup> Krosney, with a Harvard degree in English and French literature, has likewise authored or co-authored three other books, securing a successful career as an academically-minded journalist. In particular, his popular introduction to the *Gospel of Judas* extensively reconstructed the manuscript's journey from Egypt through the international antiquities market to its Swiss owner and antiquities collaborators. Generally speaking, Krosney's edition is an outstanding contribution to current knowledge about this manuscript and provides valuable information to complement the two other National Geographic Society print publications.

Each of the three print publications which have just been discussed commented on the radiometric dating of the Tchacos codex, although Krosney's publication was the only to relay any specifics about the results. The Meyer edition contains the following estimation of a date in a chapter ascribed to Gregor Wurst:

Since the codex was not found by archaeologists during a scientific excavation – in which case its date could be determined with a high degree of certainty – we can only apply the traditional method of comparing its design and the form of writing with other datable papyrus codices, such as those preserved within the Nag Hammadi library. This indicates a date in the first half of the fourth century, but dating manuscripts by this method is a delicate task and the degree of uncertainty remains high. A carbon-14 analysis executed by A. J. Timothy Jull from the University of Arizona dated the codex to around the last quarter of the third century (give or take a few decades). This dating may be confirmed by the investigation of the papyrus scraps (called cartonnage) used in the binding, or spine, of the codex, since such scraps – for

<sup>11</sup> R. Kasser and G. Wurst (eds.), *The Gospel of Judas, Critical Edition Together with the Letter of Peter to Phillip, James, and a Book of Allogenes from Codex Tchacos* (Washington, DC 2007).

<sup>12</sup> E.g. *The Russian Connection* (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and PBS co-production), *The Islamic Bomb* and *The Secrets of Samarra* (BBC Panorama), *Ivan the Terrible: The Demjanjuk Factor* (BBC-1 and PBS), *Blood and Iron: The Story of the German War Machine* (A&E/The History Channel, FR3 [France], Discovery [Europe], and MPI Home Video), *Jerusalem* with Martin Gilbert and *Israel: Birth of a Nation* (A&E/The History Channel), *Millennia Junction: The Holy Land Through the Ages* (Israel's commercial channel), *Invisible Blessings: A Story of Nuclear Science and Medicine* and *The Boys*; [http://www.nationalgeographic.com/lostgospel/Herbert\\_Krosney.html](http://www.nationalgeographic.com/lostgospel/Herbert_Krosney.html) (accessed 12 March 2014; now offline).

example, tax receipts or other legal documents – normally are dated. But these papyrus scraps still have to be restored.<sup>13</sup>

In the small print “Publisher’s note” at the end of the manuscript, one reads a more conservative estimation:

In early January 2005, scientists at the AMS lab completed their radiocarbon-dating testing. While individual samples’ calibrated ages varied, the mean calendar age for the collection was between CE 220 and 340, with an error margin of  $\pm$  sixty years. According to AMS Lab Director Dr. Tim Jull and research scientist Greg Hodgins, “the calibrated ages of the papyrus and leather samples are tightly clustered and place the age of the Codices with the Third or Fourth centuries A.D.”<sup>14</sup>

Apparently, Wurst interpreted the date based upon a second-hand account of the information, namely the mean calibrated result of  $280 \pm$  sixty years. Similarly, in the scholarly critical edition edited by Kasser with various other scholars, Wurst repeated this estimation, placing the papyrus “presumably the first half of the fourth century, although the carbon-14 analysis also allows for a date in the last decades of the third century.”<sup>15</sup>

Although the present discussion will not engage questions of paleographic dating, one could note that at least one scholar has recognized a general resemblance to the Nag Hammadi corpus.<sup>16</sup> Pasquale Orsini, an expert on the art of Greek paleography, has argued that paleographical results conflict with the National Geographic radiometric analysis. The Italian scholar indicates a date at the end of the fourth century and the beginning of fifth century based upon the stylized form of the script.<sup>17</sup> Ironically, Herbert Krosney described Kasser’s earliest paleographic assessment, presented at the 2004 International Congress of Coptic Studies, incorrectly suggesting that the radiometric testing demonstrated an earlier date

<sup>13</sup> Kasser, Meyer, and Wurst (n. 4) 133–134.

<sup>14</sup> Kasser, Meyer, and Wurst (n. 4) 184. Both statements above appear in the televised documentary, although the documentary cited Jull’s mean as  $280 \text{ AD} \pm 50$  years.

<sup>15</sup> Kasser and Wurst (n. 11) 27.

<sup>16</sup> Kevin Mulroy quotes Stephen Emmel: “The kind of writing reminds me very much of the Nag Hammadi codices. It’s not identical script with any of them. But it’s a similar type of script” (Krosney [n. 3] 328).

<sup>17</sup> “To attribute a manuscript written in this form of Biblical majuscule to approximately the middle of the fourth century would mean bringing forward the start of the process of transformation of the canon of Biblical majuscule in the Coptic world by about half a century in relation to the Greek world. One hypothetical solution for reconciling the findings of the radiocarbon and palaeographical analysis would be that the actual papyrus was made around the middle of the fourth century but was only used for writing on at least half a century after this. But there is no certain evidence that this was the case”: P. Orsini, *Studies on Greek and Coptic Majuscule Scripts and Books* (Berlin 2019) 127.

than that offered by the Swiss Coptologist: “Based on the handwriting, the fact sheet stated, the codex could be dated to the fourth or fifth century (carbon dating would later establish an earlier date for the manuscript).”<sup>18</sup>

*Krosney’s Presentation of the Radiometric Data*

Over the course of seven pages, Krosney related the results of the radiometric dating of the Tchacos codex, although not with the precision which the reader might have expected. His misrepresentation of the information is as complicated as the information itself and can be summarized as follows in an increasing order of significance:

- (a) Typo: a BP year listed as 279 should be 266.
- (b) “Present” year incorrectly understood as 2005 (date of test) and not 1950
- (c) Conflated two samples into one (leather and papyrus from binding)
- (d) Misunderstood calibration, used simple subtraction
- (e) Disregarded the official conclusion of the AMS report

The chart below summarizes Krosney’s presentation of the data. The following discussion will review the five errors presented above in light of the results which Timothy Jull has shared with permission from the National Geographic Society.

Table 1: Krosney’s misleading radiometric dating presentation

Sample	<sup>14</sup> C age	date	uncertainty
Cover papyrus	1796	209 CE	±58
Loose papyrus	1672	333 CE	±48
Leather and papyrus	1782	223 CE	±51
Papyrus (p. 9)	1739	[266] CE	±50
Papyrus (p. 33)	1726	279 CE	±47

(a) The typo

Krosney presents the fragments from pages 9 and 33 as having BP results (described below) of 1739 and 1726, respectively, yet he produces the same date, 279 CE, for both samples.<sup>19</sup> In a sense, his error is not significant, because he has systematically calculated all of the dates incor-

<sup>18</sup> Krosney (n. 3) 238.

<sup>19</sup> Krosney (n. 3) 273.

rectly from the BP numbers, as described in the next entry. The number [266] reconstructs the year according to Krosney's incorrect formula.

- (b) "Present" year misunderstood as 2005 (date of test) and not 1950

BP stands for "Before Present," and represents a mathematical conversion of the remaining carbon isotope. The number describes the theoretical amount of time between the organism's death and the "present" time. In order to standardize results and prevent confusion, the year 1950 is used in radiometric dating as a standard point of reference. Therefore, all of Krosney's dates have been calculated 55 years too late, since he used 2005 as the "present." However, even if Krosney had correctly calculated by subtracting from 1950, he still would have been in error. BP dates are no longer the final result. Instead, scholars compare the BP result against a database of BP results from ancient samples with known dates (calibration).<sup>20</sup> Calibration is discussed further in (e) below.

- (c) Conflated two samples into one (Leather and papyrus from binding)

According to the AMS laboratory results which Krosney received, the third sample, "leather and papyrus," separated during the cleaning process, allowing the scientists to test the two materials (i.e. papyrus and leather) separately. The laboratory produced two results for this sample (leather, 1782 BP; papyrus, 1794 BP). Krosney cites only the result for the leather and not the papyrus.

- (d) Misunderstood calibration, used simple subtraction

To explain Krosney's misunderstanding of calibration, a simplified description of the science may be helpful.<sup>21</sup> All living organisms contain carbon, a primary chemical element in our planet's life cycle. Almost 99% of the earth's carbon consists of atoms with six protons and six neutrons (<sup>12</sup>C) and is stable in terms of its atomic longevity. Carbon with six protons and eight neutrons (<sup>14</sup>C) makes up only about one part per trillion of the atmosphere and is the sick old man of the carbon isotope family with

<sup>20</sup> P.J. Bartlein et al., "Calibration of Radiocarbon Ages and the Interpretation of Paleoenvironmental Records," *Quaternary Research* 44 (1995) 417–424.

<sup>21</sup> The above discussion ignores a number of complexities. For a more sophisticated discussion of the many variables involved in radiometric dating, and specifically in calibrating the results, cf. Ch. Bronk Ramsey, "Radiocarbon Dating: Revolutions in Understanding," *Archaeometry* 50 (2008) 249–275; Ch. Bronk Ramsey et al., "Developments in the Calibration and Modeling of Radiocarbon Dates," *Radiocarbon* 52 (2010) 953–961.

a half-life of approximately 5,720 years. Because of its comparatively short half-life,  $^{14}\text{C}$  is particularly useful for radiometric testing. Ideally, if a deceased organism were to lie uncontaminated, scientists could reconstruct the time of death based upon the  $^{14}\text{C}$  remaining.

Unfortunately, the amount of  $^{14}\text{C}$  in the earth's atmosphere has not remained stable throughout the ages. Cosmic radiation in the earth's outer atmosphere continually produces amounts of carbon, perhaps in stable amounts, perhaps not. The earth's oceans and glaciers likewise may absorb or release trapped and potentially "radioactive dead" carbon, causing the atmosphere to appear older. Likewise, solar events could generate abnormally high amounts of  $^{14}\text{C}$ , causing the atmosphere to appear younger. Thus, if during some terrestrial event the amount of  $^{14}\text{C}$  in the atmosphere were to dip significantly, those animals who died during this period would appear according to radiometric testing to be more ancient than they actually were.

This is where calibration is important. Scientists have tracked the historic levels of  $^{14}\text{C}$  through samples with known dates – namely through carbon dating tree rings (dendrochronology). Although Krosney failed to robustly convey the actual calibrated results, he deserves credit in two respects. First, he was intentionally attempting to simplify a complex set of data for a popular audience. Second, he actually did present the calibration which undergirded the statements on dating made in other National Geographic Society publications and which deserves description here. The oft-cited date for the Tchacos codex of 280 CE  $\pm$ 60 years derives from the arithmetic mean (or average) of all of the samples' BP numbers, excluding the loose papyrus fragment. Krosney explained the matter as follows:

Averaged out, with all sorts of input from statistical methods, the mean year of the measurements was 280 CE. "Give or take sixty years on either side and I can say with confidence that is the age of the codex," Jull declared.<sup>22</sup>

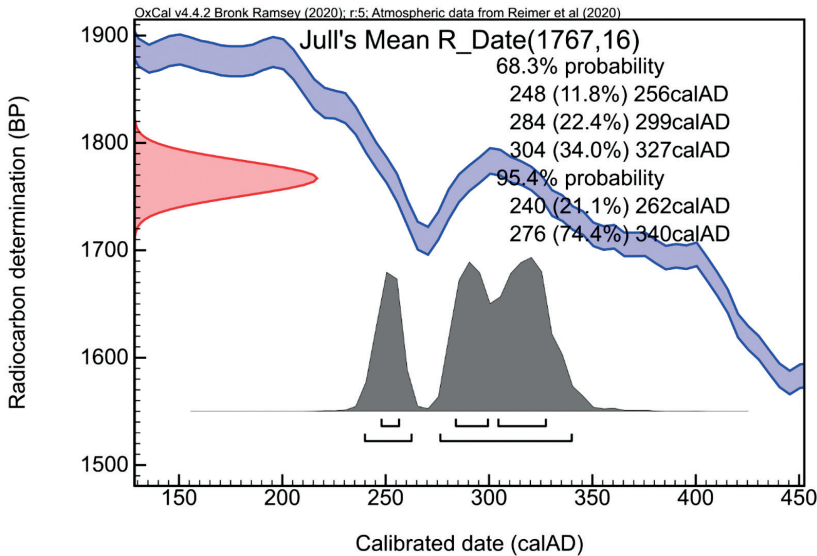
Timothy Jull has averaged the selected sample BP numbers ( $[1796 + 1794 + 1782 + 1739 + 1726] \div 5 = 1767$ ). The date range has been derived from calibrating the averaged BP number with samples with known dates and plotting the results on a graph.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Krosney (n. 3) 274.

<sup>23</sup> For the actual graphs, cf. below. Timothy Jull calculated his results with Intcal 2004 data set, whereas the results here are based upon the Intcal 2020 data set. The resultant differences are minor enough that the current discussion does not discuss them. The first



Graph 1: Jull's Mean



The novelty in the graph above does not lie with the averaged BP year (1767), which does not differ significantly from the other numbers (1672–1796), but rather with the greatly decreased uncertainty range ( $\pm 16$ ). Accordingly, while Jull's mean allows for a total range of 32 years, the other samples have total uncertainty ranges of 94–116 years. Therefore, Timothy Jull's calibrated results reference a more limited timeframe. If one examines the calibration curve which runs across the graph, one can see that this BP uncertainty range narrowly misses calibration curve deviations in the second and fourth centuries. *Only in the case of Jull's mean calibration does one not encounter date ranges from the second half of the fourth century.* Later in this discussion, an alternative to Jull's mean will be offered.

When readers consult the graphed calibrations at the end of this chapter, they will discover that the individual results for each sample regularly reflect dates into the late fourth and occasionally early fifth century. From Krosney's presentation, one would presume that essentially all of the  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates were in the third century (209, 333, 223, [266], and 279 CE). Consider the following simplified version of the calibrated results compared with Krosney's dates:

sample below dated 80–390 according to the 2004 calibration and 120–410 according to the 2020 calibration. The other numbers shift only by one or two decades and always later.

Table 2: Krosney's date ranges compared to calibrated date ranges<sup>24</sup>

Sample	Year BP	68%	95%	Krosney
Outside cover papyrus	1796±58	170–350	120–410	151–267
(Leather and) papyrus	1794±50	210–350	130–410	none
Leather (and papyrus)	1782±51	210–350	120–390	172–274
Papyrus (p. 9)	1739±48	250–380	230–420	[216–316]
Papyrus (p. 33)	1726±47	250–410	230–420	232–326
Loose papyrus	1672±48	250–440	250–540	285–381
Combined mean	1752±24	240–350	240–380	
Jull's mean	1767±16	240–330	240–340	
Askeland's mean	1712±20	260–410	250–410	

As already mentioned, Herbert Krosney omitted any reference to the calibrations in the upper section of this chart, instead erroneously offering the date ranges in the right column based upon an incorrect use of the radiocarbon BP year. Krosney did not mention the combined mean for the samples, only Jull's mean which excluded a loose fragment from the calculation.<sup>25</sup>

Jull's decision to exclude one fragment from his calculation presumably reflects the fact that the range of BP dates acquired was larger than the anticipated range of uncertainty.<sup>26</sup> Timothy Jull, referring to the loose papyrus sample which had the youngest radiocarbon age, stated, "Strictly speaking, sample 2 should be excluded from this as its association with the book is not absolutely certain."<sup>27</sup> From the standpoint of codicology,

<sup>24</sup> The samples have been reordered here according to their BP year. The 68% and 95% ranges derive from the present author's use of the OxCal online calibration tool (IntCal 13), with initial years rounded down and final years rounded up to the nearest decade. The ±20-year uncertainty for the final calculation is somewhat arbitrary, based on an average of the two parallel uncertainties. The lab report contained a cut and paste error for "Papyrus p. 9," which is corrected above. Otherwise, only Jull's mean has been updated to reflect updated calibration curve data (IntCal 4 versus 13) revising the original two-sigma 220–340 range to 240–340.

<sup>25</sup> For the purposes of this article, the selection of samples by Timothy Jull and Rodolphe Kasser were based upon the highest scientific standards as well as a careful understanding of the papyrus contents of the Tchacos Codex. "Jull chose the samples to be radiocarbon dated after discussions with Rodolphe Kasser, a Swiss who is regarded as one of the world's preeminent Coptic scholars. An expert papyrus conservator then cut the samples at the Geneva workshop": L. Stiles, "UA Radiocarbon Dates Help Verify Coptic Gospel of Judas Is Genuine," *The University of Arizona News*, February 30, 2006, <https://news.arizona.edu/story/ua-radiocarbon-dates-help-verify-coptic-gospel-judas-genuine>.

<sup>26</sup> Approximately ±50 or one hundred years. The BP dates stretched from 1672–1794, or a 122-year range.

<sup>27</sup> A.J.T. Jull and G. Hodgins, "Tchacos Results Letter" (NSF-Arizona AMS Laboratory, January 19, 2005), 3.

this loose fragment, however, should not be excluded from a group including the cover materials and page fragments, but instead the cover materials should be excluded or at least considered separately. Peter Head first advanced this argument in 2007, and it reappears here in a more nuanced form.<sup>28</sup>

The book cover consisted of leather and papyrus cartonnage. With regard to the leather, the death of the animal could have occurred at approximately the same time as the preparation of the leaves, but, alternatively, the book cover could have been created significantly earlier for a previous codex, and could have been reused for the Tchacos codex quires.<sup>29</sup> With respect to the papyrus cartonnage used to stiffen the leather book cover, these papyri are almost certainly reused documentary texts.<sup>30</sup> Such materials could be as much as one hundred years old at the time of their reuse,<sup>31</sup> or older.<sup>32</sup> The radiometric dates of the fragments support this theory, whereas the actual dates cluster between the binding elements (1796, 1794, 1782 BP) and the leaves (1739, 1726, 1672 BP). If one averages the BP numbers for the papyrus quire leaves ( $[1672 + 1726 + 1739] \div 3 = 1712.3$ ), excluding the samples from the cover, the resultant date range spans from the middle of the third toward the end of the fourth century as in the above chart under “Askeland’s mean.”<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup> “... considering that the binding material (the two pieces which registered the earliest dates) would most probably have comprised older material, no longer in direct use as a text at the time of the construction of our manuscript, but cut up and reused in the formation and strengthening of the binding, the dates assigned to these two pieces could more plausibly be disregarded in terms of determining the date of the manufacture of the codex” (n. 8) 13.

<sup>29</sup> Likewise, this could be a replacement binding for the Tchacos Codex. For a discussion of the possible reuse of the covers of the Nag Hammadi codices, cf. J.M. Robinson (ed.), *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices 7* (Leiden 1972) xi; E. Wipszycka, “The Nag Hammadi Library and the Monks: A Papyrologist’s Point of View,” *JJP* 30 (2000) 179–191. Similarly, for the Berlin Gnostic Codex 8502, cf. M. Krutzsch and G. Poethke, “Der Einband des Koptisch-Gnostischen Kodex Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,” *Forschungen und Berichte* 24 (1984) 39–40.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. the above quotes by Gregor Wurst, which suggest this is the case.

<sup>31</sup> E.G. Turner, “Recto and Verso,” *JEA* 40 (1954) 102–106.

<sup>32</sup> The date ranges from the Panopolis archive stretch from 197–339 CE. Presumably, a monastery purchased an archive *after* this timeframe and repurposed these old documentary texts systematically into codex quires; R.Sh. Bagnall, “Public Administration and the Documentation of Roman Panopolis,” in A. Egberts, B.P. Muhs, and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest. Acts from an International Symposium Held in Leiden on 16, 17 and 18 December 1998* (Leiden 2002) 1–12.

<sup>33</sup> The average of the binding fragments is likewise 1,790.7 BP, which, with an uncertainty of  $\pm 20$  would date the binding with a 95% probability to 130–330 CE (170–320 CE, 68% probability). Notably, the leather piece (1,782 BP) dates closer to the present time than the two papyri binding samples (1,796, 1,794 BP), although the calibrated dates overlap considerably.

## (e) Disregarded the official conclusion of the AMS report

The conclusion of the radiometric dating which was provided by the AMS laboratory could not have been simpler. The one sentence statement reads, "The calibrated ages of the papyrus and leather samples are tightly clustered and place the age of the Codices within the Third or Fourth Centuries AD." Krosney never mentioned this official conclusion, although it had been cited in the prior National Geographic Society monograph already noted in the present discussion.<sup>34</sup> Krosney's narrower dating has been reinterpreted further by scholars. For example, one scholar has argued,

As regards the date of the Tchacos Codex, it would seem likely from the carbon dating of the fibres and leather cover of the Tchacos Codex, and from analysis of the ink, that the Tchacos Codex was written by a single scribe sometime towards the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century. This would put it into the era of imperial persecutions, between those of Decius (249–52 C.E.) and Valerian (257–8 C.E.) and the Great Persecution under Diocletian (303–12 C.E.). Living in such a period in which they felt threatened both by pagan authorities and by Catholics, it is not surprising that Gnostics in Middle Egypt might have put together just such a collection of texts as we now have in the Tchacos Codex ...<sup>35</sup>

*Probable Dating for the Tchacos Codex*

Although Herbert Krosney's  $280 \pm 60$  CE date range faithfully conveys the mean created by Timothy Jull, the reader was not shown how many of the calibrated dates reached deep into the fourth century and beyond. Furthermore, Krosney's inaccurately calculated dates for the individual samples suggested to the reader that, aside from the loose papyrus fragment, the evidence essentially pointed to the third century.<sup>36</sup> In reality,

<sup>34</sup> N.B., the AMS lab conclusion does appear in the PUBLISHER'S NOTE at the end of Krosney's monograph (p. 326). Apparently, Kevin Mulroy composed this note.

<sup>35</sup> A. Logan, "The Tchacos Codex: Another Document of the Gnostics?," in A.D. DeConick (ed.), *The Codex Judas Papers: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Tchacos Codex Held at Rice University, Houston, Texas, March 13–16, 2008* (Leiden 2009) 12.

<sup>36</sup> Although the technical errors discussed are not so severe as with Krosney, R.J. Teleford et al. discussed a similar tendency among radiometric publications to offer "single point" dates, rather than weighted averages. Out of 32 papers surveyed in *The Holocene*, twelve used radiocarbon years, twelve cited the simple intercepts with the calibration curve (excluding a  $\pm$  uncertainty), and the remaining eight employed calibrated dates with  $1\sigma$  or  $2\sigma$  ranges (i.e. 68% and 95% probability). Ideally, all would have

the calibrated results from the individual samples all have ranges into the late fourth and sometimes early fifth century.

First and foremost, the present discussion affirms the conclusion as stated in the official results, quoted above. The radiometric tests indicate a date in the third or fourth centuries. One can refine this range to some degree by speculatively averaging the results according to the suggestion of Peter Head. Timothy Jull's mean, as cited by Krosney, remains a viable interpretive possibility for a more specific dating of the codex, and resolves the looming issue of the broad date range. The present discussion offers an alternative to Jull's mean by segregating the samples codicologically to create two means. According to the first, the papyrus quire leaves date sometime between 250 and 399 CE.<sup>37</sup> The second mean suggests that the leather cover was created sometime between 210 and 330 CE.<sup>38</sup>

Second, scholars should be aware of Christianity's aggressive expansion in the fourth century and especially of the degree to which distinctly Coptic and monastic forms of Christianity emerged within the Egyptian religious landscape. Roger Bagnall has demonstrated from onomastics that Christian naming became visible in the last decades of the third century and prevalent by the end of the fourth century.<sup>39</sup> Hugo Lundhaug and Lance Jenott have argued not only for a mid-fourth century date for the Nag Hammadi Codices based upon the cartonnage, but for an immediate monastic context for the "Gnostic" contents of the codices.<sup>40</sup> Perhaps, the most compelling argument for a fourth-century context for the Tchacos codex derives from one of the three codices purportedly discovered with

used the  $1\sigma$  or  $2\sigma$  ranges. "No single value can adequately describe the complex shape of a calibrated radiocarbon probability density function, and wherever possible this full distribution should be used." R.J. Telford, E. Heegaard, and H.J.B. Birks, "The Intercept Is a Poor Estimate of a Calibrated Radiocarbon Age," *The Holocene* 14 (2004) 296, 298.

<sup>37</sup> This presumes that the papyrus was used relatively soon after it was harvested.

<sup>38</sup> Table 2 only engages the individual numbers and means related to the codex leaves. The calibrated average of the three cover samples produces the following results: (1790.7 BP,  $\pm 20$ ) 68.3%: 230–320 CE and 95.4%: 210–330 CE.

<sup>39</sup> Later scholars have tweaked Bagnall's numbers but arrived at essentially the same conclusion. Bagnall identified the following percentages of Christian names with dated papyri (years = CE): 274: 2.4%, 275: 13.5%, 278: 10.5%, 310: 18%, 313: 18%, 318: 50%, 353: 78.0%; R.Sh. Bagnall, "Religious Conversion and Onomastic Change," *BASP* 19 (1982) 105–124; E. Wipszycka, "La valeur de l'onomastique pour l'histoire de la christianisation de l'Égypte," *ZPE* 62 (1986) 173–181.

<sup>40</sup> H. Lundhaug and L. Jenott, *The Monastic Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices* (Tübingen 2015).

it, namely the Mathematical Codex currently in the hands of a private owner. Because the texts reference the solidus and myriads which appear after the Constantinian monetary reforms of 351–353, the editors argue for a date in the second half of the fourth century.<sup>41</sup> According to Lance Jenott, internal textual evidence from the Tchacos version of *Allogenes* may suggest a fourth century compositional date, since the text seems to eschew Sethian cosmology for a monastic, eremitic approach to the *Allogenes* tradition.<sup>42</sup>

Finally, one could also question a basic assumption behind the radiometric testing of Egyptian papyrus. As already described, the data presumes that calibration data from German and North American forests would offer accurate points of comparison for papyri extracted from the banks of the Nile River. While trees obtain water from rainfall, papyri draw from the alkaline flow of a river which has been flowing for weeks since falling as rain. In addition to the issues related to alkaline river water influence by carbon dead material, one must consider the broader differences in climate and ecosystems. One study has considered this problem of a potential “reservoir offset” with regard to Egypt, testing 66 plant specimens with known dates between 1700–1900 CE. The study identified “an average offset from expected values of 19 years,” the reason for which is not necessarily certain.<sup>43</sup> A more recent study compared the Oxford/Arizona calibration curve data, mostly based upon tree ring data from Europe and North America, to Jordanian Juniper trees with rings dating to 1610–1940 AD.<sup>44</sup> Although this later study essentially endorses the 19-year offset, the authors propose a  $24 \pm 5$  offset for Middle Eastern tests relevant to “those parts of the *IntCal13* curve which exhibit reversals or plateaus in  $^{14}\text{C}$  values.”<sup>45</sup> In other words, when atmospheric  $^{14}\text{C}$

<sup>41</sup> Based upon a regnal year reference, the editors suggest that a reference to a “year 10” in one text could specifically reference 364/5 CE. R.Sh. Bagnall and A. Jones (eds.), *Mathematics, Metrology, and Model Contracts: A Codex from Late Antique Business Education (P.Math.)* (New York 2019) 8.

<sup>42</sup> E.g., the temptation by Satan has no parallel in Sethian and Valentinian texts from the earlier centuries. Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 403 CE) described the composition of such texts by “Archontics;” L. Jenott, “The Book of the Foreigner from Codex Tchacos,” *BASP* 57 (2020) 235–275.

<sup>43</sup> M.W. Dee et al., “Investigating the Likelihood of a Reservoir Offset in the Radiocarbon Record for Ancient Egypt,” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 37 (2010) 687.

<sup>44</sup> S.W. Manning et al., “Fluctuating Radiocarbon Offsets Observed in the Southern Levant and Implications for Archaeological Chronology Debates,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115 (2018) 6141–6146.

<sup>45</sup> Manning et al. (n. 44) 6144–6145.

unexpectedly decreases in the North American and German data sets, the offset from the Jordanian data increases, warranting an increased offset during eras such as the Late Antique 240–340 CE timeframe. Hugo Lundhaug has discussed this offset in the context of the radiometric dating of the Crosby-Schøyen Codex (MS 193), a Coptic miscellaneous papyrus codex once dated to the second century. The average BP year for three samples was  $1784 \pm 15$ ,<sup>46</sup> resulting in a two-sigma date range of 144–328 CE. When Lundhaug allowed for the offset with the high value of  $24 \pm 5$ , the two-sigma range was 237–333 CE.<sup>47</sup> Lundhaug's numbers have something in common with the current discussion which deserves note. He has used an average from three tests related to a single sample, which warrants lower uncertainty. The astute reader will have noticed that the Tchacos uncertainty for the individual fragments ranged from  $\pm 48$ –58, while the Jull means used uncertainties of  $\pm 24$  and  $\pm 16$ . While tables at the end of this article summarize the National Geographic results with and without the Egyptian reservoir affect offset, the table below quickly demonstrates the extent to which a carbon offset of 19 or 24 would affect the Askeland mean. Because of the fluctuation in the calibration curve, most of the results include two ranges instead of a continuous range. The figures have not been rounded as in Table 2.

Table 3: Askeland mean adjusted for an Egyptian reservoir effect

Offset		1 $\sigma$ (68.2%)	2 $\sigma$ (95.4%)
None	1712 $\pm$ 20	262–277, 341–401	255–285, 326–410
19	1693 $\pm$ 20	267–271, 354–408	260–279, 338–415
24	1688 $\pm$ 20	363–411	261–278, 341–417

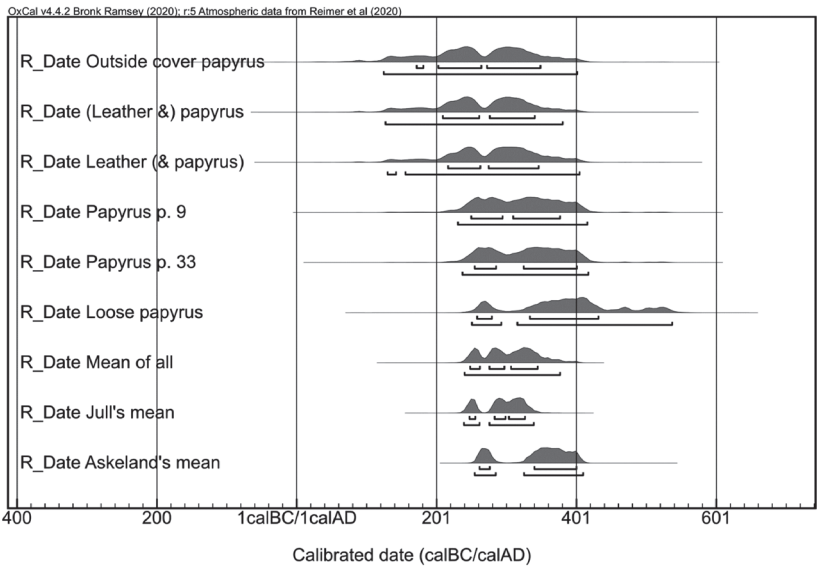
The combination of the mean and the offset eliminates the third century from the Tchacos date range in the one sigma (68.2%) range and dramatically shifts the focus to the fourth century in the two-sigma (95.4%) range. Although a third or early fifth century date remains theoretically possible, the radiocarbon evidence favors the fourth century as the probable time of harvest for the papyri reeds which would eventually become the Tchacos Codex.

<sup>46</sup> H. Lundhaug, "The Date of MS 193 in the Schøyen Collection," *BASP* 57 (2020) 225.

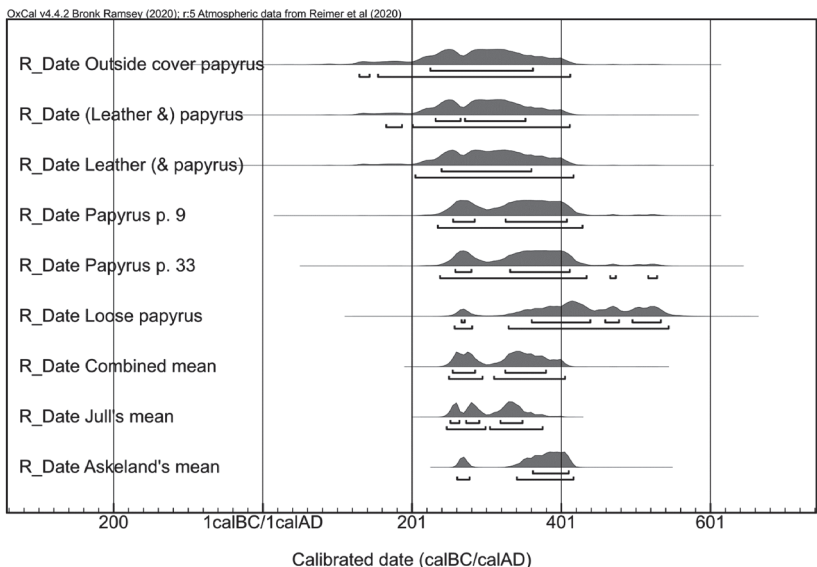
<sup>47</sup> Lundhaug also used the lower  $19 \pm 5$  value, offering a two-sigma similar result of 232–333 CE; Lundhaug (n. 46) 227–229.



Graph 2: Calibrated results without reservoir affect



Graph 3: Calibrated results with reservoir affect (24-year offset)



## THE BLACK MARKET IN OIL IN PTOLEMAIC EGYPT

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*Abstract.* — A prominent feature of Ptolemaic fiscal policy was the “state” or “royal monopoly” on the production and sale of vegetable oils. As outlined in the so-called “Revenue Laws,” the entire supply chain of these commodities was controlled by the government, and in theory the oils reached consumers only through licensed traders, to whom the government awarded local monopolies. In practice, however, numerous papyri deal with the smuggling and illegal sale of vegetable oils. Although the volume of black market trade is impossible to quantify, it is clear that oil smuggling and illegal oil sales took place on a considerable scale in Ptolemaic Egypt. In this article, the nature, organization, and scale of these illegal activities are assessed, as well as the motivations and incentives for participating in the black market.

*Keywords:* Revenue Laws, black market, vegetable oils

### *Smuggling and Black Market Activity in Ptolemaic Egypt (305–30 BCE)<sup>1</sup>*

Today, black markets are usually associated with narcotics, weapons, or antiquities, but clandestine activity in Ptolemaic Egypt often involved much more innocent products.<sup>2</sup> People smuggled and illegally sold various commodities, such as meat,<sup>3</sup> animal hides,<sup>4</sup> or ointments.<sup>5</sup> Above all, papyri attest to a lively black market in vegetable oils.<sup>6</sup> These products were not prohibited altogether, and the illegal trade existed alongside a legal market.

<sup>1</sup> “Smuggling” and “black market” are not synonyms, but two distinct aspects of illegal trade. Smuggling is but one way of supplying a black market. See M. Roodhouse, “Smuggling and Black Markets,” in D. Southerton (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Consumer Culture* (Thousand Oaks, CA 2011) 1295–1296.

<sup>2</sup> For smuggling and black markets in Ptolemaic Egypt in general, see J. Bauschatz, *Law and Enforcement in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Cambridge 2013) 234–236; A. Helmis, *Crime et châtement dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque. Recherches sur l'autonomie d'un modèle pénale* (unpublished dissertation Paris 1986) 41–43 and B. Baldwin, “Crime and Criminals in Graeco-Roman Egypt,” *Aegyptus* 43 (1963) 261.

<sup>3</sup> *P.Giss.Univ.* 1.2 (TM 8175).

<sup>4</sup> *P.Diosk.* 5 (TM 44721).

<sup>5</sup> M. Depauw, “Controlling the Perfume Monopoly: A Demotic Letter in Macquarie Referring to a Proxy in Duke,” *ZPE* 171 (2009) (TM 119911 and 46861).

<sup>6</sup> A comprehensive list of attestations is provided in table 1 below.

Production and trade in Ptolemaic Egypt are often thought to have been strictly controlled by the government, and smuggling is usually linked to the idea of a strongly centralized state economy.<sup>7</sup>

In some cases, however, the unlawful nature of the activities consisted of tax evasion rather than the use of illegal trade channels outlawed by a government “monopoly.” In *P.Hamb.* 4.237 (TM 43303), for instance, a fuller is denounced by a tax farmer for selling wool illegally, but the issue is not the actual sale on the market, but rather that the employment went unreported and thus untaxed. In the papyrus industry, a distinction was made between people who sold their merchandise “privately” (ιδιωτικὰ φορτία) and people who “smuggled” (διακολπιτεύω): not the entire market was suppressed, but certain segments, like the supply of notaries, were reserved for a third group: the farmers of the διάθεσις τῶν βασιλικῶν χαρτῶν. The “smugglers” in this case were sellers who intruded into these reserved markets.<sup>8</sup>

The precise nature of illegal activities is thus often difficult to qualify, and it is not always clear whether all “private” sales were banned, whether an individual artisan or merchant was evading taxes, or whether an entirely different issue was at stake.<sup>9</sup> In the case of oil, however, illegal activity clearly consisted of a clandestine black market, as the vegetable oil industry was subject to severe restrictions that effectively banned the free market in oil and replaced it with a system of government-issued exclusive licenses commonly known as the “oil monopoly” (see below). Any transaction not involving a licensed retail dealer was thus illegal, and the oil traded was considered to be contraband.

### *The Ptolemaic “Oil Monopoly”: Regulations and Enforcement*

The Ptolemaic vegetable oil industry was strictly regulated and controlled by the government, through the so-called “state” or “royal oil monopoly”

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of the so-called *dirigiste* interpretation of the Ptolemaic state, see J.G. Manning, *The Last Pharaohs: Egypt under the Ptolemies, 305-30 BC* (Princeton 2010) 45–49.

<sup>8</sup> *P.Tebt.* 3.709 (TM 5320). See N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford 1974) 125–126.

<sup>9</sup> See for instance the στηθοδεσμίδες παρυφαίνόμεναι, “breast-bands woven on the side” of *SB* 24.16221.4–8 (TM 7588). For the problematic meaning of παρυφαίνω, see L. Criscuolo, “Papiri e lingerie,” in A.M.F.W. Verhoogt and S.P. Vleeming (eds.), *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt: Greek and Demotic and Greek-Demotic Texts and Studies Presented to P.W. Pestman* (Leiden 1998) 20.

(ἐλαϊκή).<sup>10</sup> The regulations for farming out the ἐλαϊκή are laid out in the so-called “Revenue Laws” papyrus dating to the middle of the third century BCE,<sup>11</sup> and they are reflected in *P.Tebt.* 3.703.134-164 (TM 5315) from later in that century. Although it has been established that the so-called “Revenue Laws” were not a systematic codification of laws, and that the primary interest of the Ptolemies was to secure the revenues from the oil tax rather than to institute a centrally planned economy,<sup>12</sup> the fiscal system did have very real economic consequences for the oil industry, which was to a great extent controlled by the government.

According to these regulations, all stages of the process, from the sowing of oil crops to the selling of the final product, were in the hands of the bureaucracy and government-sanctioned entrepreneurs. The sowing of oil crops,<sup>13</sup> at least on royal land, was regulated through the so-called “sowing schedule” (διαγραφή τοῦ σπόρου).<sup>14</sup> Before they were harvested, the

<sup>10</sup> On the “oil monopoly,” see U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, vol. I.1: *Historischer Teil: Grundzüge* (Leipzig 1912) 241–244 and 250–251; F. Heichelheim, “Monopole,” in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 16.1 (Stuttgart 1933) 165–170; C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* (Brussels 1939) 65–93; M.I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1941) 302–305; J. Bingen, *Le Papyrus Revenue Laws: Tradition grecque et adaptation hellénistique* (Opladen 1978); B.P. Muhs, *Tax Receipts, Taxpayers and Taxes in Early Ptolemaic Thebes* (Chicago 2005) 73–79; C. Armoni, *Studien zur Verwaltung des ptolemäischen Ägypten. Das Amt des Basilikos Grammateus* (Paderborn 2012) 143–144 and 219–220.

<sup>11</sup> *P.Rev.* cols. 38–72 (TM 8859). See B.P. Grenfell and J.P. Mahaffy, *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus Edited from a Greek Papyrus in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford 1896) and J. Bingen, *Papyrus Revenue Laws: Nouvelle édition du texte* (Göttingen 1952). A recent English translation of the text can be found in R.S. Bagnall and P. Derow, *The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation* (Oxford 2004) 181–194.

<sup>12</sup> Bingen (n. 10).

<sup>13</sup> The restrictions of *P.Rev.* (TM 8859) explicitly cover sesame, castor and safflower seed. Fixed prices for linseed and gourd are mentioned (col. 39), but no clauses specifying the compulsory sale of the entire harvest to tax farmers or officials have been preserved. Notable absentees are olives and poppy, which would become important oil crops later on in the Ptolemaic period. For the use of poppy as an oil crop, see D.J. Crawford, “The Opium Poppy: A Study in Ptolemaic Agriculture,” in M.I. Finley (ed.), *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne* (Paris-The Hague 1973) 234. For olive oil, see D.B. Sandy, *The Production and Use of Vegetable Oils in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Atlanta 1989) 72–82 and 113–115. The position of the latter two crops within the Ptolemaic “oil monopoly” is unknown. However, as *P.Rev.* (TM 8859) also outlaws the possession of oil-producing implements (col. 49), and exclusive retail concessions for oil in general are known until the end of the second century BCE, there probably was no open market in poppy oil or olive oil either. In the late Ptolemaic period, radish oil was also produced, foreshadowing the dominance of this oil crop in the Roman period. See W.G. Claytor, “Rogue Notaries? Two Unusual Double Documents from the Late Ptolemaic Fayum,” *JJP* 44 (2014) no. 1 (TM 43045).

<sup>14</sup> Rather than being imposed top-down from Alexandria, however, the dispositions were developed on a local level. See P. Vidal-Naquet, *Le bordereau d'ensemencement dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque* (Brussels 1967).

crops were surveyed.<sup>15</sup> The entire harvest then had to be sold to officials, at prices fixed by the government. The only exception to this rule were people exempt from taxation and holders of gift-estates, who could retain part of the harvest for sowing the following year. The seed was then delivered to the royal oil factories, the only workshops that were allowed to operate, with the exception of temple workshops, which could produce sesame oil for internal use during a limited period of time every year. Both royal and temple factories were sealed in periods of inactivity. An adequate supply of all nomes and cities was ensured through an elaborate system of transfer of oil seed between different regions. The officials responsible concluded agreements with retailers throughout the *chora* about the quantity of oil that they would sell, which was then delivered to them by the officials in five-daily installments. The oil sellers had to pay the price into the royal bank. The price of the oil was fixed by the government.

These regulations are reflected in many other papyri and ostraca, and the core elements of the system persisted well into the second century BCE.<sup>16</sup> *P.Rev.* (TM 8859) mainly concerns the *ἐλαϊκή* for the *chora* in general, but other roughly contemporary documents identify the village oil sellers as lessees of a concession too (*ἐξειληφότες τὴν διάθεσιν τοῦ ἐλαίου*).<sup>17</sup> By the second century BCE, the farmers of the *διάθεσις* also farmed a tax (*τέλος*) possibly levied from consumers,<sup>18</sup> and the sale of oil took place in royal shops (*βασιλικὰ πρατήρια*).<sup>19</sup> In many villages, one oil seller appears to have been responsible vis-à-vis the government, but this responsibility

<sup>15</sup> H. Cuvigny, *L'arpentage par espèces dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque d'après les papyrus grecs* (Brussels 1985) 15–19, 36 and 95–96.

<sup>16</sup> Fiscal changes notwithstanding, *P.Köln* 11.453 (TM 112488; 159 BCE?) attests to the continuing supply of produce to the oil factories by government officials and to price fixing in the middle of the second century. Moreover, *P.Tebt.* 1.5.193–195 (TM 2938; 118 BCE) indicates that oil crops were still to be sold to the government in the second century. Most importantly for our purposes, the petitions of the oil seller Apollodoros preserved in the Menches archive indicate the continuation of government-awarded local retail monopolies up to the end of the second century (see below).

<sup>17</sup> E.g. *P.Ryl.* 4.562.18–20 (TM 2418; 251 BCE) and *P.Lille* 1.9.3–6 (TM 3216; reign of Ptolemy II). *P.Rev.* (TM 8859) only refers to *μεμισθωμένοι τὴν κόμην* in col. 54.

<sup>18</sup> *P.Oxyrhyncha* 21.7 (TM 851638; 150 or 139 BCE), *P.Tebt.* 1.38.10 (TM 3674; 113 BCE), *P.Tebt.* 1.39.3 (TM 3675; 114 BCE) and *P.Tebt.* 4.1094.3 (TM 3761; 114 BCE).

<sup>19</sup> *P.Oxyrhyncha* 21.14–15 (TM 851638; 150 or 139 BCE). One wonders whether the *pr-ḥd pr-ʿ3* (“treasury” or “warehouse of Pharaoh”) of *P.Lille.Dem.* 2.64.7 (TM 4492), a third-century surety for an oil seller (*s-n-nḥḥ*), should be interpreted in a similar way. For the reading *nḥḥ* (“oil”) rather than *nwb* (“gold”) in this text, see E.A.E. Reymond, “Livres,” *CdE* 49 (1974) 294.

could be shared; conversely, contractors could also hold the concession for multiple villages, and they could opt to sublease part of their contract to others.<sup>20</sup> Parallel to the licensed retail trade, oil was also redistributed through various channels in Ptolemaic Egypt, but as a rule, the oil contractors were compensated for this.<sup>21</sup>

*P.Rev.* (TM 8859) references severe restrictions on the import of foreign oil into the *chora* (as opposed to Alexandria), in order to protect the local monopolies.<sup>22</sup> Import for commercial purposes was strictly forbidden. The quantity people were allowed to carry with them was limited to that which could be consumed personally in three days, and an import tax had to be paid.<sup>23</sup> A receipt was required to take the oil into the *chora*. At around the same time, Apollonios the *dioiketes* was involved in importing oil, and even he was liable to tariffs of 50%.<sup>24</sup> Over time, foreign oil (ἐλαίον ξενικόν) became increasingly prominent, also in the *chora*, and it appears to have been included in the “oil monopoly” system.<sup>25</sup>

Violations of the regulations were severely punished: *P.Rev.* col. 49 (TM 8859) mentions fines of 3,000 drachmas imposed on anyone found to be manufacturing sesame, castor or safflower oil, or buying said oil varieties from anyone not holding a government concession, payable to the contractor. In addition, wrongdoers seem to have had to compensate the village concession holder for the damage caused to their contract.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>20</sup> The structure of the system of Fayumic oil selling concessions can be gleaned from *P.Petr.* 2.28 (TM 7514) and *P.Petr.* 3.66b (TM 7515). For subleases, see e.g. *P.Lille.Dem.* 2.51 (TM 4481).

<sup>21</sup> Such forms of redistribution included salaries, allowances and endowments paid partly or wholly in oil, as well as donations to temples and gymnasia, which further disseminated the oil, e.g. to the priests. As for the compensation of the oil contractors, government donations were paid for by officials to the account of the ἐλαϊκή (*P.Paramone* 7 [TM 48333]).

<sup>22</sup> *P.Rev.* cols. 50, 52, and 54 (TM 8859).

<sup>23</sup> The exact quantity of oil is not specified, but for figures for daily consumption on a subsistence level, see n. 106.

<sup>24</sup> The main text is *P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59012 (TM 673; 259 BCE). For oil, see ll. 12–14, 93–94, 104–108, and 114–117. For a recent discussion of the text, see A. Bresson, “Wine, Oil and Delicacies at the Pelousion Customs,” in L.-M. Günther and V. Grieb (eds.), *Das imperiale Rom und der hellenistische Osten. Festschrift für Jürgen Deiniger zum 75. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden 2012) 69–88. *P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59015 (TM 676) probably deals with oil as well, which was apparently imported in considerable quantities on behalf of the royal administration. See Préaux (n. 10) 85.

<sup>25</sup> Préaux (n. 10) 86. For the inclusion of foreign oil in the “monopoly,” see *P.Tebt.* 3.728.8 (TM 7837; second century BCE). The ἐξω τοῦ βασιλικοῦ of *P.Rev.* col. 50 (TM 8859) suggests that this may have been the case already much earlier. See also n. 24.

<sup>26</sup> Apollodoros, oil seller of Kerkeosiris demands that the damage to his contract is exacted from the wrongdoers in *P.Tebt.* 1.39.35–36 (TM 3675). *P.Rev.* (TM 8859) also mentions a proportionate compensation in col. 56.

The contractors were allowed to perform searches if they suspected people to be in possession of oil producing implements or contraband oil, taking government officials along with them.<sup>27</sup> Often, the oil sellers farming the concession on the village level carried out these searches. In some cases, smugglers were denounced by informants.<sup>28</sup> Although the papyri concerning oil are not explicit on this point, informants were usually entitled to a share of the penalties in cases concerning Ptolemaic state revenues.<sup>29</sup> The locations that were targeted for searches were often private dwellings where oil was hidden, for example in animal hides or dung.<sup>30</sup> The smugglers and other wrongdoers frequently reacted with violence and escaped (see below). The punishments they risked were not merely a theoretical deterrence: we find people's houses being sold as a result of their involvement in oil smuggling.<sup>31</sup>

If sanctions were so severe even for the possession of contraband goods, how could one prove that the oil in one's possession was legal? Unfortunately, *P.Rev.* (TM 8859) does not cover this aspect. In the case of imported oil, *symbola* were issued for transporting it safely into the country, and the administration in general relied heavily on the institution of receipts.<sup>32</sup> The so-called "price of oil receipts" (τιμὴ ἐλαίου/*swn nhḥ*) may be relevant in this regard.<sup>33</sup> These documents occasionally refer to the oil being "received" (λαμβάνω/*šp*),<sup>34</sup> and in particular the small amounts involved indicate that they were issued to consumers rather than to retailers supplied by the government.<sup>35</sup> However, other similar receipts record payments made to a bank for the "price of oil"<sup>36</sup> as well as for the price of oil crops.<sup>37</sup> In addition, the oil is often specified as "of month X,"

<sup>27</sup> *P.Rev.* cols. 55–56 (TM 8859). For searches in general, see Bauschatz (n. 2) 260–269.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. *SB* 16.12671 (TM 4141). For the surveillance of people harming the "oil monopoly," see the fugitive castor oil makers of *UPZ* 1.120 (TM 3512).

<sup>29</sup> E.g. *PUB Trier S* 188-61.26–27 (TM 172216), published in A.-K. Gill, "Ein ptolemäisches Gesetz zum Handel mit importiertem Wein (*PUB Trier S* 188-61)," *APF* 58 (2012) 228–245 and the parallels cited there.

<sup>30</sup> Animal hides: *P.Teht.* 1.38.22 (TM 3674); dung or filth and garbage in general (κόπρος): *P.Hoogendijk* 37.7 (TM 3792).

<sup>31</sup> *BGU* 6.1219 (TM 7748). The most complete entry can be found in ll. 25–33.

<sup>32</sup> See e.g. also the receipts required for the transport of oil seed in *P.Rev.* col. 40 (TM 8859).

<sup>33</sup> Muhs (n. 10) 73–78.

<sup>34</sup> *O.Taxes* 1.34 (TM 69702); *O.Louvre* 8 (TM 55553), 34 (TM 55560), 267 (TM 55582) and 276 (TM 55575).

<sup>35</sup> Muhs (n. 10) 75.

<sup>36</sup> E.g. *O.Theb.* 6 (TM 43652) or *P.Teht.* 3.983 (TM 5482).

<sup>37</sup> E.g. *P.Paramone* 7 (TM 48333).



suggesting installments, and the “price of oil” also occurs in tax accounts alongside taxes.<sup>38</sup> The designation “price of oil” may have been used in several different technical meanings, and there may also have been several types of “price of oil” receipts. It is not inconceivable that one type of “price of oil” receipt was intended to prove the legality of oil purchased by consumers.<sup>39</sup> Alternatively, material aspects relating to the containers now lost to us, such as stamps or seals, may have indicated the legality of the oil.

### *Sources Attesting to the Smuggling and Black Marketeering of Oil*

The considerable risks involved in the illegal oil trade do not appear to have deterred wrongdoers. Smuggling and black marketeering of oil were reported throughout the Ptolemaic period (table 1). Although there is ample evidence for illegal activity, we should of course keep in mind that smuggling and black market sales by their very nature go unreported. Aside from the usual limitations of the papyrological record, the extant sources are all of an official nature, and they only deal with offenders who were caught and thus unsuccessful. Their activities are described as *κολπιτεύω* (to smuggle) and *παραπωλέω* (to sell “besides,” i.e. under the counter and thus illegally). The oil and related products involved are called *ἐπίτιμον*, *κλέπιμον*, or *κολπιτικόν* (contraband).<sup>40</sup>

Most of the documented cases took place in the Arsinoite nome.<sup>41</sup> Especially Oxyrhyncha and Kerkeosiris emerge as hotspots of illegal activity, but this is no doubt an accident of preservation.<sup>42</sup> The contraband is most often described simply as *ἐλαιον*, which is a general term for “oil” in Greek papyri of the Ptolemaic period, often referring to sesame, which appears

<sup>38</sup> E.g. *P.Paramone* 8 (TM 78704).

<sup>39</sup> Or at the very least that they had purchased legal oil in a certain month.

<sup>40</sup> For the terminology used for smuggling in the ancient world, see F. Kudlien, “Antike Bezeichnungen für ‘Schmuggel,’” *MBAH* 19.2 (2000) 100–108. See also B. Olsson, “Κολπιτεύω, ‘faire de la contrebande,’” *Eranos* 48 (1950) 157.

<sup>41</sup> The only exceptions are *P.Hib.* 1.59 (TM 8209), *P.Hib.* 2.234 *descr.* (TM 5194) and *P.Hib.* 2.248 *descr.* (TM 5207), which stem from the Oxyrhynchite nome, and *BGU* 6.1219 (TM 7748) from the Hermopolite nome.

<sup>42</sup> Kerkeosiris: the dossier of Apollodoros, oil seller of this village in year 4 of Ptolemy IX, relates four incidents in the same year (see below). Oxyrhyncha: *SB* 16.12671 (TM 4141) and *P.Köln* 6.261 + P.Stanford inv. 17 + P.Stanford inv. 37 (TM 2486) certainly concern this village, and it has also been suggested as the provenance of *Tyche* 30 (2015) 81–90 (TM 699704) and *P.Oxyrhyncha* 24 (TM 703732).

to have been the default oil crop for much of the Hellenistic period.<sup>43</sup> In one case, safflower (ἐλαιον κνήκινον) and “Greek” (ἐλαιον Ἑλληνικόν) oil are specified. On three occasions, castor oil is concerned (κίκι or *tgm*). Oil crops (ἐλαικὰ φορτία) too were the object of smuggling and were used in illicit production. A final object of illegal transactions was *kedria* (κεδρία), an oil-like or resinous substance used primarily in mummification.<sup>44</sup> Although the quantities recorded explicitly are modest, they often concern the oil carried by a smuggler or a consumer at one particular moment in time. The texts indicate that smuggling and black marketeering occurred on a considerable scale (see below).

Publication	Date	Object	Quantity	Extra
<i>P.Hib.</i> 2.248 <i>descr.</i> (TM 5207), Fr. 3, ll. 4–13?	ca. 250 BCE	ἐλαιον	lost or not specified	people in prison in a case related to oil sellers
<i>P.Hib.</i> 1.59 (TM 8209)	ca. 245 BCE	ἐλαιον	not specified	
<i>SB</i> 16.12671 (TM 4141)	236 or 211 BCE	ἐλαα καὶ ὄπια/ ἐλαικὰ φορτία <sup>45</sup>	not specified	
<i>SB</i> 3.7202 (TM 4403), Fr. A, ll. 15–27	ca. 227 BCE	ἐλαιον	2 σικύαι and 1 λήκυθος	
<i>P.Cair.</i> 2.31213 (TM 43663)	223 BCE	<i>tgm</i> (castor)	not specified	
<i>P.Hib.</i> 2.234 <i>descr.</i> (TM 5194)?	246–221 BCE	lost or not specified	lost or not specified	injustices suffered by oil sellers

<sup>43</sup> D.B. Sandy, “Oil Specification in the Papyri: What is ‘elaion’?” in *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia*, vol. 3 (Naples 1984) 1317–1323.

<sup>44</sup> The exact nature of *kedria* is debated, but it was probably derived from the juniper tree. See C.A. Láda and A. Papathomas, “*Enteuxis* Concerning Illegal Sale of *Cedria*,” *Tyche* 30 (2015) 85. The τέλος τῆς κεδρίας was farmed out separately, but there were many similarities to the ἐλαική.

<sup>45</sup> The editors read ἐλα<ι>α καὶ ὄπια, “Öl und Opium.” See H. Harrauer and K.A. Worp, “Mord und Schmuggel in Oxyrhyncha,” *ZPE* 40 (1980) 139. Willy Clarysse, on the other hand, prefers the more mundane reading ἐλαικὰ φορτία. See W. Clarysse, “Graeco-Roman Oxyrhyncha, a Village in the Arsinoite Nome,” in S.L. Lippert and M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Graeco-Roman Fayum – Texts and Archaeology: Proceedings of the Third International Fayum Symposium, Freudenstadt, May 29–June 1, 2007* (Wiesbaden 2008) 55.

Publication	Date	Object	Quantity	Extra
<i>P.Köln</i> 6.261 + P.Stanford inv. 17 + P.Stanford inv. 37 <sup>46</sup> (TM 2486)	213 BCE	ἐλαικὰ φορτία; ἔλαιον; κίκι; κνήκινον; Ἑλληνικόν; [...]ατικόν	> 3 <i>chous</i> (> 9.72 liter)	
<i>P.Tebt.</i> 3.703 (TM 5315), ll. 137–141	ca. 210 BCE	ἔλαιον	not specified, but clearly substantial	
<i>P.Oxyrhyncha</i> 24 (TM 703732)	147 or 136 BCE	ἔλαιον	not specified, but clearly substantial	
<i>P.Tebt.</i> 3.701 a (TM 5313), ll. 6–8?	139–138 or 132–131 BCE	lost	lost or not specified	wording suggests either oil, <i>kedria</i> or papyrus
<i>P.Giss.Univ.</i> 1.10 (TM 43899)?	145–116 BCE	lost	contained in a σκοίκιον	wording suggests either oil or <i>kedria</i>
<i>Tyche</i> 30 (2015) 81–90 (TM 699704)	175–125 BCE?	κεδρία	for “very many burials”	
<i>P.Tebt.</i> 4.1094 (TM 3761)	114 BCE	ἔλαιον	not specified	Apollodoros dossier
<i>P.Tebt.</i> 1.39 (TM 3675)	114 BCE	ἔλαιον	not specified	Apollodoros dossier
<i>P.Tebt.</i> 1.38 (TM 3674)	113 BCE	ἔλαιον; κίκι	contained in a hide and sheepskins	Apollodoros dossier
<i>P.Hoogendijk</i> 37 (TM 3792)	113 BCE	ἔλαιον	1 λήκυθος ὀστράκινος	Apollodoros dossier

<sup>46</sup> The Stanford portion of the papyrus was presented by Christelle Fischer-Bovet at the 29<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Papyrology in Lecce and will be published by Fischer-Bovet and Willy Clarysse.

Publication	Date	Object	Quantity	Extra
<i>BGU</i> 6.1219 ( <i>TM</i> 7748), ll. 25–33	II BCE	ἐλαϊκὰ φορτία	not specified	other fragmentary entries also deal with oil crops

Table 1: Papyri concerning illicit production, transportation,  
and sale of oil or oil crops

The first half of the second century is underrepresented in table 1. This does not prove that no illegal activity took place in this period, but rather reflects the general distribution of preserved papyri.<sup>47</sup> Smuggling and black markets tend to thrive particularly in wartime and other periods of political instability, when government resources are overstretched and diverted away from the enforcement of the law.<sup>48</sup> The Great Revolt (206–186 BCE) and other episodes of civil war, as well as the invasion of Egypt during the Sixth Syrian War (170–168 BCE), and the consequent political instability no doubt facilitated black marketeering in the Ptolemaic period too. In fact, the amnesties proclaimed later by Ptolemy VIII included irregularities concerning the “oil monopoly.”<sup>49</sup> No oil smugglers are (currently) known for the first century BCE, but papyri in general are much less abundant during this period. Moreover, the organization and taxation of the oil industry in the first century is not well known, and the “monopoly” may have been abandoned at some point after 113 BCE.

### *The Organization of the Black Market*

In theory, the “oil monopoly” was a strictly regulated and closed system. In practice, however, it was exposed to many vulnerabilities, especially in a pre-modern state like Ptolemaic Egypt, which was much less centralized and could exert less control than has been assumed in the past. The sowing schedule, for instance, was often disregarded by cultivators and officials, resulting in yields of oil crops that deviated from what had

<sup>47</sup> B. Van Beek and M. Depauw, “Quantifying Imprecisely Dated Sources: A New Inclusive Method for Charting Diachronic Change in Graeco-Roman Egypt,” *AncSoc* 43 (2013) 106–107.

<sup>48</sup> Roodhouse (n. 1).

<sup>49</sup> *P.Tebt.* 1.5.193–195 (*TM* 2938): cultivators who had failed to deliver their harvest of oil crops to the government.

been prescribed.<sup>50</sup> Oil sellers sometimes appear to have been involved in raw materials too, a stage from which they would in theory have been kept separate.<sup>51</sup> Likewise, the distribution of oil to retailers was not always a single-step process from government officials to sellers, but sometimes involved exchanges among oil sellers, and possibly others.<sup>52</sup> Inevitably, the daily reality of the “oil monopoly” was much messier than the theoretical considerations suggest. Moreover, the exceptions and privileges accorded to temples and gift estates created loose ends. In particular the provision that *dorea*i could store part of the seed for sowing themselves created opportunities for theft and embezzlement, but these problems were by no means limited to *dorea* granaries and threshing floors (see below).

In addition, it is unclear to what extent crops other than sesame, castor and safflower that could potentially yield oil were regulated.<sup>53</sup> The harvest of olives, poppy, flax, gourd, and radishes, to name but the most significant alternative oil sources, apparently did not have to be sold to the government in their entirety, and could be procured on the market.<sup>54</sup> In theory, this would not pose any problems to the “monopoly,” as private possession of oil-producing implements was not allowed, and royal and temple presses were sealed when inactive and unsupervised. Again, in practice, matters were less simple, as oil could be produced with other tools than the mortars (ὄλμοι) and presses (ἰπωτήρια) identified in *P.Rev.* col. 49 (TM 8859). Castor oil, for instance, could be obtained by boiling roasted seeds,<sup>55</sup> and any seed oil can be produced with torsion presses made from a cloth bag, as was the case in the Pharaonic period.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, regulations notwithstanding, some people did produce oil outside of the

<sup>50</sup> Vidal-Naquet (n. 14) 43. See e.g. *P.Lille* 1.26 (TM 3228) and *P.Mich* 3.43 (TM 1943) for sesame and *SB* 1.4369 a.5–15 and 32–40 (TM 7137), and b.36–40 and 43–58 (TM 7138) for safflower and poppy.

<sup>51</sup> *PSI* 4.372.1–7 (TM 2057) and *P.Lille* 1.9.13–17 (TM 3216).

<sup>52</sup> See e.g. *P.Cair.* 2.31225 (TM 43660) and possibly some of the other texts in the archive of Phanesis, son of Nechthyris. And what to make of the Sarapion who contemplated selling oil in his possession through the oil seller Masylllos (*P.Stras* 8.721 [TM 3965])?

<sup>53</sup> See above, n. 13.

<sup>54</sup> For olives, see e.g. *P.Mich.* 3.173.6–8 and 23 (TM 8337); for poppy, see e.g. *P.Zen. Pestm.* 58 (TM 1889); for flax, see e.g. *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59470 (TM 1108); for gourd, see e.g. *PSI* 4.402 (TM 2085); for radishes, see e.g. *P.Cair.Zen.* 4.59704.4 and 23 (TM 1331).

<sup>55</sup> Hdt. 2.94. See also *UPZ* 1.120.8 (TM 3512). No matter how centralized one imagines the Ptolemaic government to have been, it is unlikely that it outlawed the possession of simple cooking utensils.

<sup>56</sup> J.-P. Brun, *Archéologie du vin et de l'huile de la préhistoire à l'époque hellénistique* (Paris 2004) 70. See also M. Serpico and R. White, “Oil, Fat and Wax,” in P.T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge 2000) 405–407.

authorized factories (see below). Finally, the human element played a role in Ptolemaic Egypt too, like in every system: the goals of actors in the bureaucracy and the tax farming operations were not always aligned with those of the king.

These vulnerabilities of the “monopoly” were readily seized upon by smugglers and black marketeers. Black markets can be supplied in various ways. One kind of illicit market that has been prominent throughout history is that in stolen goods. The Ptolemaic black market in oil may also have partly been fed with stolen oil.<sup>57</sup> In general, however, oil is conspicuously absent from declarations of stolen objects.<sup>58</sup> *P.Tebt.* 3.703.137–141 (TM 5315) refers to the pressing problem posed by thefts in relation to the oil factories, but as the instructions given by the senior official mainly concern seed rather than finished oil, the thefts probably concerned oil seed too.<sup>59</sup> The anxious precautions taken by the *dioiketes* Apollonios for safeguarding the oil produced at his estates in any case suggest that the theft of oil was perceived as a real risk: Zenon is instructed to obtain the safest possible storehouse and to have it guarded by a number of his servants.<sup>60</sup>

Smugglers are often associated with the movement of goods across international borders. Over time, Ptolemaic oil import restrictions were relaxed, but foreign oil was in principle still redistributed through government channels and presumably had to be sold to officials upon entry of the country (see above). In the Ptolemaic wine business, smuggling and sale of undeclared imports appears to have been a widespread issue, requiring specific customs regulations.<sup>61</sup> The black market in oil may have been partly supplied through similar channels: traders importing oil without declaring it upon arrival. In particular the high oil price in Egypt compared to elsewhere may have been tempting for international merchants to engage in such activities (see below). Part of the contraband oil infringing on Apollodoros’ monopoly in Kerkeosiris is claimed to be imported into the village (*παρεισφύρω*).<sup>62</sup> According to some scholars, this points to a foreign origin of the oil.<sup>63</sup> This need not necessarily have been the case,

<sup>57</sup> In *P.Hib.* 1.59.7 (TM 8209), the word used for contraband oil is *κλέπιμος*, derived from *κλέπτω*. Its occurrence in *P.Rev.* col. 56 (TM 8859) suggests a broader sense, however.

<sup>58</sup> Helmis (n. 2) 42.

<sup>59</sup> The word used is *διακλεπτόμενα*. Alternatively, the passage may refer to illegal activity in general, see n. 57.

<sup>60</sup> *P.Zen.Pestm.* 25 (TM 1856).

<sup>61</sup> PUB Trier S 188–61 (TM 172216). See Gill (n. 29).

<sup>62</sup> *P.Tebt.* 1.38.12 (TM 3674) and *P.Tebt.* 4.1094.3 (TM 3761).

<sup>63</sup> Helmis (n. 2) 64.

however, and the oil may simply have been supplied through a regional rather than an international network, especially since the culprit hailed from a different village in the same *meris* (Kerkesephis). In theory, oil imported for personal consumption could also have been sold on, but in such a case, the wrongdoer would have to charge excessively high prices to recoup the transport costs and the high tariffs levied on such commodities. Imported oil may have been the object of illicit transactions, but this is so far not securely attested in the sources. The same applies to oil produced in temple workplaces or redistributed in other ways.

The *modus operandi* encountered most often in the papyri is the production of oil from stolen or embezzled oil crops in Egypt itself, followed by the distribution of the oil through illegal retail channels.<sup>64</sup> Oil crops (ἐλαικὰ φορτία) were frequently the object of smuggling reported to the authorities (table 1). Although criminals may have offered cultivators higher prices than the government, crop surveys and other precautions taken by the bureaucracy, such as the use of crop guards, would have made it difficult for farmers to underreport figures and sell undeclared surplus to non-government actors, at least without some degree of complicity or negligence by officials.<sup>65</sup> A more straightforward way to acquire oil crops was theft. The storage of oil seed for sowing in *dorea* store-houses presumably left that part of the produce more vulnerable to thieves, and thefts of oil seed are known from the Zenon archive.<sup>66</sup> Other granaries and threshing floors were by no means immune to theft or fraud either.<sup>67</sup> The latter establishments appear to have been a particularly weak link in the chain.<sup>68</sup> The transport of oil crops to the royal granary, as well

<sup>64</sup> Given the fact that these smugglers and black marketeers were caught, however, this may actually have been the least efficient form of organization.

<sup>65</sup> According to Cuvigny (n. 15) 19, oil crops may have been subject to a special survey in addition to the general survey of the crops. For the central importance attached to the guarding of oil crops, see *P.Mich.* 18.769 (TM 8763). Official misconduct or negligence related to the guarding of the crops is addressed in e.g. *P.Tebt.* 1.5.188–192 (TM 2938) and *P.Tebt.* 1.27.1–83 (TM 3663). *P.Petr.* 2.32 2a (TM 7427) may have been concerned with irregularities in the cultivation of castor, but the matter is not entirely clear: the authors of the petition exhibited a φορτεία (perhaps a castor plant) to state officials at the ψυγμός (drying place), at which they had positioned a guard, located on or near the κροτωνοφόρος (γῆ; castor-bearing land).

<sup>66</sup> *P.Cair.Zen.* 2.59232.7 (TM 877) and *P.Col.* 3.53 (TM 1769) concern thefts of sesame. See also Préaux (n. 10) 72.

<sup>67</sup> E.g. *SB* 16.12813 (TM 4174). For the theft of grain in general, see Helmis (n. 2) 32.

<sup>68</sup> See e.g. *P.Tebt.* 1.48 (TM 3684), *SB* 14.12089 (TM 4308) and *P.Oxy.* 12.1465 (TM 43902). In the latter case, the owner harboured suspicions against the guards protecting the threshing floor. Often government officials are accused of unlawfully removing grain: see e.g. *SB* 26.16743 (TM 41488) or *P.Tebt.* 3.786 (TM 5372).



as the transfer between nomes posed similar problems.<sup>69</sup> *P.Tebt.* 3.703 (TM 5315) alludes to the widespread theft of oil seed (see above), as does *P.Köln* 6.261 + *P.Stanford* inv. 17 + *P.Stanford* inv. 37 (TM 2486), which extends the plundering to the entire harvest for the year. Finally, a number of Greek and Demotic oaths concern theft or embezzlement of oil seed.<sup>70</sup>

The processing of the illegal seed is poorly documented. Passages that mention this stage of the process are usually vague, perhaps because the officials or oil dealers who authored the petitions and reports did not possess this information either.<sup>71</sup> Occasionally, ἐργασία, is referred to, presumably indicating the manufacturing of the oil.<sup>72</sup> In one case, an unauthorized oil-producing implement appears to have been discovered: a *sgyg* for producing castor oil.<sup>73</sup> The exact meaning of *sgyg* is unknown, but it probably refers to a mortar.<sup>74</sup> The *sgyg* was found in the house of a private person, which was the base of operations for the illicit business, given that castor oil was also found on the premises. In some cases, legitimate oil factories may have been used to manufacture illegal oil,<sup>75</sup> but, besides the extensive control exercised by officials in the factories, the oil workers in government

<sup>69</sup> See e.g. the oath *P.Sorb.* 3.80 (TM 3147) concerning the συναγωγή of the sesame or *SB* 1.4305 (TM 7128) for poppy.

<sup>70</sup> *P.Iand.Zen.* 49 (TM 110101) involves one hundred artabas of castor seed. The interpretation of the text depends on the reading of lines 8 and 9. The editors prefer <σ>εσγρακέναι, indicating that the crop was stolen from the officials, but the reading ἡγορακέναι is also possible, in which case the seed would have been embezzled and subsequently sold by the officials. See *P.Iand.Zen.*, p. 123, note to line 8. Four unpublished Demotic temple oaths concern embezzlement of oil crops, perhaps in a temple context: See U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Sowahr der Stier von Medamod Lebt! Ueber die Ortsgötter in den Tempel-Eiden,” in C. Eyre, A. Leahy, and L. Montagno Leahy (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed. Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A. F. Shore* (London 1994) 155–156 (TM 52343; TM 52499; TM 52514; TM 52543).

<sup>71</sup> E.g. *P.Köln* 6.261.5 (TM 2486): παρὰ τῶν τὰ ἐλαϊκὰ φορτία διηρπακόντων καὶ κατειργασμένων[v] (“from those who have plundered and processed the oil crops”).

<sup>72</sup> *P.Köln* 6.261.6 (TM 2486) and *P.Oxyrhyncha* 24.7 (TM 703732). For a discussion of the word, see *P.Oxyrhyncha*, p. 232, note to ll. 7–8.

<sup>73</sup> *P.Cair.* 2.31213.3 (TM 43663).

<sup>74</sup> Based on the plant determinative, it has been suggested that it refers to a plant. See “S,” *The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* ([https://oi.uchicago.edu/sites/oi.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/shared/docs/CDD\\_S.pdf](https://oi.uchicago.edu/sites/oi.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/shared/docs/CDD_S.pdf)) 478. However, the *sgyg* is said to make (*ἱρ*) the castor oil (*tgm*). The *qws* at the end of line 3 may indicate the capacity of the implement (i.e. one χοῦς). *Sgyg* may be related to Coptic *ϥικε*, “to grind, to pound.”

<sup>75</sup> Suggested for instance by Maresch for *P.Köln* 6.261 (TM 2486), in particular for ll. 6–7: τῇ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐλαίου [ . . . ] φ . σει πολοῦ[σ]ι ἐργασίαι χρώμενοι, with the possible emendation [ἐν] ἀφέσει and translation of ἐργασία as “Organisation.” See *P.Köln* 6, pp. 175–177. In this view, the “Greek oil” (perhaps olive oil) was not part of the monopoly, while sesame and castor still were. The wrongdoers would then have used the legitimate organization to process and sell the illegal oil.

service had strong incentives not to do so: they were given daily quotas of oil seed to process, no doubt onerous, they were paid (at least in part) proportionally to the oil manufactured and sold, and they probably risked sanctions if they were to engage in misconduct.<sup>76</sup> Finally, for small-scale manufacture, the alternative methods described above may have been used.

Illegal oil was often sold in people's dwellings too (see below), but as it was "imported into the village" in some cases, either from abroad or from other villages, illegal oil also had to be transported, i.e. smuggled. This required networks on a regional, and perhaps even international scale. About the organization of such networks, however, we are mostly in the dark. Certain regulations governing travel and transport, such as the prohibition on sailing on the Nile at night, may have been intended in part to combat smuggling.<sup>77</sup> In any case, it is clear that the people who stole and processed oil seed were not always identical to the ones selling the finished oil to buyers. In particular *P.Köln* 6.261 + P.Stanford inv. 17 + P.Stanford inv. 37 (TM 2486) paints a vivid picture of criminal "wholesalers" supplying illicit "retailers," who then sold the oil on to users. A similar organization was probably behind the smuggling of oil into Kerkeosiris.<sup>78</sup> The ibis-buriers buying *kedria* from illegal dealers were apparently also involved in reselling the contraband.<sup>79</sup>

How did the illicit retailers and their consumers find each other? In general, two strategies are employed by participants in illicit markets: either sales are arranged through social networks, which limits the risk of detection but also restricts the potential number of buyers, or sellers offer their goods to strangers using the routine activities of everyday life, preferably near places where people naturally concentrate, increasing the number of potential customers, but also the risks involved for both buyer and seller.<sup>80</sup> Both strategies were employed by Ptolemaic black marketeers. Some sellers clearly operated through social networks, e.g. the anonymous Thracian in Kerkeosiris selling contraband oil to one of the inhabitants of the dwelling in which he had hidden his stash, as well as to several people

<sup>76</sup> *P.Rev.* cols. 45–47 (TM 8859). For the demanding regime governing the oil workers, see e.g. *P.Tebt.* 3.703.149–151 (TM 5315): ἐπιμελὲς δέ σοι γιν[έσθ]ω καὶ ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν ἅπαντες οἱ ὄλ[ι]μοι ἐνεργοὶ ᾖσιν, ε[ἶ] δὲ μή γ[ε], πλεῖστοι ("make sure that all the mortars are in operation, or at least, most of them"). On the other hand, *P.Tebt.* 3.844 (TM 5415) shows significant monthly variation in productivity.

<sup>77</sup> *P.Hib.* 2.198.110–119 (TM 5183). See Gill (n. 29) 242.

<sup>78</sup> *P.Tebt.* 1.38 (TM 3674) and *P.Tebt.* 4.1094 (TM 3761).

<sup>79</sup> *Tyche* 30 81–90 (TM 699704), in particular l. 7.

<sup>80</sup> J.E. Eck, "A General Model of the Geography of Illicit Retail Market Places," in J.E. Eck and D. Weisburd (eds.), *Crime and Place* (Monsey, NY 1996) 67–93.

from the same family.<sup>81</sup> The house he used belonged to a leather worker, who appears to have been an accomplice, as the oil was hidden in hides and sheepskins belonging to him. If the leather worker also sold hides at his house, the legitimate business may have been used as a front to sell oil to others too.<sup>82</sup> An example of the second strategy can be found in *P.Stanford* inv. 17, line 6, which is closely linked to *P.Köln* 6.261 (TM 2486): the culprits in that case took the oil to the *agora* in order to sell it to the people of the village.

Despite the prominence of outlaws and bootleggers in popular imagination, historically, smugglers were often merchants engaged legitimately in the same trade, who for instance falsified their records in order to avoid paying tariffs.<sup>83</sup> The relation of Ptolemaic oil sellers to the government was more complex than that of most merchants, however, as they were not simply taxed on their business, but (sub-)leased the local government-awarded monopoly, as well as a related tax. In theory, they had every incentive to limit illegal activity, especially since they had to advance the price of the oil they agreed to sell to the royal treasury. In practice, however, they could have underreported the quantities they would need, and sell contraband in addition to legal oil, perhaps even at the elevated official rates. Moreover, risk of detection would have been relatively low, as they were themselves partly responsible for combating illegal activities. In the absence of unequivocal evidence, this is mere speculation, but it would have been a feature of black markets that was likely to go unreported in our sources, and which has been observed for other periods.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>81</sup> *P.Tebt.* 1.38 (TM 3674).

<sup>82</sup> Something similar may have been the case in *P.Köln* 6.261 + *P.Stanford* inv. 17 + *P.Stanford* inv. 37 (TM 2486), according to Maresch (see n. 75). The Stanford portion of the papyrus makes clear that the oil was sold on the market, but the two situations may have been compatible. Social networks played an important role in ancient commerce in general, even for a commodity regulated to such a large degree as oil in Ptolemaic Egypt. See for instance the letter *P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59025.24–28 (TM 685): ἀγόρασον παρὰ Χαρμίδου ἐλαίου χόας ἕξ καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς, φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν πωλεῖν (“Buy six *choes* of oil from Charמידes, and give it to them, as they say that he is selling”).

<sup>83</sup> E.T. Jones, “Illicit Business: Accounting for Smuggling in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Bristol,” *Economic History Review* 54 (2001) 17–38.

<sup>84</sup> Maresch’ interpretation of ἐργασίαι χρώμενοι in *P.Köln* 6.261 (TM 2486) points to such a situation; see n. 75 and 82. In *P.Hamb.* 2.182 (TM 4336), oil sellers are accused of serious misconduct (described as ὕβρις and περισπαιμός) by the officials responsible for the supply of oil, who had trouble “keeping them in check” (ἐπιστρέφω), but the nature of their misconduct is unfortunately not made clear. The amounts paid in *P.Petr.* 2.28 (TM 7514) and *P.Petr.* 3.66b (TM 7515) could be used as a proxy for the reports made by oil sellers, but the many lacunae severely limit its usefulness in this regard.

The safeguarding of the “monopoly” not only depended on the good faith of the oil sellers, but also on the cooperation of government officials.<sup>85</sup> In fact, one of the main concerns of *P.Rev.* (TM 8859) is official misconduct and the associated penalties. *P.Tebt.* 3.703 (TM 5315) also stresses the particular importance of the enforcement of the oil regulations, and issues thinly veiled threats for negligence in this regard.<sup>86</sup> Despite the risks and numerous attempts at centralized control, carelessness and collusion with wrongdoers did occur.<sup>87</sup> An official letter about a woman possessing contraband oil, for instance, ends with the following accusation: “and if you do not stop doing ill in the village, you will regret it.”<sup>88</sup> Confirmed cases include negligence with regard to oil crops,<sup>89</sup> embezzlement of oil seed,<sup>90</sup> forceful and unlawful entry into a royal oil shop,<sup>91</sup> unwillingness to address complaints,<sup>92</sup> and other forms of misconduct.<sup>93</sup> Other officials were energetically involved in the enforcement of the regulations, such as the village scribe Menches, who in one case submitted a report to the royal scribe on the same day he received a petition by an oil seller.<sup>94</sup>

A final aspect relevant to the organization of the black market in oil is the prominent role played by temples. This is most obvious in the case of the ibis-buriers buying illegal *kedria* which they then distributed to

<sup>85</sup> Ptolemaic officials have not had a stellar reputation in this regard, see e.g. Préaux (n. 10) and D.J. Crawford, “The Good Official of Ptolemaic Egypt,” in H. Maehler and V.M. Strocka (eds.), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen symposiums 27.–29. September 1976 in Berlin* (Mainz am Rhein 1978) 195–202. Some recent assessments are more optimistic: see, e.g., J. Bauschatz, “The Strong Arm of the Law? Police Corruption in Ptolemaic Egypt,” *CJ* 103 (2007) 13–39. See also W. Peremans, “Die Amtsmissbräuche im ptolemäischen Ägypten,” in W. Schuller (ed.), *Korruption im Altertum. Konstanzer Symposium Oktober 1979* (Munich-Vienna 1982) 103–134 and A. Monson, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans: Political and Economic Change in Egypt* (Cambridge 2012) 231–233.

<sup>86</sup> *P.Tebt.* 3.703.134–138 and 158–164 (TM 5315).

<sup>87</sup> These attempts at official control are witnessed e.g. by the receipts that were issued for virtually every operation involving oil and oil seed. See n. 32.

<sup>88</sup> *P.Hib.* 1.59.9–12 (TM 8209): [κ]αὶ εἰ μὴ παύσει κ[α]κοποῶν ἐν τῇ κόμῃ[ι] μεταμελή[σ]ει σοί.

<sup>89</sup> See n. 50 and 69 (in particular *SB* 1.4305 [TM 7128]).

<sup>90</sup> See n. 70. To this may be added *P.Enteux.* 55.8–10 (TM 3330), in which a crop guard assists in the cultivation of sesame in dubious circumstances.

<sup>91</sup> *P.Oxyrhyncha* 21 (TM 851638).

<sup>92</sup> *Tyche* 30 81–90 (TM 699704).

<sup>93</sup> In *P.Sorb.* 1.34.5 (TM 3149), an ἀποδοχεύς is brought before the *dioiketes* in the context of an investigation into a quantity of *kedria*.

<sup>94</sup> *P.Hoogendijk* 37 (TM 3792). On the other hand, he had apparently refused to assist in a house search in *P.Tebt.* 1.39 (TM 3675).

others.<sup>95</sup> The culprit of *P.Giss.Univ.* 1.10 (TM 43899) may have been a priest too, given the presence of an Ἀνουβιακὴ στολή among his or her possessions, and the involvement of a *theagos*.<sup>96</sup> In *P.Cair.* 2.31213.13 (TM 43663) a temple occurs, possibly as the place where the evidence was destroyed (*hṛš*). Finally, several of the houses where contraband oil was discovered, were located in temple precincts.<sup>97</sup> Temples enjoyed certain privileges in the “oil monopoly” framework, including the possession of presses to manufacture oil for their own needs. However, none of the documents allude to the production of contraband oil in temples, and the preference for dwellings located within temple quarters was linked rather to the fact that those areas were more difficult to access for law enforcement, especially if the sanctuary was granted a right of asylum.

### *The Scale of the Black Market*

Even today, the importance of black markets is impossible to quantify because of the clandestine and thus often unreported nature of these activities. It is even harder to estimate the volume of illegal trade in Ptolemaic Egypt. However, the evidence that is available suggests that it was not insignificant. When quantities discovered are reported, they tend to be low (see table 1), which could indicate small-scale operations, but it could also be the result of the contraband being intercepted at the end of the cycle, in the possession of an individual consumer.

Some of the other quantitative data suggest activities on a larger scale. For instance, the 100 artabas of castor seed that disappeared in *P.Iand.Zen.* 49 (TM 110101) could yield up to 21.5 *metretai* of oil (836.5 litres), with a street value of 1,032 drachmas at the official price.<sup>98</sup> Of course, the actual yield would probably be lower, as the seed may not yet have been cleaned, contraband oil was no doubt produced in suboptimal circumstances, and black market prices may have been lower than the official ones, but

<sup>95</sup> *Tyche* 30 81–90 (TM 699704). In line 7, temples are mentioned explicitly, but their role is unclear.

<sup>96</sup> For the reading θεαγῶ Σούχου in col. 2 l. 4, see F. Uebel, “Griechische Papyri der Zeit Euergetes’ II. aus Euhemeria in Gießen und Jena,” *APF* 17 (1962) 121, n. 3.

<sup>97</sup> *P.Tebt.* 1.39.9 (TM 3675): the Thoerieion; *P.Hoogendijk* 37.3 (TM 3792): the Souchieion; *BGU* 6. 1219.28 (TM 7748): the house sold because of the smuggling was located in the Isieion.

<sup>98</sup> See Sandy (n. 13) 51 for the production ratio. I have slightly adapted his figures to our most recent understanding of the capacity of the measures (i.e. an artaba of 38.8 rather than 43.12 litres). The price is that specified in *P.Rev.* (TM 8859) which is roughly contemporaneous.

it is clear that a substantial amount of oil could be derived from these 100 artabas.<sup>99</sup>

In particular the Apollodoros dossier shows the extent of illegal activity. Apollodoros was the holder of the concession for the sale and the tax upon oil in Kerkeosiris for year 4 of Ptolemy IX (114–113 BCE). Through the Menches archive, four accounts of oil smuggling and black marketeering infringing on Apollodoros' local monopoly have been preserved.<sup>100</sup> In his petitions, he never fails to mention the devastating impact these activities had on his lease: it was made “a complete failure,”<sup>101</sup> and he was cast into “extraordinary poverty.”<sup>102</sup> Twice, the loss suffered is expressed in monetary terms: 10 talents (a case concerning ἔλαιον) and 15 talents (involving both ἔλαιον and κίκι).<sup>103</sup> Unfortunately, no leases for village oil revenues have been preserved or published, and it is unknown what share of the contract those 25 talents represented.<sup>104</sup>

Nevertheless, the figures can give us some idea of the extent of the illegal trade. At contemporary prices, these 25 talents correspond to approximately 8.7 *metretai* (ca. 340 litres) of oil.<sup>105</sup> Based on quantities distributed as rations to various groups, daily consumption of oil at a subsistence level has been estimated at ca. 2 cl in Graeco-Roman Egypt, corresponding to ca. 2 *kotylai* per month per person.<sup>106</sup> The population of Kerkeosiris in

<sup>99</sup> Especially since 100 artabas was more than the amount of seed processed in legitimate oil factories in some months, see *P.Tebt.* 3.844.14–30 (TM 5415).

<sup>100</sup> *P.Tebt.* 1.39 (TM 3675; Phaophi); *P.Tebt.* 1.38 (TM 3674; Mecheir); *P.Hoogendijk* 37 (TM 3792; Epeiph); *P.Tebt.* 4.1094 (TM 3761; date lost).

<sup>101</sup> *P.Tebt.* 1.38.11 (TM 3674); translation of the editors.

<sup>102</sup> *P.Tebt.* 4.1094.2 (TM 3761); translation, and partial reconstruction, of the editors.

<sup>103</sup> *P.Tebt.* 1.39.34 (TM 3675) and *P.Tebt.* 1.38.25 (TM 3674).

<sup>104</sup> The closest candidates are the [.]60 and 4040 talents related to the farm of the ἐλαϊκή of Oxyrhyncha for year 54 of Ptolemy VIII (117–116 BCE) reported in *P.Tebt.* 3.791 (TM 5377), but both reading and interpretation are uncertain.

<sup>105</sup> Prices were notoriously volatile in the second century BCE, but for year 4 of Ptolemy IX, a price of 120 drachmas for a *kotyle* of oil has been preserved for Kerkeosiris (*P.Tebt.* 5.1155.17 [TM 3845]). Although castor oil is often considered to be inferior to sesame oil, the price of both kinds of oil was equalized in *P.Rev.* col. 40, and this situation appears to have lasted into the second century. See e.g. *UPZ* 1.21.6–7 (TM 3412). For the late second and early first centuries BCE, no exact figures have survived for castor oil, but Pathyrite Cairo JdE 51379.10 (TM 51218) and Cairo JdE 51396.8 (TM 51223), published in U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Pathyris III,” *Enchoria* 22 (1995) 40–122 as nos. 67 and 72, report *tgm* 1/6 *r h̄d* 8 and *tgm* 1/12 *r h̄d* 12 respectively. Kaplony-Heckel translates “Rizinus-Saat” and supplies <Artabe>, but the words for the plant and for the oil derived from it are the same in Demotic. If the measure used in these texts is the *chous*, the figures correspond to prices of 200 and 240 drachmas for a *kotyle* of castor oil. Compare *P.Tebt.* 1.122.4–5 (TM 3758), which lists prices of 200 and 240 drachmas for a *kotyle* of ἔλαιον.

<sup>106</sup> F. Mitthof, “Das Lebensnotwendige: Grundnahrungsmittel, Rationen und Preise,” in H. Froschauer and C. Römer (eds.), *Mit den Griechen zu Tisch in Ägypten* (Vienna 2006)

the late second century has been reckoned at 1,105 persons.<sup>107</sup> If the 25 talents refer purely to the value of the black market oil, those involved in these two incidents alone could in theory have supplied the entire village of Kerkeosiris with the bare minimum amount of oil for a month. This calculation should be taken with a grain of salt, however, as many variables are unknown.<sup>108</sup>

Qualitative information contained in the sources also indicates the considerable scale of at least some illicit activities. The form of organization involving illegal “wholesalers” who supplied “retailers” evidently involved operations on a large scale. Similarly, extensive networks are suggested by the smuggling of oil from outside into some villages. Moreover, *BGU* 6.1219 (TM 7748), a report of property auctioned off, includes several cases of oil crop smugglers, presumably active in the same time period.<sup>109</sup> The contraband *kedria* used and distributed by the ibis-buriers in the Arsinoite nome corresponded to “numerous burials” (πλείστας ταφάς).<sup>110</sup> Finally, the nome-wide thefts and the consequent decline in the volume of official sales warranted their explicit inclusion in *P.Tebt.* 3.703 (TM 5315).

On the other hand, the black market did not undermine the legal market to the extent that the government-controlled system collapsed, at least not until the end of the second century BCE. There is no evidence for liturgies or other forms of forced undertaking of nome-level tax farms or

26–27. Similarly, the second century BCE account *P.Köln* 13.524.3 and 7–8 (TM 219340) specifies the monthly consumption of oil as 2 or 3 *kotylai*. Demotic marriage contracts often include a monthly ration of 1 or 2 *hin* (0,48 l) of oil and/or castor oil too, although some of them record up to twice as much.

<sup>107</sup> D.J. Crawford, *Kerkeosiris: An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period* (Cambridge 1971) 124 originally calculated that the village counted 380 male adults, corresponding to a total population of ca. 1,520. This figure has been adjusted using a smaller multiplier in W. Clarysse and D.J. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*, vol. 2 (Cambridge 2006) 109, n. 81.

<sup>108</sup> For instance, it is unclear whether the damages reported (if those were accurate in the first place) referred solely to the oil, or also to the incapacitation caused by the violence suffered by Apollodoros and his wife. Even if the former was the case, it is still unknown whether the τέλος farmed by Apollodoros was included in the retail price or not. The monthly oil consumption was of course not limited to a bare subsistence level either, and the use of oil for industrial purposes is not taken into account, nor are population metrics like age and gender that influence per capita consumption. On the other hand, many people obtained their oil through various forms of redistribution rather than on the market, and these 25 talents only pertain to two cases, whereas we know of at least two more incidents during Apollodoros’ tenure. It is clear that the figures can only be indicative, and it is impossible to calculate the exact proportion of black market versus legal oil.

<sup>109</sup> The most complete entry can be found in ll. 25–33, see above.

<sup>110</sup> *Tyche* 30 81–90 (TM 699704), line 5.



village-level concessions, and candidates were apparently readily found. This does not necessarily imply that it was an efficient system, but both the government and the farmers made enough of a profit to enable its survival despite frequent transgressions. The contractors were the beneficiaries of the penalties exacted from wrongdoers, but it would go too far to claim that this was part of the motivation to undertake the contracts, as *P.Rev.* col. 56 (TM 8859) foresees some protections for the accused, which is reflected in other papyri too.<sup>111</sup>

*Ruthless Gangsters or Social Criminals?  
Motives for Participating in the Black Market*

Why take part in the black market? If a product is available through regular channels, consumers have natural incentives to buy it from legal retailers. Participation in the underground economy entails the risk of being penalized, in the case of Ptolemaic Egypt very severely (see above). Moreover, transactions in the legal market are usually more straightforward. In addition, legally valid transactions have the important benefit of third-party enforcement when problems arise. In Ptolemaic Egypt, people could submit petitions and bring legal charges for such disputes, including those concerning oil sales.<sup>112</sup> Purchasers of contraband oil had no one to resort to in case the seller did not deliver, the oil turned out to be of inferior quality, or any other issue arose. Consumers should thus have had good reasons to buy their oil in the black market.

A potential motivation is the price of the product. Illicit transactions often involve stolen goods which are sold below legal market value. For the black market in Ptolemaic oils, matters were more complicated, however, as often oil crops were stolen or embezzled, but costs were still incurred for converting the seed into oil. Still, black market prices (which are unknown) may have been substantially lower than official rates.<sup>113</sup> It has been observed that the prices fixed by the Ptolemaic government were considerably higher than oil prices elsewhere in the Mediterranean,

<sup>111</sup> For the situation in practice, see e.g. *P.Hib.* 1.59 (TM 8209), in which the accuser is to be sent before the *oikonomos* together with the accused.

<sup>112</sup> For instance, transactions involving oil are prominent in Demotic temple oaths. See for instance *O.Templeide* 78 (TM 50490), 79 (TM 50491), 142 (TM 50554) and 143 (TM 50555).

<sup>113</sup> The verb *παραπώλεω* that is often used to describe the illegal activities may have had the additional connotation of selling “at a cheaper price.” See discussion in *P.Oxyrhyncha*, pp. 233–235, in particular n. 37.

especially in the third century BCE.<sup>114</sup> Although Ptolemaic oil retailers could not abuse their monopoly position by creating artificial shortages that increased prices, they sometimes wrongfully charged prices that were higher than the already elevated ones decreed by the government.<sup>115</sup>

Another reason for turning to the black market is the unavailability of the product through legal channels. Supply problems concerning oil are known from the Ptolemaic period.<sup>116</sup> Deficits occurring at an earlier stage, during the production process, were also reported, which no doubt resulted in shortages of the finished product.<sup>117</sup> It is unclear, however, whether the royal factories and the licensed dealers failed to meet demand on a regular basis. Unavailability of an essential commodity like oil through legal channels would certainly have pushed people towards the black market, but the oil sellers reporting illegal activity often stress that as a result of these infractions, the legal oil remained unsold, and their contract suffered a loss, rendering them unable to fulfill their obligations.<sup>118</sup>

A final potential motivation for violating the Ptolemaic oil regulations is the perception of their (il)legitimacy. According to Rostovtzeff, oil smugglers and illicit dealers enjoyed the support of broad layers of the Ptolemaic population, with whom “the régime of monopolies had always been unpopular.”<sup>119</sup> In a similar vein, later smugglers have been cast in the role of Hobsbawm’s “social bandit,” a criminal only to the state and the elite, who engages in practices deemed acceptable by society.<sup>120</sup> In this view, “social banditry” is a primitive form of resistance common to many pre-industrial agricultural societies.<sup>121</sup> Should we then imagine the

<sup>114</sup> Préaux (n. 10) 83–83; Bresson (n. 24) 78–79.

<sup>115</sup> *P.Lille* 1.3.55–61 (TM 3210). See also *P.Petr.* 2.38 b (TM 7471).

<sup>116</sup> See e.g. *PSI* 4.349 (TM 2037), *PSI* 6.566 (TM 2180), *Enchoria* 30 (2006–2007) 103–104 (TM 113830), line 12, and possibly *Orientalia Suecana* 33–35 (1984–1986) 499–501 (TM 92103). The same issue plagued oil allowances and subventions, see e.g. *UPZ* 1.17–41 for the problems encountered by the Serapeum twins in receiving the oil due to them. Such problems were not limited to the Serapeum, however, see e.g. *P.Cair.Zen.* 2.59187 (TM 833) or *P.Paramone* 7 (TM 48333).

<sup>117</sup> *P.Hib.* 1.43 (TM 8194): sesame seed; *P.Tebt.* 3.728 (TM 7837): sesame, safflower and castor seed, as well as foreign oil; *P.Köln* 11.453 (TM 112488): “oil crops” in general.

<sup>118</sup> See above, the complaints made by Apollodoros. See also *P.Oxyrhyncha* 24 (TM 703732).

<sup>119</sup> Rostovtzeff (n. 10) 897–898. A similar sentiment is expressed by Préaux (n. 10) 90.

<sup>120</sup> M.G.H. Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685–1789* (Basingstoke 1997) 92. In C. Winslow, “Sussex Smugglers,” in D. Hay, P. Linebaugh and J.G. Rule (eds.), *Albion’s Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Harmondsworth 1977), smuggling in England in the 1740s has similarly been interpreted as a “social crime.”

<sup>121</sup> E.J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Manchester 1959); E.J. Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (New York 1969).

oil smugglers and black marketeers as Robin Hoods pillaging the oil seed transports organized by an oppressive state, and using illegal factories to produce oil for the impoverished masses?

Rostovtzeff's main argument for seeing them as champions of the people is the struggle of an illicit dealer, "aided by almost the whole of a village," with the oil contractor Apollodoros in *P.Tebt.* 1.39 (TM 3675).<sup>122</sup> Apollodoros was in fact attacked twice by the wrongdoer, Sisois son of Senapynchis. He and his wife assaulted Apollodoros a first time when the latter attempted to perform a search at his house. Some days later, Sisois attacked the contractor again, when he tried to have him arrested in the presence of a guard and another person, probably a government official. Four accomplices were identified by Apollodoros, and those were joined by others whose names were unknown to him, apparently carrying weapons (κράνοι). Although Sisois clearly enjoyed ample support, it is far from clear whether those rushing to his aid were simple passersby. It is difficult to imagine Ptolemaic villagers randomly strolling around carrying cudgels, ready to turn on the authorities at the first opportunity that presented itself. One of the assailants is identified as Sisois' brother, and they may in fact all have been Sisois' accomplices.

The few smugglers and illicit dealers about whom we have some identifying information belonged to the humbler strata of society: we encounter prisoners of war, probably settled as cleruchs,<sup>123</sup> and a yoke-carrier.<sup>124</sup> As for their accomplices, a leather worker,<sup>125</sup> and a porter<sup>126</sup> are identified. Farmers of taxes and concessions, on the other hand, had to be somewhat well off in order to be eligible for their posts. However, especially on the level of the village, farmers of taxes often came from the ranks of those being taxed; for instance, craft taxes were usually farmed by artisans.<sup>127</sup>

Hobsbawm focuses on a more recent period of history; for the applicability of the model to Graeco-Roman Egypt, see B.C. McGing, "Bandits, Real and Imagined, in Greco-Roman Egypt," *BASP* 35 (1998) 159–183. Hobsbawm's ideas about "social bandits" have been both influential and controversial, see G. Seal, "Social Bandits," in J.S. Albanese (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice* (New York 2014) s.v.

<sup>122</sup> Rostovtzeff (n. 10) 898.

<sup>123</sup> *P.Köln* 6.261.2 (TM 2486). For the hypothesis that they were settled as cleruchs, see *P.Köln* 6, pp. 174–175, note to line 2.

<sup>124</sup> *P.Oxyrhyncha* 24.4 (TM 703732). The ibis-buriers of *Tyche* 30 (2015) 81–90 (TM 699704) were possibly also involved in the further distribution of the contraband goods, see above.

<sup>125</sup> *P.Tebt.* 1.38.5 (TM 3674).

<sup>126</sup> *P.Tebt.* 1.39.26 (TM 3675).

<sup>127</sup> D.J. Thompson, "The Ptolemaic Ethnos," in V. Gabrielsen and C.A. Thomsen (eds.), *Private Associations and the Public Sphere: Proceedings of a Symposium held at the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 9–11 September 2010* (Copenhagen 2015) 303–306.

Many licensed oil sellers had Egyptian names, and they were part of the village community rather than a distant elite living in the *metropoleis*.<sup>128</sup> Even broader strata of the population were involved in the “oil monopoly” as guarantors. Farmers of Ptolemaic state revenues were required to provide sureties, who vouched to pay the sums due to the treasury in case the tax farmers were unable to. In the villages of the Fayum, these sureties were often local priests, farmers, shepherds and artisans, each of them guaranteeing relatively modest sums.<sup>129</sup> This was also true for the Ptolemaic oil sellers, who were underwritten by the likes of sifters and leather workers, demonstrating the involvement of the local village community in the system.<sup>130</sup>

Moreover, some of the wrongdoers were denounced to the tax farmers or the authorities, to which the suspects responded with violence and even murder.<sup>131</sup> The willingness of members of the local community to report the culprits rather than protect them does not comply with an interpretation of their behavior as a “social crime.” Misconduct such as overcharging oil sellers no doubt provoked resentment, and Egypt was plagued by more general socio-economic problems that ultimately led to outright revolts, but there is no evidence regarding the perception of the “oil monopoly,” and we do not know whether it was felt to be particularly oppressive.

Nor is there any evidence for altruism on the part of the smugglers and black marketeers, and certain elements point to a rather more sinister interpretation. In modern criminological literature, the local provisioning of illegal goods and services is studied as a form of organized crime.<sup>132</sup> Although the notion of “organized crime” appears straightforward enough

<sup>128</sup> See W. Peremans and E. Van 't Dack, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, vol. 5: *Le commerce et l'industrie, le transport sur terre et la flotte, la domesticité, nos 12460–14478* (Leuven 1963) 11–14. See also *P.Petr.* 2.28 (TM 7514) and *P.Petr.* 3.66 b (TM 7515). The situation was different for the farmers of the ἐλαϊκή on the level of the nome, see J.W. Wickersham, “The Financial Prospects of Ptolemaic Oilmen,” *BASP* 7 (1970) 45–51.

<sup>129</sup> F. de Cenival, *Cautionnements démotiques du début de l'époque ptolémaïque* (*P. Dém. Lille 34 à 96*) (Paris 1973).

<sup>130</sup> *P.Lille.Dem.* 2.50 (TM 4480) and *P.Lille.Dem.* 2.51 (TM 4481). *P.Lille.Dem.* 2.64 (TM 4492) is another surety for an oil seller (see Reymond [n. 19]), but the occupation of the guarantor is not mentioned.

<sup>131</sup> *SB* 16.12671 (TM 4141), including murder, and *P.Cair.* 2.31213 (TM 43663).

<sup>132</sup> E.R. Kleemans, “Theoretical Perspectives on Organized Crime,” in L. Paoli (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Organized Crime* (Oxford 2014) 32–52. For organized crime in the ancient world, see K. Hopwood (ed.), *Organised Crime in Antiquity* (London 1999).

at first sight, there is considerable debate about the definition of what exactly constitutes an *organized* form of criminal activity.<sup>133</sup> Criminal organizations are often thought of as large groups with a strict hierarchical organization, but some studies of organized crime in general and providers of illicit goods and services in particular stress the loosely organized nature and small scale of the criminal networks involved.<sup>134</sup> One prominent definition of a “criminal organization” is that of the *United Nations Convention on Transnational Organized Crime*: “a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with this Convention, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit.”<sup>135</sup> Other recurring elements complementing this broad description include the willingness to use violence and intimidation, and collusion with public officials.<sup>136</sup>

Although little is known about the internal organization of the groups involved in the smuggling and illicit trade of oil in Ptolemaic Egypt, the complex nature of some of the operations, in particular those involving theft or embezzlement of oil crops and illegal installations to process them, required careful planning and coordination. Those were not the spontaneous acts of opportunists. The importing of oil into a village from elsewhere in the Apollodoros dossier, be it from a nearby locality or from elsewhere in the Mediterranean, also presupposes regional or even international networks. *P.Köln* 6.261 + P.Stanford inv. 17 + P.Stanford inv. 37 (TM 2486) makes clear that the people processing the oil crops were a different group from those selling the illegal oil to consumers. The author also expresses concerns about the oil crops of the following year, suggesting the longevity of the criminal organizations involved. The smugglers of *SB* 16.12671 (TM 4141) may have been involved in other lucrative criminal activities too: the smuggling of opium.<sup>137</sup> Such networks certainly involved three or more individuals, a fact confirmed explicitly

<sup>133</sup> L. Paoli and T. Vander Beken, “Organized Crime: A Contested Concept,” in L. Paoli (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Organized Crime* (Oxford 2014) 13–31.

<sup>134</sup> P. Reuter, *Disorganized Crime: The Economics of the Visible Hand* (Cambridge, MA 1983).

<sup>135</sup> Article 2, cited in C. Fijnaut, “Searching for Organized Crime in History,” in L. Paoli (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Organized Crime* (Oxford 2014) 54.

<sup>136</sup> J.O. Finckenauer, “Problems of Definition: What is Organized Crime?” *Trends in Organized Crime* 8.3 (2005) 81–82.

<sup>137</sup> On the contested reading of this passage, see n. 45.

by several papyri.<sup>138</sup> The seriousness of the crimes or offences in the eyes of the government is evident from the severe sanctions imposed and the significance awarded to this issue in official directives (see above). The high official prices for oil created lucrative opportunities for the smugglers and black marketeers, and their profit motive is clear from the fact that they sold the illicit oil to consumers.

The reports of violence paint a rather bleak picture of the black market in oil. We have already seen how the oil seller Apollodoros was attacked in the street by what appears to have been a gang of armed supporters of one of the illicit retailers. The agents of the oil seller Phanesis, son of Nechthyris, who had discovered illegal activity, were also beaten (*mḥy*).<sup>139</sup> The most extreme case of violence is found in *SB* 16.12671 (TM 4141), in which a father reports the murder of his son at the hands of a smuggler. The victim had been a witness to the activities of four criminals, about whom he had submitted a *prosangelma*, which apparently got him killed. In addition to these acts of violence, the collusion with government officials described above also points to organized crime with a profit motive as an explanation for the organization of the black market in oil.

In the end, the motivations of the smugglers and black marketeers are very difficult to establish, and not every culprit need have had the same motive. The coordination of regional networks involved in the production and distribution of illicit oil and the associated violence constituted crimes that were highly organized, perpetrated by groups that conform to a broad definition of criminal organizations, but we should of course be careful not to project the organization and behavior of specific modern-day crime organizations onto Ptolemaic oil smugglers.<sup>140</sup>

### Conclusion

The vegetable oil smugglers of Ptolemaic Egypt were not simply evading taxes, but they supplied a black market that existed parallel to the government-sanctioned system of local village monopolies held by licensed retail dealers. Despite strict regulations controlling the entire supply chain,

<sup>138</sup> *SB* 16.12671 (TM 4141); *P.Köln* 6.261 + P.Stanford inv. 17 + P.Stanford inv. 37 (TM 2486); *P.Oxyrhyncha* 24 (TM 703732); *P.Tebr.* 1.39 (TM 3675).

<sup>139</sup> *P.Cair.* 2.31213.13 (TM 43663).

<sup>140</sup> Extra-legal governance, for instance, is a feature ascribed to certain modern criminal organizations like the Italian mafia that appears to be wholly absent from the world of illicit oil in Ptolemaic Egypt. See G.A. Antonopoulos and G. Papanicolaou, *Organized Crime: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford 2018) 4–5.

and severe penalties imposed on the ownership of productive installations as well as the sale and possession of contraband oil, smuggling and black marketeering were reported throughout the Ptolemaic period. The black market was supplied in various ways, but the main *modus operandi* (that is known to us) was theft or embezzlement of oil seed that was subsequently turned into oil on Egyptian soil. In some cases, the illegal oil produced in this way was sold to a separate group of black marketeers who marketed the oil to consumers. The transport of the contraband oil necessitated networks on a regional and possibly also an international scale. The illicit retailers employed several strategies to connect with customers, balancing the risk of detection with the number of potential customers. Comparative evidence suggests the possible involvement of legal dealers in illegal activity, but this is not unequivocally corroborated by the papyri. Temple precincts formed a preferred domain of activity for the black marketeers due to the difficulties faced by law enforcement in accessing these places. Although the proportion of black market trade cannot be calculated, quantitative and qualitative evidence suggest that illegal activities took place on a considerable scale, without, however, leading to a complete collapse of the government-controlled system. Incentives to buy illegal oil were provided by the high prices charged by the legal sellers, and possibly also the periodic unavailability of oil through legal channels. As for the smugglers and black marketeers, evidence for their status as “social criminals” supported by local communities is scant. On the other hand, the groups involved conform to broad modern definitions of criminal organizations involved in organized crime with a profit motive, an impression that is reinforced by their resorting to violence and collusion with officials.



## SB 10.10527 (TM 14312) AND THE SALE OF OUSIAC LAND IN EGYPT

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*Abstract.* — This paper offers a new interpretation of SB 10.10527 (TM 14312), which was previously interpreted by Parássoglou as an offer to buy five arouras of the *Louriane ousia* near Tebtynis. It makes more sense if the land being sold was the former property of a private landowner called Lurius who was indebted to the state. The remainder of the paper is dedicated to other alleged examples of sold-off imperial land and to the sense of πρότερον added to some descriptions of imperial estates, in order to demonstrate that such land was only rarely put up for sale by the administration.

*Keywords:* imperial *ousiai*, state land, sale of land, Lurius

### *For Sale: the Louriane ousia?*

In 1967 Bernard Boyaval published a request to buy land near Tebtynis dated to AD 151–152.<sup>1</sup> The request was addressed to the procurator Aelius Sokratikos by Dideis daughter of Horion, and since the former owner of the land is mentioned (l. 9: πρότερον Λουρίου), Boyaval suggested that we are dealing here with confiscated land. However, the reconstruction he proposed for line 6 is problematic: [βο]νλομένη ὠνήσασθαι [ἐκ τῶν] δημοσίῳ[ν ἔδαφ]ῶν εἰς πρᾶσιν ὑπερκει[μένων το]ῦ οὐσι[ακοῦ] λόγου (ll. 7–9: “I wish to buy from the public lands put up for sale by the *ousi-akos logos*”). Why would Lurius’ former property, further on described as κλήρου κα[τοικικοῦ] (ll. 11–12), be sold as public land, by the *ousi-akos logos*, moreover, a department that dealt with οὐσιακὴ γῆ (*ousiac*, i.e. imperial, land)?

<sup>1</sup> B. Boyaval, “Papyrus romains de la Sorbonne [avec 5 planches],” *BIFAO* 65 (1967) 71–87 (p. 74–80 deal with the papyrus in question). The date given by Boyaval, AD 152–153, was off by one year and was copied by several scholars until corrected by J.M.S. Cowey, “Remarks on Various Papyri III (SB V, VI, VIII, X, XII, XIV, XVI, XVIII, XX),” *ZPE* 132 (2000) 243.

In an article published five years later, Parássoglou offered a new interpretation of the passage in Il. 8–9<sup>2</sup>: because of the reference to the *ousiakos logos*, the land that is here described as πρότερον Λουρίου should be interpreted as imperial land belonging to the *Louriane ousia*.<sup>3</sup> This estate is believed to have been granted to Marcus Lurius, proconsul of Sardinia in 40 BC who later held the command of the right wing of Octavian's fleet at the battle of Actium alongside Agrippa. Parássoglou assumes that, like Maecenas, Lurius bequeathed his estate to Augustus and that it thus became imperial property early on.<sup>4</sup>

Parássoglou stresses the importance of SB 10.10527 since it implies that οὐσιακὴ γῆ could also be classified as δημόσια ἐδάφη or δημοσία γῆ, i.e. public land as opposed to privately owned land, and that plots of this type of land could be sold.<sup>5</sup> He was followed in his interpretation by Alessandri, who goes even further by assuming the existence of a γραφὴ δημοσίων ἐδαφῶν εἰς πρᾶσιν ὑπερκειμένων τοῦ οὐσιακοῦ λόγου that could be consulted by people interested in buying ousiac land in order to present an offer to the office of the *procurator usiacus*.<sup>6</sup>

This interpretation, i.e. the plot for sale being imperial land, is even more inconsistent than the original one proposed by Boyaval, because it implies that a single plot was attributed to three incompatible types of land: public (l. 8: [ἐκ τῶν] δημοσίῳ[ν ἐδαφ]ῶν), ousiac (l. 9: [το]ῦ οὐσι- [ακοῦ] λόγου), and katoikic, which was a category of private land (ll. 11–12: κλήρου κα[τοικικοῦ]).

Katoikic land was always private land. Even when it fell to the *idios logos* because of confiscation or because it was ownerless (ἀδέσποτα) or derelict (ἐν ὑπολόγῳ), it was resold as such.<sup>7</sup> Neither is οὐσιακὴ γῆ ever equated with δημοσία γῆ, even though public and ousiac land were exploited in much the same way: although both types were cultivated by

<sup>2</sup> G.M. Parássoglou, “Lurius, Aelius and Aelius. A Note on SB 10527,” *ZPE* 11 (1973) 21.

<sup>3</sup> This estate is attested 91 times in 34 documents, listed at <https://www.trismegistos.org/ousia/25>. See also G.M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology 18; Amsterdam 1978) 78–79, no. 16 (the text under scrutiny here is the first listed on p. 79, SB 10527). None of the other attestations are from Tebtynis, but all are located in the Fayum.

<sup>4</sup> Parássoglou (n. 3) 16.

<sup>5</sup> Parássoglou (n. 2) 22.

<sup>6</sup> S. Alessandri, *Le vendite fiscali nell'Egitto romano II. Da Nerva a Commodo* (Documenti e studi 51; Bari 2012) 75. He discusses the text, following Parássoglou's interpretation of imperial land, in detail on pp. 74–79.

<sup>7</sup> As is clear, for example, from requests to buy derelict land that is described as κατοικικοῦ ὑπολόγου in SB 5.7599.12–13 (TM 14031, AD 95), BGU 2.422.5 (TM 9162, AD 139–140), *P.Petaus* 20.2–3 (TM 8813, AD 185), *P.Petaus* 21.2 (TM 8815, AD 185).

the same farmers and subject to a variable rent,<sup>8</sup> they are always listed under separate headings in land surveys and tax accounts,<sup>9</sup> and from Hadrian onward, their revenues were even managed by different departments, the *dioikesis* as opposed to the *ousiakos logos*.<sup>10</sup>

My first idea was therefore to change the reading of ll. 11–12 and instead of κλήρου κα[τοιικικοῦ] to suggest a personal name starting with Κα[, such as Kastor or Kallinikos. The five arouras of the *Louriane ousia* would then not be described as katoikic land, but simply with a fossilized *kleros* name referring to a former owner, for which there are some parallels.<sup>11</sup> Although this gets rid of the problematic katoikic status, this does not solve the problem entirely, since we would then still be dealing with public land sold by the department managing imperial land.

While looking for parallels for SB 10.10527, a simpler solution presented itself. Other applications to buy property from the state use similar standard opening formulas in which the prospective buyer expresses his

<sup>8</sup> For farmers cultivating both public and ousiac land, see, for example, the *pittakia* registers in Philadelphieia, in which a single *pittakion*, i.e. a group of state farmers, is listed cultivating both types of land (e.g. BGU 22.2905 + BGU 22, pp. 149–158 + P.Graux 4.31, col. 6.99–109 [TM 10473, AD 163–164]). For more information on these *pittakia*, see J. France, *Theadelphia and Euhemeria: Village History in Greco-Roman Egypt* (dissertation Leuven 1999) 343–372 (available online at [www.trismegistos.org/top/#topss](http://www.trismegistos.org/top/#topss)); and most recently the introduction to BGU 22. P.Ryl.Gr. 2.207 (TM 27891, AD 100–125) is an example of a land survey listing a variety of rent levels for a number of imperial plots in Psenhyris and Neilopolis in the Arsinoite nome. Even plots located in the same village and belonging to the same estate were taxed differently. For more information on rent levels, with references to further literature, see J. Rowlandson, “The Organization of Public Land in Roman Egypt,” *CRIPEL* 25 (2005) 181–182.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. P.Bouriant 42 (TM 10284, AD 166–167), a land register and tax report where the overview of ousiac land located in satellite villages of Karanis is entered under separate headings.

<sup>10</sup> That this department was not created under the Flavians, which is the prevailing view, was already noted by F. Beutler, “Der Procurator Usiacus,” in M. Mayer, G. Baratta, and A. Guzmán Almagro (eds.), *Acta XII congressus internationalis epigraphiae graecae et latinae: provinciae imperii romani inscriptionibus descriptae: Barcelona, 3–8 Septembris 2002* (Universitat de Barcelona. Institut d’Estudis Catalans. Monografies de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica 10.1; Barcelona 2007) 148. A new chronology for the transformation of the imperial *ousiai* from private property to state land will be presented in Y. Broux, “The *Ousiakos Logos*, the *Procurator Usiacus*, and *Ousiake Ge*: Was it Vespasian, Domitian, or Hadrian?” *APF* 67 (2021, forthcoming).

<sup>11</sup> E.g. in P.Oxy. 38.2873 (TM 22257, AD 62), a withdrawal from a lease of five arouras of the *kleros* of Diotimos belonging to the *ousia* of Seneca, or in P.Ryl.Gr. 2.157 (TM 19511, AD 135) where an imperial vineyard (l. 4: οὔσιακ[ὸν] ἀμπελικὸν κτῆμα) in the village of Thrage is part of the so-called *kleros* of Xenon. On these fossilized *kleros* names, see F. Zucker, “Beobachtungen zu den permanenten Klerosnamen,” in H. Braunert (ed.), *Studien zur Papyrologie und antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte Friedrich Oertel zum achtzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet* (Bonn 1964) 101–106.

or her intent. The phrase βουλόμενος ὠνήσασθαι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου (“I wish to buy from the treasury”) was used up until the middle of the second century AD.<sup>12</sup> After that, the expression βουλόμενος ὠνήσασθαι ἐκ τῶν εἰς πρᾶσιν ὑπερκειμένων or προκειμένων (“I wish to buy from the properties made subject to sale / put up for sale”) appears.<sup>13</sup> In some texts we find a combination of both, as in *P.Oxy.* 62.4337.5–6: βο[ύ]λομαι ὠνήσασθαι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς πρᾶσιν ὑπερκειμένων.<sup>14</sup> Such a reconstruction fits *SB* 10.10527 well and was in fact already suggested in the introduction to *P.Oxy.* 70.4778.<sup>15</sup> With the reconstruction ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἀπὸ τῶν instead of [ἐκ τῶν] δημοσίου[ν ἐδαφ]ῶν in l. 8,<sup>16</sup> there is no need to correct κλήρου κα[τοικικοῦ] in ll. 11–12, since there are several examples of katoikic land being sold by the state.<sup>17</sup>

This leaves us with just one more issue: that of imperial land being sold off as katoikic land. However, the text never explicitly speaks of imperial land. Parássoglou and Alessandrì assume this because the *ousiakos logos* was somehow involved in the sale (l. 9) and because the request was directed to Aelius Sokratikos,<sup>18</sup> whom we know from other texts to have been an ἐπίτροπος Σεβαστοῦ, a freedman procurator who is considered to be the forerunner of the equestrian *procurator usiacus*.<sup>19</sup> After

<sup>12</sup> E.g. *P.Oxy.* 47.3334 (TM 22448, ca. AD 89–94); *SB* 5.7599 (TM 14031, AD 95); *SB* 1.5673 (TM 23253, AD 147).

<sup>13</sup> E.g. *P.Turner* 24 (TM 15692, AD 148–154); *P.Amh.Gr.* 2.97 (TM 10118, AD 181); *P.Petaus* 13–15 (TM 8752–4, AD 184–185); *P.Petaus* 16 (TM 8806, ca. AD 182–187); *SB* 20.14974 (TM 23839, AD 190). This change in formulation may be linked to administrative reforms, after which the sale of land ἐν ὑπολόγῳ no longer rested exclusively with the *idios logos*, as had been the case up until the middle of the second century AD but could also be conducted by the *dioikesis*: Alessandrì (n. 6) 164–165. This is clear from the fact that the department in question was often added to the expression, as in *SB* 20.14974.6–8 (TM 23839, AD 190): βούλομαι ὠνήσασθαι ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς πρ[ᾶσιν] προκειμ[ένων] τῆς τοῦ ἰδίου λ[όγου] ἐπιτροπ[ῆς], or in *P.Amh.Gr.* 2.97.5–6 (TM 10118, AD 181): βούλομαι ὠνήσασθαι ἐκ τῶν εἰς πρᾶσιν ὑπερκειμένων τῆς διοικήσεως.

<sup>14</sup> TM 21641, AD 178 (?).

<sup>15</sup> TM 92170, ca. AD 238.

<sup>16</sup> The letter after δημοσί is too rounded at the top to be an ω; an ο fits better, as can be seen on the image in Boyaval (n. 1) pl. XIV (available at [www.ifao.egnet.net/bifao/065/06/](http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bifao/065/06/)).

<sup>17</sup> See note 7 above, which lists sales of derelict katoikic land. *BGU* 2.650 (TM 9288, AD 46–47) and *P.Turner* 24 (TM 15692, AD 148–154) are applications to buy confiscated katoikic *kleroi*.

<sup>18</sup> Known from several texts, see [www.trismegistos.org/person/127087](http://www.trismegistos.org/person/127087).

<sup>19</sup> *SB* 1.4231 (TM 102725, AD 186?). For the freedman procurators managing imperial land in second-century Egypt see C. Bruun, “Some Comments on the Status of Imperial Freedmen (The Case of Ti. Claudius Aug. lib. Classicus),” *ZPE* 82 (1990) 272–274 and F. Beutler, “Wer war ein *Procurator usiacus*? Die Verwaltung des Patrimoniums in

the death of the original owner, an *ousia* was seldomly referred to by that owner's proper name, however. An adjectivized form ending in -ιανή was commonly used, and this is the case for all known attestations of the *Louriane ousia* as well. This would be the only case where the description πρότερον Λουρίου supposedly refers to this estate.

Yet Boyaval's original interpretation of Lurius as a name referring to a local inhabitant makes perfect sense. As he already noted, the name was borne by several individuals around Tebtynis.<sup>20</sup> The beginning of l. 10, [...]ἔως τοῦ [. . . . .]ισκου, should therefore rightly be seen as what is left of Lurius' patronymic and papponymic,<sup>21</sup> and not, as Parássoglou proposed, [μισθώσ]ἔως followed by the name of a new lessee.<sup>22</sup>

The way I see it, SB 10.10527 should therefore be interpreted as follows: Lurius was a former lessee of imperial property. Which *ousia* exactly is not specified, but given his name, there is perhaps a connection with the *Louriane ousia* or its original owner Marcus Lucius. However, it is not land of the *Louriane ousia* that is put up for sale here. Lurius' own katoikic land that had served as surety for his lease had been confiscated since he had not been able to fulfil the terms of his contract. As his debts were to the *ousiakos logos*, which managed imperial land, his property was confiscated and put up for sale by this department, instead of through the *idios logos*, which handled other debts to the state (i.e. not related to ousiac land). Our text here is not an isolated example: confiscation of private property of lessees of imperial estates already took place in the first century AD.<sup>23</sup>

### *Other Possible Indications of Sales of Ousiatic Land?*

#### (1) Examples of sales cited by Parássoglou

Parássoglou gives five other texts as evidence that imperial property was sometimes put up for sale in the second and third centuries AD,<sup>24</sup>

Ägypten in der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts," *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 18 (2007) 67–82; for the equestrian procurator usiacus see Beutler (n. 10). A summarizing overview will also be presented in Broux (n. 10).

<sup>20</sup> Boyaval (n. 1) 79. For the name Lurius in Egypt, see [www.trismegistos.org/name/3883](http://www.trismegistos.org/name/3883).

<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately, too little is preserved to propose any names.

<sup>22</sup> Parássoglou (n. 2) 21.

<sup>23</sup> *BGU* 2.650 (TM 9288, AD 46–47) and *Stud.Pal.* 20.1 (TM 15005, AD 83–84); both also discussed in S. Alessandri, *Le vendite fiscali. I. Da Augusto a Domiziano* (Documenti e studi 41; Bari 2005) 55–59 (*BGU* 2.650) and 157–170 (*Stud.Pal.* 20.1).

<sup>24</sup> Parássoglou (n. 3) 28, note 92.

but upon closer inspection only two remain: *P.Bouriant* 42 (TM 10284) and *P.Giss.Univ.* 6 52 (TM 11284).

*P.Bouriant* 42 is a long tax register drawn up by the village scribe of Hieria Nesos and its satellite villages Ptolemais Nea and Kerkeesis (near Karanis), presenting the expected rents and dues on grain land pending inspection (*episkepsis*).<sup>25</sup> In col. 4, where imperial land in Hieria Nesos itself is listed, the summary for the *ousiai* of Vespasian includes an entry καθηκόντ(ων) τῶν οὔσιακ(ῶν) ἐκ τοῦ κ[υ]ριακοῦ λόγου(υ) (ἄρουρα) α ἡ (ἄρτάβη(?)) α ω κδ' (ll. 94–95: “dues of the ousiac [lands sold] from the *kyriakos logos*: 1 + 1/8 arouras, 1 + 2/3 + 1/24 artabas”). The amounts listed here are precisely the same as the arouras and artabas listed before on l. 89 for “Antonia *thygater*” (i.e. the daughter of the emperor Claudius). That her land is indeed meant by these καθήκοντα is confirmed by an entry for the *drymos* of Hieria Nesos in col. 5, where a fuller description is given: καθηκόντω(ν) ἐδαφῶ(ν) ἐκ τοῦ κυριακο(ῦ) λόγου πεπραμένω(ν), Ἀντωνίας θυγ(ατρὸς) θεοῦ Κλαυδ(ίου) (ἄρουρα) α λ δ' (ἄρτάβη) α λ δ' (ll. 116–117: “dues of the lands sold from the *kyriakos logos*, of Antonia daughter of the divine Claudius: 1 + 1/2 + 1/4 arouras, 1 + 1/2 + 1/4 artabas”). A small portion of Seneca's property in Kerkeesis is described in the same fashion: καθηκόντων ἐδαφῶν ἐκ τοῦ οὔσιακοῦ λόγου πεπραμέν(ων), χόρτ(ου) (ἄρουραι) η λ ἡ ις' ξδ' (ἄρτάβαι) η ω κδ' (col. 6, ll. 147–148: “dues for lands sold from the *ousiakos logos*, fodder: 8 + 1/2 + 1/8 + 1/16 + 1/64 arouras, 8 + 2/3 + 1/24 artabas”), which corresponds to the καθ(ηκόντων) ἐδαφ(ῶν) Σεν(έκου) οὔσ(ιας) (ἄρουραι) η λ ἡ ις' ξδ' (ἄρτάβαι) η ω κδ' in l. 160 and col. 8, ll. 214–216.<sup>26</sup>

These lands of Antonia and Seneca were not taxed at a high rate as the rest of the imperial land in these villages was, but at the low rate of ca. one artaba per aoura that was levied on private land. They are also listed as καθήκοντα, just like private land in this register (e.g. col. 1, l. 17:

<sup>25</sup> *P.Bouriant* 42 (TM 10284, AD 166–167).

<sup>26</sup> Since the entries for Antonia speak of the *kyriakos logos*, while that of Seneca mentions the *ousiakos logos*, Collart assumed that there were two accounts managing imperial land: the *kyriakos logos* for land that had belonged to the emperor himself and his family, and the *ousiakos logos* for land that had been awarded to friends, advisors, and freedmen: P. Collart, *Les papyrus Bouriant* (Paris 1926) 164. *Kyriakos logos* was just a term used for the *fiscus* in general, however: F. Millar, “The Fiscus in the First Two Centuries,” *JRS* 53 (1963) 29–42; P.A. Brunt, “The ‘Fiscus’ and its Development,” *JRS* 56 (1966) 75–91; D. Bonneau, “Recherches sur le *kuriakos logos* (commentaire de P. Oxy. 2847),” *JJP* 19 (1983) 131–153; T. Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung. Untersuchungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte Ägyptens in der Zeit von Augustus bis Philippus Arabs* (30 v. Chr. – 245 n. Chr.), vol. 1 (APF Beiheft 11.1; München-Leipzig 2002) 607.

καθηκόντων ιδιω(ικῶν) ἑδαφῶ(ν) in Hieria Nesos). There is no indication as to why these plots were sold, however. Raising cash can hardly have been the administration's incentive, since such small plots would not have fetched a lot of money. A more likely explanation is that these particular parcels had gone dry and that selling them would have been the best way to ensure they came back into cultivation.

What is especially strange here is that these parcels are still listed among the *ousiai* managed by the state, while one would expect them to be counted among the καθήκοντα ιδιωτικῶν ἑδαφῶν listed in the previous section of the register (*recto*, cols. 1–3). Collart suggests that at the time this list was drawn up, the lands had only recently been sold and were still in a transition period.<sup>27</sup> However, four to six years later, we still find καθήκοντα Σενεκανῆς listed in the tax rolls of Karanis.<sup>28</sup> In AD 172 and 173, Sarapias daughter of Pasion paid a small amount of 4.5 obols and 2 *chalkoi* for this land, together with a series of other taxes for a garden and some katoikic land. Whether or not this is the same land (geographical indications are scarce in the tax rolls of Karanis), it is clear that we are not dealing with a transition period. This was simply the correct way to refer to imperial land that was no longer subjected to a variable rent. The καθήκοντα listed among the imperial estates in the *drymos* of Hieria Nesos and in Kerkeesis were therefore lands that were indeed sold. Since they had initially belonged to the *ousiakos logos*, however, the fixed tax that was now due did not go to the *dioikesis*, as it did in the case of other private land, but to the department that had sold them, and that is why they are still listed separately under the headings of the *ousiai*.

Since Parássoglou's work on imperial estates, two new texts have been published that also testify to the sale of imperial land in the same region (Karanis) and period (last decades of the second century AD).<sup>29</sup> Both are declarations of village scribes citing the various tax and payment lists (ἀπαιτήσιμα) destined for the *eklogistes* in Alexandria.<sup>30</sup> One such list is the ἀπαιτήσιμον τελεσμάτων ἑδαφῶν ἐκ τοῦ οὐσιακοῦ λόγου πεπραμένων (SB 22.15821.12–13: “list of payments on lands sold from

<sup>27</sup> Collart (n. 26) 165.

<sup>28</sup> *P.Mich.* 4.223.2683 (TM 11998, AD 171–172); *P.Mich.* 4.224.5501 (TM 11999, AD 173).

<sup>29</sup> *P.Sijpesteijn* 20 (TM 110154, AD 169–170) for the *komogrammateia* of Dinneon and Onniton (near Karanis) and SB 22.15821 (TM 41664, AD 180–192) for Karanis.

<sup>30</sup> The *eklogistes* supervised all things related to the *fiscus* and prepared the audit of the nome administration; see, e.g., A. Jördens, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Studien zum praefectus Aegypti* (Historia Einzelschriften 175; Stuttgart 2009) 99ff.



the *ousiakos logos*”<sup>31</sup>). Since the lists themselves have not survived, we do not know which lands they included, but chances are high they also referred to the sections of the estates of Seneca and Antonia daughter of Claudius.

The second true example cited by Parássoglou concerns land near Tebtynis. A preliminary report prepared for *episkepsis* in AD 222 or 223 lists all *abrochos* land, i.e. land that had not been reached by the Nile flood that year.<sup>32</sup> It starts with royal land and then moves on to *ousiac* land, following the usual division of the *ousiai* of Vespasian and those of Titus. Under the former is listed unflooded land of the Antoniane estate (ll. 11–13) and of an *ousia* of which the name is lost (ll. 14–15), followed by [Σ]εν(ε)κ(ανῆς) οὐσί(ας) ἐκ τοῦ οὐσιακοῦ λόγου πεπραμέναι ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ(?)) (ἄρτάβην) α (ἄρουραι(?)) δ θ ἡ (l. 16).<sup>33</sup> As in the *drymos* of Hieria Nesos and in Kerkeesis, the area sold is small, slightly less than five *arouras*. They are taxed at the flat rate of one *artaba* of wheat per *aroura*, while the other estate sections in this report have rates that vary between two and more than nine *artabas* per *aroura*. It is impossible to tell when the land was sold: it could have happened recently, but it may also have happened during a single nome-wide action together with the lands around Hieria Nesos more than half a century earlier.

The other three cases of sale of imperial land cited by Parássoglou should be discarded. One is a cession of a *katoikic* olive grove supposedly characterized as οὐσιακός,<sup>34</sup> but since its first publication the reading οὐσι(ακοῦ) has been corrected into ὁ ἐστ(ιν).<sup>35</sup> Similarly, *P.Oxy.* 12.1434

<sup>31</sup> Because of a lacuna in *P.Sijpesteijn* 20.16–17, the exact wording is not certain: [ἀπαιτήσι]μο[ν . . .] . . . ρκι [ἐ]δαφῶν ἐκ τοῦ οὐσιακοῦ λόγου πεπραμ[ένων]. Neither τελεσμάτων, which is read in the other ἀπαιτήσιμα list, nor καθήκοντα, used in *P.Bouriant* 42, fits here. The Μαρκί[ου] and Μαρκί[ας] proposed by the editor are not convincing, as there is no *ousia* with such a name.

<sup>32</sup> *P.Giss.Univ.* 6.52 (TM 11284, AD 222–223?).

<sup>33</sup> The *Senekane ousia* was actually part of Titus’ share, which only starts on l. 17: [οὐσιῶν] Τίτου Σενεκ(ανῆς) οὐσί(ας). The ν and κ before οὔσι are still clearly legible on the photograph (<http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/papyri/images/pbug-inv286recto.jpg>), but there is no known estate with this sequence of letters. In any case, the scribe made a mistake. Either the *Senekane ousia* is indeed meant, but he was too hasty and added this entry, with an error in the estate name before starting the heading for the *ousiai* of Titus; Σενεκ( ) instead of Σενεκ( ) is also found in *P.Bouriant* 42 *recto*, col. 6.136 and 142 (TM 10284, AD 166–167). Or, another estate is meant, again with a spelling mistake. If we supplement a ι, then we could restore [Γερμα]ν(ι)κ( ), which in *P.Bouriant* 42 is listed among the *ousiai* of Vespasian (*recto*, col. 4.78–79). Since there is no other undisputed evidence for the sale of sections of the *Germanikiane ousia*, however, the reconstruction with *Senekane* proposed by the editor remains the most likely solution.

<sup>34</sup> *BGU* 2.622.8 (TM 9270, AD 182).

<sup>35</sup> *BL* 1.57.

does not concern ousiac land either.<sup>36</sup> Col. 1 of this report, written in AD 107–108 by the village scribe of *Monimou epoikion* and surrounding villages, concerns land owned by Gaius Iulius son of Gaius Iulius Theon. According to the editors of this text, in AD 10–11 this Gaius Iulius was, by permission of the prefect Gaius Iulius Aquila, allowed to buy sacred land which had previously been presented to his father, Gaius Iulius Theon, by an earlier prefect, Gaius Tyrannius, ἀπὸ [λό]γου Καίσαρος around 7–4 BC. However, Alessandri convincingly argues that we are here not dealing with one, but two sections of land, sold on two different occasions to the same Gaius Iulius Theon, who was not the father, but the grandfather of Gaius Iulius. Gaius Iulius was the owner of the land at the time the village scribe wrote the report under Trajan, but which obviously describes events that took place much earlier. What actually happened was that Gaius Iulius Theon, the grandfather, acquired a first section of land between 7 and 4 BC ἀπὸ [λό]γου Καίσαρος after an edict issued by the prefect Gaius Tyrannius (Il. 14–16), and a second section by presenting an offer to Aquila some years later (AD 10–11) for sacred land dedicated to Isis Taposiris (Il. 11–14).<sup>37</sup> That the earliest piece of land came ἀπὸ [λό]γου Καίσαρος does not mean we are dealing with the sale of imperial land, however. At this time, ousiac land (to use an anachronistic term), was not yet state land. There was as yet no such thing as an *ousiakos logos*, a separate account that managed these lands. The λόγος Καίσαρος referred to here should be interpreted as the *idios logos*, the “special” account that was responsible for the sale of ownerless and derelict land.<sup>38</sup>

The final text concerning a supposed sale of imperial land cited by Parásoglou is a petition to the *strategos* of the Hermopolite nome wherein Aurelius Adelphios complains that he was attacked by some villagers while bringing in the harvest on his land.<sup>39</sup> This land, situated in the village of Tarrouthis in the same nome, is defined as ousiac land, which he inherited from his father: οὐσιακὴν γῆν κέκτημαι περὶ Ταροῦθιν ἀπὸ διαδοχῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλθοῦσαν εἰς ἐμέ (Il. 5–7). Further on, Adelphios stresses that he had planted εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν γῆν, “on his own land” (l. 19). The editor of this text therefore also assumes the land had originally been sold off by the state (either directly to Adelphios’ father, or first to someone else).<sup>40</sup> Two remarks should be made here, however. First, this petition

<sup>36</sup> TM 21838, AD 107–108.

<sup>37</sup> Alessandri (n. 23) 29–36, especially 32–33.

<sup>38</sup> Alessandri (n. 23) 34.

<sup>39</sup> CPR 17.1.9 b (TM 17705, AD 320).

<sup>40</sup> CPR 17.1.9 b, note to l. 5.

is of a much later date than the other material discussed so far (AD 320). The department that managed imperial land during the previous centuries, the *ousiakos logos*, had ceased to exist by now, its last firm attestation dating to AD 262.<sup>41</sup> The department was therefore abolished by Diocletian at the latest.<sup>42</sup> Secondly, in the course of the third century AD the distinction between public and private land on the level of ownership started to erode, with all land becoming *de facto* private.<sup>43</sup> Adelphios' father or grandfather may therefore simply have been a lessee of imperial land who eventually claimed ownership. In any case, from the middle of the third century AD onward the sale of state land to private individuals seems very unlikely.

## (2) Ousiai designated with πρότερον

From the very beginning we find imperial properties where the adverb πρότερον ("formerly") is added to their description. We can distinguish two formats<sup>44</sup>: (a) (*ousia*) of X, formerly of Y, e.g. τῆς ... [Τιβερίου] Κλαυδίου Δορυφόρου πρότερον Ναρκισσιανῆς οὐσία[ς]<sup>45</sup>; and (b) formerly (the *ousia*) of X, either with the name proper or with an adjectivized form in -ιανή, e.g. πρότερον Γερμ[ανικία]νῆς οὐσίας.<sup>46</sup>

The first type is mainly attested in the Julio-Claudian period, when the estates of the original owners could still be enlarged, such as the lands of Gaius Iulius Alexandros in Euhemereia that were added to Livia's property not long before her death,<sup>47</sup> or when certain (sections of) *ousiai* were

<sup>41</sup> *P.Strasb.Gr.* 1.5.17 (TM 18663).

<sup>42</sup> Parássoglou (n. 3) 85.

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem. See also J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt: The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (Oxford 1996) 68–69, and A. Monson, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans: Political and Economic Change in Egypt* (Cambridge 2012) 154, both with further references. The distinction public versus private continued to exist on the fiscal level, however, as land classified as royal or public continued to be taxed at a heavier rate than private land, just like in previous centuries: Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants*, 64–65 with references to further literature in notes 120 and 121.

<sup>44</sup> The word οὐσία is not always added, but the owners are well known from other sources. All examples of both types can be downloaded at [www.trismegistos.org/tmcorpus-data/18](http://www.trismegistos.org/tmcorpus-data/18).

<sup>45</sup> *P.Ryl.Gr.* 2.171.1–2 (TM 12953, AD 55–56).

<sup>46</sup> *SB* 18.13903.10–11 (TM 25350, AD 19–99?).

<sup>47</sup> Gaius Iulius Alexandros' identity remains uncertain. It is unlikely that he was the alabarch (the brother of the writer Philo), since that person was still alive under Claudius (Parássoglou [n. 3] 17, note 12), unless for some reason his property was given to Livia before he passed away. The alabarch's homonymous father seems a more likely candidate: since he possibly acquired Roman citizenship under Augustus, we have a strong motive for the fact that (part of) his property came into Livia's hands instead of being passed down to his children, as it would only be appropriate to leave part of his inheritance to his

reallocated to new owners.<sup>48</sup> From the Flavians onward, however, only the *Pallatiane ousia* (the estate of Marcus Antonius Pallas, freedman of Antonia Minor and confidant of Claudius) is still referred to in this matter: e.g. Πάλλαντ(ος) (πρότερον) Ίουκούνδ(ου) καὶ Χρησί(μου),<sup>49</sup> or Παλα-ντιανῆς οὐσί(ας) (πρότερον) Γαλίας Πώλις.<sup>50</sup> In fact, the names of the owners before Pallas became so well-known that they often sufficed in official documents to identify these lands. In SB 16.12676,<sup>51</sup> for example, most estates are listed with the original *ousia* owner's abbreviated cognomen, e.g. *Maik*( ) for *Maikentiane*, *Germ*( ) for *Germanikiane*, and *Senek*( ) for *Senekane*.<sup>52</sup> The lands formerly belonging to Pallas are simply described as (πρότερον) Γαλ(λίας) Πώλ(λης), however.<sup>53</sup> The same goes for the section of Pallas' estate that before him were owned by Iucundus and Chresimos: in a land survey from Philadelphieia these lands are simply called (πρότερον) Ίουκούνδου καὶ Χρησίμου.<sup>54</sup>

Only once is this first type of reference attested for an imperial estate other than that of Pallas after the Julio-Claudians. In a seed order for a farmer from the village of Psobthis in the Oxyrhynchite nome, we hear of an *ousia* described as πρότερον [ ca. ? ], νυγεί δὲ τοῦ κυρίου [ήμῶν

benefactor's widow. In any case, the Gaius Iulius Alexandros whose property is referred to here was still alive in AD 26, when he is attested as owner in *P.Ryl.Gr.* 2.166 (TM 12951). In *P.Ryl.Gr.* 2.126 (TM 12912), dated to AD 28–29, his lands had been incorporated in Livia's *ousia*.

<sup>48</sup> We know, for example, that after her death, Antonia Minor's property in Euheme-ria was split up between Caligula (her grandson) and Claudius (her son): *P.Ryl.Gr.* 2.148 (TM 12934, AD 40); later on, a section of her estate located in the Oxyrhynchite nome is attested as belonging to Seneca: SB 16.12383 (TM 16229, AD 55–56). Several early estates also seem to have been donated to new owners under Nero, since they are no longer attested from then on: this is the case for the *Petroniane ousia*, which went to the future emperor Otho; for the estate of Decimus Valerius Asiaticus, donated to Seneca; and for the property of Tiberius Claudius Narcissus, given to Tiberius Claudius Doryphorus (all attested in TM 97233 = *P.Schøyen* 2.27, AD 54–62).

<sup>49</sup> BGU 9.1895 + BGU 9.1894.94 (TM 9464, AD 158–159).

<sup>50</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* 1.1 verso col. 4.8–9 (TM 10189, AD 165).

<sup>51</sup> TM 27192, AD 125–175.

<sup>52</sup> SB 16.12676, col. 2.1–2, 4–7, 9–10 (TM 27192, AD 125–175).

<sup>53</sup> Lines 3 and 8. Gallia Polla has been identified as a member of the senatorial *gens Gallia*, supporters of Marcus Antonius. Scholars assume she inherited her estate from a male kinsman who either bought or was granted land around the 40s BC (L. Rossi, “Romans and Land Property Rights in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Evidence of Lucius Septimius,” *AncSoc* 44 [2014] 135–136). Suetonius (*Tib.* 6), however, mentions that a Marcus Gallius appointed Tiberius as his heir, who accepted the inheritance, but soon refused to use his name since Gallius was an enemy of Augustus. Perhaps Gallia Polla was the first of this *gens* to own the land, and it came into Tiberius' possession through Marcus Gallius' inheritance?

<sup>54</sup> *P.Congr.XV* 15 recto 68 (TM 44092, AD 80). Judging by their names, Iucundus and Chresimos were slaves (Parássoglou [n. 3] 24).

Δομιτιανού] Αὐτοκράτορος οὐσίας.<sup>55</sup> The opposition πρότερον X, νυνεὶ δὲ Y is generally used to indicate a recent change of ownership,<sup>56</sup> and given the date of the text,<sup>57</sup> this emperor can be no other than Domitian. The name of the original owner of the land is unfortunately lost in a lacuna; perhaps his or her property was confiscated?<sup>58</sup>

The second type, “formerly (the *ousia*) of X,” without reference to the current owner, occurs only rarely in the Julio-Claudian period (five examples).<sup>59</sup> The fact that no new owner is explicitly mentioned could indicate that these properties were now owned by the emperor himself.<sup>60</sup> On the

<sup>55</sup> SB 20.14286.12–14 (TM 23706, AD 88).

<sup>56</sup> Examples are few in documentary papyri. The earliest refers to land recently acquired by Augustus: [πρότερον]ν Πετενεφειῖους νυνεὶ δὲ Κα[ί]σαρος αὐτοκράτορος[ς] in SB 14.11933.5–6 (TM 14532, 27 BC; a lease contract concerning the land in question). This opposition is also found in sale contracts or divisions of property, e.g. *P.Mich.* 5.254–255.3 (TM 12089–12090, AD 29–30), two copies of a sale of sacred land near Ptolemais Melissourgon bordering on land “formerly belonging to Petermouthis, now to Herakleios.” Other such examples are *P.Mich.* 5.269–271.15–16 (TM 12105–12107, AD 42; sale of a share of a house and a courtyard in Tebtynis); *P.Mich.* 5.321.9–10 (TM 15167, AD 42; division of property in Tebtynis); *P.Strash.Gr.* 4.265.15 and 17–18 (TM 13227, AD 41–54; a cession of part of a house in Soknopaiou Nesos); *PSI* 13.1319.13–14 and 26–27 (TM 13871, AD 76; sale of house in Soknopaiou Nesos). Concerning Julio-Claudian *ousiai*, it is also used in *P.Coll.Youtie* 1.19.12 (TM 10566, AD 44), where the neighbor of a plot of katoikic land is described as (πρότερον) Μαικηνοῦ καὶ Πωλλ[ί]ωνος, ν[υ]ν[ε]ὶ δὲ ca. ? ] (if the reconstruction of νυνί is indeed correct); and in *P.Lond.* 2, pp. 193–194, no. 280.4–6 (TM 11665) concerning the lease of an oil press in Herakleia that previously belonged to Tiberius Claudius Sarapion and now to Nero (ἐλαιουργίου τοῦ ἐν ἐποικίῳ περὶ Ἡρακλ[ε]ίαν τῆς Θεμίσ]-του μερίδος πρότερον Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Σαραπίωνος, νυνεὶ δὲ τοῦ κυρίου Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσα[ρος] Σεβασ[τοῦ] Γερμα[νικοῦ] Αὐτοκράτορος). In the third century AD the opposition is sometimes used in descriptions of confiscated property, as in *P.Oxy.* 44.3169.48 and 58 (TM 15931, ca. AD 200–212); *P.Prag.* 1.117.5–9 (TM 12758, AD 289–290).

<sup>57</sup> The text is damaged and no date is preserved, but it can be inferred from two other seed orders issued by the same individuals: W.H. Willis, “Oxyrhynchite Documents Among the Robinson Papyri,” *BASP* 25 (1988) 104.

<sup>58</sup> Willis (n. 57) 104.

<sup>59</sup> Two attestations of Antonia Minor in *P.Ross.Georg.* 2.12 *recto* col. 3.4 and 8 (TM 12833, AD 48), a census document listing farmers who used to work for her estate; one of Messalina in Wessely, *Karanis* p. 4 *descr.* (TM 128979, AD 48–54?) but since this text is not published, the context is unknown; one of Decimus Valerius Asiaticus in *P.Sijpesteijn* 26.13 (TM 109074, AD 51), a *laographia* estimate for Philadelphieia listing the *ousiai* that were exempt from extra charges; and one of Narcissus in *Chrest.Wilck.* 176.5–6 (TM 15152, AD 60–64), a petition regarding the neglect of an oil press belonging to his former estate. A sixth example may exist for property formerly belonging to Maecenas and Pollio, but the editor restores [ν]ν[ε]ὶ δέ[ε] after their names in *P.Coll.Youtie* 1.19.11 (TM 10566, AD 44).

<sup>60</sup> There were several ways these *ousiai* could have ended up in the hands of an emperor, some (such as inheritance or confiscation) more likely than others (such as purchasing land himself, or gifts): L.E. Tacoma, “Imperial Wealth in Roman Egypt: The Julio-Claudian *Ousiai*,” in P. Erdkamp, K. Verboven, and A. Zuiderhoek (eds.), *Ownership and Exploitation of Land and Natural Resources in the Roman World* (Oxford 2015) 79–82.

other hand, there are 38 examples dated between roughly the Flavians and the beginning of the third century AD. The earliest refer to Seneca's former property as (πρότερον) Σενέκα and are dated to the last decades of the first and the early years of the second centuries AD.<sup>61</sup> This mode of reference was not limited to a particular location, as these sections of Seneca's estate were spread across the Herakleopolite, Oxyrhynchite, Hermopolite, and Arsinoite nomes.

Out of the 38 examples belonging to the second category, 12 are attested in one and the same document containing monthly *sitologos* reports for Theadelphia and surrounding villages in AD 164–165.<sup>62</sup> They read οὐσιῶν(ν) (πρότερον) θεοῦ Οὕεσπ(ασιανοῦ) or οὐσιῶν(ν) (πρότερον) θεοῦ Τίτου(ου),<sup>63</sup> after which is recorded the amount of revenue and extra charges, either in wheat or in barley, from the imperial properties in this locality. A thirteenth attestation appears in a similar text, also from Theadelphia, dated a year later.<sup>64</sup> In the late second and early third centuries AD, three new estate names appear, preceded by πρότερον and sometimes also the designation οὐσιῶν θεοῦ Οὕεσπ(ασιανοῦ): those formerly of Latinus, of Chrestos, and of “police officials.”<sup>65</sup> These estates are only attested in the

<sup>61</sup> The only exception is *P.Aberdeen* 152 (TM 28306) dated to the second century AD in general, but perhaps on the basis of the other attestations the date of this text should be narrowed down to the first half?

<sup>62</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* 1.1 (TM 10189).

<sup>63</sup> Sometime after Vespasian rose to power, the *ousiai* that had belonged to Nero were apparently divided among himself and his heir Titus, as is clear from these generic headings that feature in several Arsinoite documents: e.g. *P.Köln Gr.* 2.97 (TM 21201, AD 119–164); *P.Strasb.Gr.* 6.551 (TM 26910, AD 100–199); *P.Oxy.* 42.3047 (TM 16445, AD 245); *P.Graux* 2.14 (TM 28953, AD 100–299); *BGU* 7.1646 (TM 39051, AD 200–299). The names of the different *ousiai* are often further specified, as in *SB* 14.11657 (TM 14506, AD 138–139); *P.Mil.* 1.2.65 (TM 11897, AD 138–149); *BGU* 9.1895 + *BGU* 9.1894 (TM 9464, AD 158–159); *P.Bouriant* 42 (TM 10284, AD 166–167 from Karanis), and *P.Giss.Univ.* 6.52 (TM 11284, AD 222–223), for example.

<sup>64</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* 1.4 (TM 109875, AD 165).

<sup>65</sup> The first two were freedmen. The former estate of Latinus is attested in *SB* 26.16676, col. 101.10 (TM 20112, AD 180–192) and in *P.Ryl.Gr.* 2.427 *descr.* 9 (TM 19554, AD 198–211?); that of Chrestos in *SB* 26.16676, col. 101.20, col. 102.1 and 3, and col. 118.5. The origin of the third estate, formerly belonging to police officials (in *SB* 26.16676, col. 101.18) is somewhat uncertain. The text simply reads (πρότερον) φυλ(ακιτῶν). The editor refers to a particular subdivision of cleruchic land attested, for example, in *P.Ryl.Gr.* 2.202.5 (TM 25469, AD 75–99): φυλακιτικὸς κλῆρος (Philadelphia), and in *SB* 12.11011.27 (TM 26769, AD 125–175): φυλ(ακιτῶν), where the payments correspond to those for katoikic land, indicating that it was a category of private land. Just like the μαχιμικός κλῆρος on the same line in *P.Ryl.Gr.* 2.202, this was a remnant of the Ptolemaic subdivisions of cleruchic land awarded to different military classes. The names of these lands thus seem to have been retained under the Romans, as well as the typical taxes levied on them, even though they were now fully privatized (see *P.Ryl.Gr.* 2.202, note to l. 5 and 213, note to l. 22, and the introduction to *P.Mich.* 6.374). If the interpretation as an *ousia* “formerly belonging



Delta, which also explains their limited chronological scope, as we have hardly any sources from this region apart from the carbonized archives of Thmouis in the Mendesian nome.<sup>66</sup>

In most cases, the interpretation of these descriptions is straightforward: land designated as (πρότερον) Σενέκα used to belong to Seneca, surveys mentioning οὔσιω(ν) (πρότερον) θεοῦ Οὐεσπ(ασιανοῦ) refer to imperial land that was appropriated by Vespasian, or οὔσιων θεοῦ Οὐεσπ(ασιανοῦ) πρότερο(ν) Λατεῖνο(ν) deal with “estates of the divine Vespasian: (the section) which formerly belonged to Latinus.”

However, in four examples, it is not the name proper of the original owner that is given, but the adjectivized form ending in -ιανή. The use of this form starts under Tiberius, when he is mentioned as the owner of the *Germanikiane ousia*.<sup>67</sup> It is never used while the original owner is still alive and thus in possession of the property. Livia’s property, for example, is always called the *ousia* of Livia (or Iulia Sebaste) during her lifetime<sup>68</sup>; the designation *Libiane ousia* first appears in AD 46.<sup>69</sup> *Narkissiane ousia* is first used in AD 55–56, after Narcissus was executed and his land was reassigned to Tiberius Claudius Doryphoros.<sup>70</sup>

The first of these exceptions appears in a sublease directed to Harpochras son of Teko...<sup>71</sup> Kastor son of Papontos requests to cultivate land near

to police officials” is thus correct, this means that a Julio-Claudian emperor, or Vespasian at the latest, appropriated some φυλακτικοὶ κλήροι in the Mendesian nome. This is, by the way, the only *ousia* of which the name does not consist of (a derivation of) the original owner’s *cognomen*. However, it does make me wonder whether we should interpret the name of the *Prophetiane ousia* in a similar way. It is classified by Parássoglou as a so-called “non-imperial *ousia*” consisting perhaps of private land confiscated from Claudia Athenais (Parássoglou [n. 3] 65–66, no. 6), but I am not so certain of this interpretation, since in one text Eudaimon leases this land from her: ἔχεις ἐν μισθώσει Κλαυδίας Ἀθηναίδος ἀπὸ οὐσίας Προφητιανῆς in *P.Sarap.* 45.5 (TM 17602, AD 127). The name *Prophetiane* could be derived from the personal name Prophetes (who would thus have been the original owner), but with only three attestations this name was rare in Egypt ([www.trismegistos.org/name/35735](http://www.trismegistos.org/name/35735)). Another possibility is that it was derived from the title προφήτης and that it was therefore originally owned by priests, and was perhaps even temple land, similarly to the *ousiac* land that was originally “police land.”

<sup>66</sup> The archive is discussed in K. Blouin, *Triangular Landscapes: Environment, Society, and the State in the Nile Delta under Roman Rule* (Oxford 2014) 45–70. Thmouis is located in the northeastern part of the Delta: [www.trismegistos.org/place/2405](http://www.trismegistos.org/place/2405).

<sup>67</sup> *P.Ryl.Gr.* 2.134 (TM 12920, AD 34).

<sup>68</sup> E.g. the θεσσαυρὸς Λιβύας Σεβαστῆς in Tebtynis in *PSI* 9.1028.13 (TM 13758, AD 15), the οὐσία [Λι]βίας καὶ Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος in Philagris in *BASP* 53 (2016) 109–117, no. 4.5 and 23–24 (TM 10554, AD 10), and the οὐσία Ἰουλίας Σεβ[αστῆς] in Euhemereia in *P.Ryl.Gr.* 2.126.6–7 (TM 12912, AD 28–29).

<sup>69</sup> *P.Mich.* 9.560 (TM 12052).

<sup>70</sup> *P.Ryl.Gr.* 2.171 (TM 12953).

<sup>71</sup> *SB* 18.13903 (TM 25350). Sijpesteijn dates the papyrus to the first century AD on paleographical grounds. A date before AD 19 is in any case not possible, since Germanicus



Kerkesoucha that is described as πρότερον Γερμ[ανικία]νῆς οὔσιας (Il. 10–11). The second example concerns the *Dionysodoriane ousia*, again in a sublease, but this time of pastures in the marsh land near Theadelphia.<sup>72</sup> Here too, the estate is described as τῆς πρότερον Διονυσοδωρια[νῆς οἰ]ὑσία(ς) (Il. 10–11). Then there is a very fragmentary report to a *strategos*,<sup>73</sup> possibly by two public and ousiac farmers (who were thus most likely located in the Arsinoite nome),<sup>74</sup> mentioning the πρότερον Σενεκανῆς οὔσιας (l. 7). And finally there is a lease request addressed to a μισθωτῆς τῶν πρότερον Δορυφοριανῶν located near Theadelphia.<sup>75</sup>

As Sijpesteijn noted in his discussion of the sublease mentioning the “former” *Germanikiane ousia*, two interpretations are possible for these examples<sup>76</sup>: (a) part of the properties were sold off, so these texts here do not concern ousiac land, or (b) πρότερον was simply added to indicate that the land previously belonged to Germanicus (and in the other texts to Dionysodoros, Seneca, and Doryphoros respectively).

In the example with the μισθωτῆς τῶν πρότερον Δορυφοριανῶν, we can be certain that the property described had not recently been sold off to the addressee of the application, since further on Petermouthis, the person who applied, wrote that he wished to lease “of the same ousia.”<sup>77</sup> Similarly, Chairemon described the pastures τῆς πρότερον Διονυσοδωρια[νῆς

was still alive then and the designation *Germanikiane* only appeared after his death. The use of the word κοπή (“cutting,” i.e. of the *chortos*) is significant, however, as it is rarely attested before the second half of the first century AD ([www.trismegistos.org/words/detail.php?lemma=κοπή&morph\\_type=noun](http://www.trismegistos.org/words/detail.php?lemma=κοπή&morph_type=noun) presents a chart with the relative spread of the word as attested in texts in papyri.info). A post-Julio-Claudian date is therefore more likely.

<sup>72</sup> P.Würzb. 11 (TM 13731, AD 99). The *Dionysodoriane ousia* probably first belonged to the Dionysodoros who was *strategos* of the Arsinoite nome for an exceptionally long time (AD 14–33): [www.trismegistos.org/person/34687](http://www.trismegistos.org/person/34687). Parássoglou makes a compelling argument on the basis of later toponymy (Parássoglou [n. 3] 19), so I follow his hypothesis.

<sup>73</sup> P.Aberdeen 152 (TM 28306, AD 100–199).

<sup>74</sup> Lines 5–6: [παρὰ] Πιθέως καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου ca. ? γεωρ(?)]γῶν δημοσίων καὶ οἰσι[ακῶν].

<sup>75</sup> SB 6.9205 (TM 27282, AD 100–199). In this village, many *ousiai* had grain land, but also vineyards, gardens, and marshes: for an overview of its ousiac property, see France [n. 8] 312–317. Since the term μισθωτῆς is never used by farmers (cultivators of grains or fodder, generally designated as γεωργοί), but was reserved for lessees of vineyards, garden land, and buildings (H.-C. Kuhnke, Οὔσιακὴ γῆ. *Domänenland in den Papyri der Prinzipatszeit* [Köln 1971] 71), the property that Eudaimon requested to lease cannot have been grain land, but the text breaks off after the opening line so the exact details of the lease are lost. Tiberius Claudius Doryphoros was a freedman of Claudius and a favorite of Nero (PIR<sup>2</sup> D 194).

<sup>76</sup> P.J. Sijpesteijn, “Further Evidence of Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt,” *ZPE* 60 (1985) 281–282.

<sup>77</sup> SB 6.9205.6 (TM 27282, AD 100–199).

ο]ῦσία(ς) near Theadelphia as ὧν καὶ σὺ ἔχει[ς] ἐν μισθώσει (Il. 9–10), so Onnophris is clearly not the owner.

In these cases, I believe πρότερον was indeed added to imply a change of ownership, albeit a subtle one. It signifies that these properties had passed on to new owners after Nero, i.e. Vespasian or Titus, but the original name was still used as a toponym, just like private land was often still referred to as “the kleros of X.” This construction can be seen as an alternative to the one found in several second century documents in which ousiac land is listed under the heading “*ousiai* of Vespasian” or “*ousiai* of Titus.” Despite the clear heading, the fossilized *ousia* names constructed with the names of the original owners are nevertheless still mentioned in these lists, even though these owners were long gone. There is, in fact, an example where the two practices are combined, when Antonia’s estate in Psenhyris, which had gone to Vespasian, is described as ἡ πρότερον Ἀντωνίας Δρούσου Οὐδεσπασιανῆ οὐσία.<sup>78</sup> This was probably the correct, complete description, and πρότερον X was simply used as a shorthand.

### Conclusions

All in all, the evidence for ousiac land being sold off by the state is therefore extremely limited. The few examples we have are for two estates only: that of Seneca and that of Antonia, the daughter of Claudius. These plots were all situated in the Arsinoite nome, near Karanis and a single example from Tebtynis, and were all rather small, less than five arouras. The most plausible scenario is that they had become unproductive and therefore unattractive to public farmers; selling them off to private owners was then the most efficient way of bringing them back under cultivation. The evidence for Egypt thus tends to confirm Ulpian’s statement that it was not customary to sell estates belonging to the imperial *patrimonium*,<sup>79</sup> although that passage has been the subject of much debate.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>78</sup> *P.Strasb.Gr.* 4.267 (TM 13228, AD 126–128).

<sup>79</sup> *Dig.* 30.1.39.7–10.

<sup>80</sup> M. Maiuro, *Res Caesaris. Ricerche sulla proprietà imperiale nel Principato* (Bari 2012) 100–102.

## SOME REMARKS ON P.CARLSBERG INV. 555 + PSI INV. D 111<sup>1</sup>

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*Abstract.* — The article presents new readings in P.Carlsberg. inv. 555 r<sup>o</sup> + PSI inv. D 111 r<sup>o</sup>, a Latin document of the second century AD. The main fragment (fr. *a*) contains a list of mostly Egyptian names and a few Greek ones. The whole document, the typology of which is still unclear, was probably drafted within a military *milieu*.

*Keywords:* Latin, list of workers, military, ships

Two Latin texts, written on papyrus fragments divided between collections in Florence, Berlin, and Copenhagen, have been published in last year's *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* by Dr Hilla Halla-aho.<sup>2</sup> The second item, P.Carlsberg inv. 555 r<sup>o</sup> + PSI inv. D 111 r<sup>o</sup>,<sup>3</sup> is particularly challenging because of its damaged state and the script, an old Roman cursive characterized by groups of distinct letters with similar features, which makes the reading difficult. The papyrus comes from the "Tebtynis Temple Library" find, but the Latin document was not drafted there. That find contained documents that originated elsewhere, such as several papyri written on the *verso* in Demotic and Hieratic that had been written somewhere else in Greek or (twice only) in Latin on the *recto*, and then re-used in Tebtynis.<sup>4</sup> This is also the case for P.Carlsberg inv. 555 +

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<sup>2</sup> H. Halla-aho, "Two New Latin Papyri from the Tebtynis Temple Library," *ZPE* 213 (2020) 221–237.

<sup>3</sup> Halla-aho (n. 2) 228–233; TM 844316.

<sup>4</sup> On Tebtynis and the papyri found in the Temple of Sobk, see P. van Minnen, "Bookish or Boorish? Literature in the Egyptian Villages in the Fayum in the Graeco-Roman Period," *JJP* 28 (1988) 98–184, particularly 155–180; also K. Ryholt, "On the Contents and Nature of the Tebtunis Temple Library: A Status Report," in S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit

PSI inv. D 111, which contains a Demotic text on the *verso*, published by Kim Ryholt,<sup>5</sup> and the Latin text on the *recto* published by Halla-aho. This Latin document is therefore of unknown origin and can be dated to the second century AD only on palaeographical grounds. It mentions ships (*naues*), canoes (*monoxyla*), and ironsmiths (*fabri ferrarii*) and contains a probable reference to the Roman army (*ad kastra*).<sup>6</sup> This paper offers a palaeographical assessment of the manuscript, with a focus on peculiar letters; followed by a textual revision on the main fragment (fr. *a*) with some new readings and a commentary on the text of the first edition; some remarks are also added about the smaller fragments; then some tentative conclusions are provided.<sup>7</sup>

### *Paleographical Notes*

Halla-aho describes the old Roman cursive used to draft the document as a “cursive hand with certain distinctive characteristics.”<sup>8</sup> Indeed this hand is noteworthy among all the samples of old Roman cursive from Latin papyri. The scribe distinctly avoids ligatures, and despite employing letterforms of clearly cursive origin, he strives to imitate capital script.<sup>9</sup>

(eds.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum* (Wiesbaden 2005) 141–170, particularly 143–145 and n. 14. Ryholt speaks of the Greek material, but the Latin document here discussed can be considered part of the set, as it was written in Demotic on the *verso*, i.e. it was re-used in Tebtynis for drafting a text in Egyptian. See also K. Ryholt, “Libraries in Ancient Egypt,” in J. König, K. Oikonomopoulou, and G. Woolf (eds.), *Ancient Libraries* (Cambridge 2013) 23–37, and “Scribal Habits at the Tebtunis Temple Library: On Materiality, Formal Features, and Palaeography,” in J. Cromwell and E. Grossman (eds.), *Scribal Repertoires in Egypt from the New Kingdom to the Early Islamic Period* (Oxford 2018) 153–183, particularly 155–168 on re-used papyri in the library find: “nearly half of the demotic texts were written on the reverse of previously used papyri” (p. 155).

<sup>5</sup> The papyrus is now *P.Carlsberg* 10.8 (TM 107283, LDAB 107283).

<sup>6</sup> Halla-aho (n. 2) 230–231.

<sup>7</sup> I have inspected a high-definition photograph of the papyrus, kindly granted by Prof. K. Ryholt (Copenhagen).

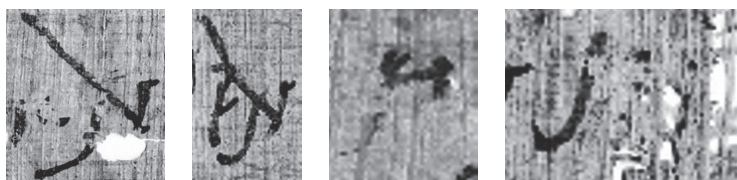
<sup>8</sup> Halla-aho (n. 2) 229.

<sup>9</sup> This is a typical strategy of scribes dealing with old Roman cursive when they want to produce an official document in a chancery script, which had to be different from the usual cursive full of ligatures, but not necessarily a Roman capital in its own right: parallels can be pointed out in the scripts of *PSI* 13.1307 r<sup>o</sup> (AD 65, TM 25148) or *P.Mich.* 3.159 (AD 37–42, TM 78513), both examined in G. Cavallo and P. Fioretti, “Note sulla scrittura di *PSI* XIII 1307,” in M. Capasso and M. De Nonno (eds.), *Scritti paleografici e papirologici in memoria di Paolo Radiciotti* (Lecce 2016) 105–124.

Notable letters are *n*, with its oblique stroke invariably upwards like that of *a* (but not that of *r*); and *h*, elaborately drawn in a quasi-majuscule shape (l. 5 *Euphrosynus*) or in a more cursive form (l. 4 *Colluthi*). Even more relevant is the *upsilon*, a letter not Latin in origin and a rare occurrence in Latin documents from Egypt,<sup>10</sup> which is used appropriately in almost every instance of Greek names (all in l. 5: *Euphrosynus*, *Dionysius*, and – mistakenly – *Anoybammon* for *Anoubammon*). Moreover, the scribe draws *upsilon* in a shape not yet seen among the attested *y*'s in those same documents: instead of the expected wide triangular shape, open to the top and pointing to the bottom, he draws a serpentine-like oblique stroke, reaching the height of the oblique strokes of *a* and *n*, and then adds a much shorter stroke on the right side, pointing in the opposite direction.

P.Carlsberg inv. 555 r° + PSI inv. D 111 r° (images courtesy of the Papyrus Hauniensis Collection):

- two *n*'s, one wider, one narrower (to the left); two *h*'s, both incompletely preserved:




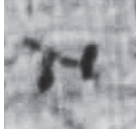
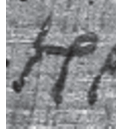


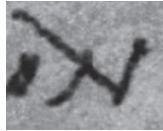

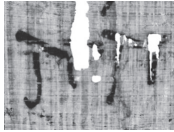
- the *y*'s in *Dionysio*, *Dionysio Eutyche*, and *Euphrosynus*<sup>11</sup>:



Similar *n*'s and *h*'s are to be found in other Latin documents on papyrus from the first and early second centuries AD:

<sup>10</sup> A selection of old Roman cursive *y*'s in Latin documents on papyrus is in G. Iovine, "On Domitian's Letter in *ChLA* X 417 (P.Berol. inv. 8334)," *Cd'E* 95 (2020) 93–101, esp. 95–98 (with table).

<sup>11</sup> Bold letters are those actually to be seen in the pictures.

<i>PSI 6.729 (AD 77)</i> <sup>12</sup>	<i>P.Freib. 1.2a r<sup>o</sup></i> (second century AD) <sup>13</sup>	<i>P.Mich. 7.434 + P.Ryl. 4.612</i> (second century AD) <sup>14</sup>
		
<i>P.Berenike 2.123</i> (late first century AD) <sup>15</sup>	<i>O.Berenike 3.291</i> (first century AD) <sup>16</sup>	<i>O.Berenike 3.439</i> (first century AD) <sup>17</sup>
		
<i>P.Berol. inv. 8334</i> (AD 83–86) <sup>18</sup>	 	

Halla-aho rightly dates this writing approximately to the second century AD.<sup>19</sup> From the purely palaeographical point of view, it seems possible to include the late first century AD within the chronological range.

*Remarks on P.Carlsberg inv. 555 fr. a*

Halla-aho's text runs as follows:

- 
- 1 peṭ . aḡ . . . . . *traces* [
  - 2 Psenoṣirei Sarapion t . . oṣirei . . . . . sciṣara . . . [
  - 3 p . . t . oidis sara . . . ḡ Iṣidori i . . ṣ florhi Šitoes . . a . oss[
  - 4 p[± 2/3] . . . . . o i . P[s]enosiriṣ c . liuṣ r[± 9] . . . . [
  - 5 aa . . . . mon . . . e . . f . . oṣynuiarḡp · Dīonysiuṣ . . . . . [

<sup>12</sup> TM 70005.

<sup>13</sup> TM 110832.

<sup>14</sup> TM 27148.

<sup>15</sup> TM 89148.

<sup>16</sup> TM 641779.

<sup>17</sup> TM 641927.

<sup>18</sup> TM 69919.

<sup>19</sup> Halla-aho (n. 2) 221, 229.

1 *Pet* is certain; what follows might be interpreted as *petenī*. I prefer *n* over *a*, since if *a* is chosen, one is left with a large, narrow, elliptical figure immediately following *a*, which cannot be traced back to any letter. On the other hand, *n* – assuming the third stroke is visibly bent upwards, as in 1. 3 -*onis* – yields the Egyptian name Peteniesis ~ Πετενίηςις,<sup>20</sup> perhaps followed by the beginning of the patronymic (*Petenīesīs N* . [ . ] . [ . . ] .). The name was so far only attested in the early Ptolemaic period (no later than 138 BC). A less likely possibility is Peteniphis ~ Πετενῖφίς, followed by the bottom of an oblique stroke (perhaps *e*: *Petenīphīs E*[ . ] . [ . . ] . D).<sup>21</sup>

2 This line seems to have mainly personal names with patronymics; there are difficulties in telling individual names apart. The first two, visible in the left part of the line, are *Psenosirei* and *Sarapionis*, at first sight the genitive or dative (mistakenly written for a nominative<sup>22</sup>?) of Psenosiris<sup>23</sup> and the genitive of Sarapion.<sup>24</sup> Above the name *Psenosirei* one can see some strokes of pen, which recall one or more erased letters: it may be an interlinear addition, referring to this line or to the line above, and quickly cancelled after it was started. What follows *Sarapionis* is very uncertain. I read *tortaei*[ . ] . [ . ] *n* . [, the first uncertain letter resembling the lower portion of *s*, the second consisting only of dots. Halla-aho interpreted the last two letters of *Sarapionis* as *ti*, and thought of *Titosirei* or *Tetosirei*<sup>25</sup>; I am not convinced that after *to* one can read *s*. One is reminded of the Egyptian name Thotortaios<sup>26</sup> (“Thot is the one who has given him/her”),

<sup>26</sup> TM Names 1397.



which after the Ptolemaic period is sometimes found written Θορταῖος<sup>27</sup>: perhaps *Tortaei*? However, one has to suppose that *t* stands for *th*. The end of the line is puzzling as well. One can read [ . . ]ε . . . ἰσκι, and then *Sarap[i]o[n]* . . . [ : I refrain from reading *Sarap[i]o[n]iς* as I would not be able to explain the succession of a patronymic and a papponymic here (NN son of . . .iscus son of Sarapion). As for the name in *-iscus*, I am tempted to read *H]ε]ρ]μ]ι]σκι* or *H]ε]ρ]α]ι]σκι*. The first name, Hermiscus, from a palaeographical point of view the most likely, is very seldom attested, and only in Italy<sup>28</sup>; Heraiscus,<sup>29</sup> on the other hand, is more widespread in Egypt.<sup>30</sup>

3 From Halla-aho's *Işidori*, one can confirm what she had already hypothesized,<sup>31</sup> i.e. the fully readable name + patronymic *Sarap[i]o[n] Isidori*. At the beginning of the line, after *p*, one sees blurred traces of two letters, and then the genitive ending *-tionis*, which suggests that the name is the patronymic of another name at the end of the preceding line. With all due caution, I think of *Pontionis*, from the Greek name Ποντίων ~ Pontio.<sup>32</sup> The remains of the letter before *t* are scanty: nevertheless, one can see the lower portion of an upright, and from the upper portion of it, a departing oblique stroke. After *Isidori*, two further couples name + patronymic can be found. In the first, the genitive *Flori* (from *Florus* ~ Φλωρος,<sup>33</sup> attested in early Roman Egypt) is clear; not so for the preceding name. The initial letter might be *p*, but is different from all other initial *p*'s in the document; also *f* could be thought of. What follows might be read as *i]υ]ρ]ο]ς*, *i]υ]ρ]υ]ς*, *ρ]ε]ι]ο]ς* or *ρ]ε]ι]υ]ς*. Perhaps *Pi]υ]ρ]ο]ς*, reminiscent of Egyptian names Πιϣρις<sup>34</sup> and the much rarer, and very suspect, Πιϣρις<sup>35</sup>; or *Fr]e]i]υ]ς*, attested in an inscription from Moesia as a *lixa* "sutler" of a

<sup>27</sup> E.g. in *O.Bodl.* 2.835 (AD 116, TM 71524), *P.Oxy.* 3.488 (before AD 212, TM 20624), *O.Bodl.* 2.1985 (second-third century AD, TM 72661). A different interpretation of the last two letters of *Sarapionis* is also possible. One might have *Sarapion* and then *Titortaei*[ . ] . [ . ]n . [ . ] , apparently a metronymic if the name begins with *ti-* and might therefore be feminine; only in this case the shape of the first *i* in *titortaei* would be odd in comparison with other *i*'s in the document.

<sup>28</sup> See e.g. *CIL* 10.8056, 165 *H(e)rmiscus Nei(ui)* (Puteoli, date not available).

<sup>29</sup> TM Names 4541.

<sup>30</sup> Also "Hermiscus" would be acceptable here, but there is too little room on the papyrus to accommodate the name.

<sup>31</sup> Halla-aho (n. 2) 230.

<sup>32</sup> TM Names 36003, only twice attested.

<sup>33</sup> TM Names 12828.

<sup>34</sup> TM Names 915.

<sup>35</sup> TM Names 19488.

legion.<sup>36</sup> Then comes the second couple, *Tithoes Iſaſtos*. The name is a widespread variant of Τοτοῖς, and attested in Roman Egypt<sup>37</sup>; the patronymic appears to be a transliteration of Ἰεῶτος, the genitive of Ἰεῶς.<sup>38</sup>

4 Most of the letters in this line are blurred and illegible. The name already identified in the middle of the line by Halla-aho (Psenosiris) is most likely followed by *Çolluthi*, the genitive of Colluthus ~ Κολλουῦθος.<sup>39</sup> The second *l* is quite puzzling, being an upright with only a hint of a protruding stroke from its bottom; nevertheless, *-thi* is readable. After this genitive, traces are impenetrable. Also before Psenosiris son of Colluthus very little can be read. At the beginning of the line one is tempted to interpret something like *P[anemp]hi* or *P[etoup]hi* (a patronymic), then *Tſereſ* (Τέρερ<sup>40</sup>), a rarely attested female name; but this being the case, the ending *-es* would point to another genitive (Τέρερ is inflected like a regular feminine Greek name in -η), so there is no real certainty here. The name before Psenosiris ends in *-sioti* and is followed by an interpunct. Perhaps *Nisioti*, a variant or a mistake from Nesiotes ~ Νησιώτης,<sup>41</sup> but the genitive is odd (*Nisioti* instead of the expected *Nesiotis*) and the name is rarely attested.

5 The line opens with *an*, rather than *aa*. After *n*, one sees a trace of a circular stroke in the upper portion of the line (consistent with *o*), and then – much above the line – the small portion of an oblique stroke, going down. The position of that stroke closely recalls that of the initial stroke of *y* in this papyrus (see the table above). At the end of the name, the reading *mon* by Halla-aho is confirmed; after it, only dot-like traces. This suggests the genitive *Anoy[b]a[m]moniſ* from the Graeco-Egyptian name Ἀνουβάμμων.<sup>42</sup> It probably represents the patronymic of a now lost name, which was placed last in the preceding line. The name has only one other attestation, in a much later papyrus (a list of names): *P.IFAO 3.47.8*, Ἀνουβάμμων Ἄρους (fourth century AD, TM 33490). More generally, Dunand has remarked how Graeco-Egyptian compound names in -άμμων

<sup>36</sup> Cf. AE 1996, 1335 *L(ucius) Freius* | *L(uci) l(ibertus) Fausltus lixa* | *leg(ionis) V uix(it) an(nos) L* | [- -] (Oescus, AD 71–130).

<sup>37</sup> TM Names 1436. My gratitude to the reviewer “Reader B”, who by suggesting *th* instead of *sir* in the sequence *tithoes*, removed an ongoing uncertainty.

<sup>38</sup> TM Names 3435.

<sup>39</sup> TM Names 403.

<sup>40</sup> TM Names 24901.

<sup>41</sup> TM Names 4273.

<sup>42</sup> TM Names 21164.

are not found in Egypt before the end of the first century AD and are still rare in the following century, which is not at odds with the proposed dating of the present papyrus.<sup>43</sup> The scribe has apparently transcribed the Greek diphthong *ou* mistakenly, i.e. with the Latin characters *oy* instead of simple *u*. Among the surviving portions of the document, this error is made only here and in P.Carlsberg inv. 555 fr. c, l. 2 (see below).

What follows can be read as the name *Euphrosynus* (*Euphrosynus* ~ *Εὐφρόσυνος*),<sup>44</sup> followed by the sequence (already in Halla-aho) *arbp*, then by an interpunct. The name is apparently not followed by a genitive, but by one or more abbreviated words, perhaps indicating *Euphrosynus*' professional qualification.<sup>45</sup> The sequence *ar* might be split from *bp* and interpreted as an *arcarius* "treasurer."<sup>46</sup> Extant evidence (mainly on stone) from Rome and Roman provinces as well shows *arcarii* as *serui publici*, keeping the accounts of the town which owned them, their duty being mainly to supervise and register income and expenditure from the public treasury.<sup>47</sup> In their capacity of accountants they also served individual *domini*, such as bankers<sup>48</sup> or emperors,<sup>49</sup> or worked in military units<sup>50</sup> and outposts (*stationes*).<sup>51</sup> Latin documents on papyrus feature *arcarii* twice:

<sup>43</sup> Details in F. Dunand, "Les noms théophores en -ammon. À propos d'un papyrus de Strasbourg du III<sup>e</sup> siècle p.C.," *Cd'É* 38 (1963) 134–146, esp. 138–139 (for chronological distribution) and 142 (where the subset of names blending an Egyptian theophoric name, in this case *Ἀνοῦβις*, and -*αμμων* is described). This contribution is referred to in W. Swinnen, "Philammon, chanteur légendaire, et les noms gréco-égyptiens en -ammôn," in *Antidoron W. Peremans sexagenario ab alumnis oblatum* (Louvain 1968) 237–262, esp. 260–261.

<sup>44</sup> TM Names 9383.

<sup>45</sup> Both these identification strategies (and many others) in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt are described in M. Depauw, "Elements of Identification in Egypt BC 800–AD 300," in M. Depauw and S. Coussement (eds.), *Identifiers and Identification Methods in the Ancient World* (Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA, 2014) 75–101.

<sup>46</sup> The noun is usually abbreviated *arc(arius)*: *ar(carius)* is attested only in AE 1944, 119, l. 27 *Fla(uius) Felix ar(carius)* (third century AD, Brigetium).

<sup>47</sup> Details in M. Silvestrini, "Gli *arcarii* delle città," *MÉFRA* 117 (2005) 541–554.

<sup>48</sup> J. Andreau, *Banque et affaires dans le monde romain. IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. – III<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.* (Paris 2001) 126.

<sup>49</sup> See, e.g., CIL 3.6077.1–5 *D(is) M(anibus) | Aciliae Lamyrae coniugi | carissimae Apollonius | Aug(usti) n(ostri) uerna arcarius proluincia Asiae* etc. (Ephesus, date not provided).

<sup>50</sup> See, e.g., CIL 8.3289 *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) | Cassio Auggg(ustorum) | nnn(ost-rorum) uern(ae) | disp(ensatori) leg(ionis) III | Aug(ustae) P(iae) V(indicis) | qui uixit ann(os) | CX m(enses) VII d(ies) XXI | Ursinus ark(arius) | leg(ionis) eiusdem | fecit | b(ene) m(erenti)* (Lambaesis, date not provided).

<sup>51</sup> See, e.g., CIL 4.3953 *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Fulm(inatori) Ful(guratori) | sacr(um) | Fl(auius) Verus Myroballanus proc(urator) Aug(usti) n(ostri) praelpos(itus) splendissim(i) | uect(igalis) ferr(arium) per | Asclepiadem | ark(arium) stat(ionis) Sis(c)iana(e) | u(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) m(erito)* (Siscia, late third-mid fourth century AD).

- in *P.Wisc.* 2.50 (AD 165),<sup>52</sup> a collection of Latin legal formulae; in col. 2.11–17 an *arcarius* is mentioned in the framework of the enfranchisement of a slave (*manumissio*): |<sup>11</sup> . . [- - -] |<sup>12</sup> *Orfito et Pudente co(n)s(ulibus)* [- - -] |<sup>13</sup> *C. Iulius Monimus mil[es legionarius - - -]* |<sup>14</sup> *profiteor apud ueim*[- - -] |<sup>15</sup> *et Eutuche arkar(iu-) u .` .´* [- - -] |<sup>16</sup> *seruam meam maior[em - - -]* |<sup>17</sup> *nec habere eam plus*;
- in *BGU* 2.628 v<sup>o</sup> (AD 185),<sup>53</sup> probably a receipt for the payment of the manumission tax; at l. 3 an *arcarius* is mentioned, and below in the column the *uicesima libertatis populi Romani*.

Both documents are apparently connected with the manumission tax, i.e. the *uicesima libertatis*, suggesting that in the provinces *arcarii* were also required to handle the income and expenditure of that particular section of the *fiscus*. A noteworthy coincidence: an *arcarius* called Euphrosynus appears also in *CIL* 10.3942 (Capua, second half of the first century AD). As for the remaining abbreviation, *bp*, one is driven to a more speculative solution. In Latin documents on tablet and papyrus this abbreviation normally indicates the Roman institution of *bonorum possessio* (διακατοχή ὑπαρχόντων).<sup>54</sup> However, the office here envisaged of *arcarius bonorum possessionis* is completely absent from the extant evidence, nor can we resort to solutions such as *b(ona) p(raetoria)*, or *b(ona) p(raefectorum)* or *p(rincipalium)*, all unattested and apparently non-existent.<sup>55</sup> Given that

<sup>52</sup> TM 15894.

<sup>53</sup> TM 69918. The papyrus is being republished by M. Pedone (Napoli ‘Federico II’, project PLATINUM).

<sup>54</sup> Almost always in the phrase *rogo domine des mihi bonorum possessionem*, translated into Greek as ἐρωτώ, κύριε, δοῦναι μοι τὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων διακατοχὴν. This phrase features in the five extant requests for the *agnitio bonorum possessionis* (αἰτήσεις διακατοχῆς) on papyrus: *P.Daris inv.* 200 + *P.Ryl.* 4.610 = *SB* 18.13610 (AD 223, TM 13851); *P.Bagnall* 3 (AD 239, TM 70139); *SB* 1.1010 (AD 249, TM 23051); *P.Oxy.* 9.1201 (AD 258, TM 21587); *P.Thomas* 20 (AD 269–270, TM 78797). In this documentary typology, the petitioner avails him- or herself of the customary procedure envisaged in Roman law in cases of intestate succession and asks the prefect of Egypt for the possession of the estate of a recently deceased relative, who, having left no testament, can bequeath no *hereditas*. For a study on the formulary of these requests for *agnitio bonorum possessionis* on papyrus, and a survey of the extant documents, see now D. Santos, “La formula de la *agnitio bonorum possessionis* en el siglo III,” *Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos* 31 (2009) 159–168; further details on the formulae employed in R. Katzoff, “The provincial edict in Egypt,” *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 37 (1969) 414–437. See also P. Voci, *Diritto ereditario romano* (Milano 1967) 177–201 for a full account of the *bonorum possessio* in Roman inheritance law (in this case, the one *sine tabulis*, i.e. operating in an *ab intestato* situation): further representations in E. Jakab, “Inheritance,” in P. J. Du Plessis, C. Ando, and K. Tuori (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Law and Society* (Oxford 2016) 498–509.

<sup>55</sup> The reading *arbp* is certain. Out of desperation, one might disregard the quite clear difference between *c* (whose upper stroke points upwards) and *p* (whose upper stroke

treasurers charged with collecting (for the *fiscus populi Romani*) taxes such as the *uicesima hereditatum*<sup>56</sup> or the *uicesima libertatis* for the *manumissiones*<sup>57</sup> are attested in several areas of the Roman world, one is tempted to suppose that they could also be charged with collecting a tax (or at any rate overseeing the gathered tax money) from those who were granted *bonorum possessio* over their relatives' estate. If testaments, to be fully functional, required the heir to pay to the Roman state the percentage envisaged by Augustus with the *lex Iulia de uicesima hereditatum et legatorum* (AD 6), nothing prevents the same from having happened when a dead person's estate was transmitted to his/her heir through *bonorum possessio*, rather than through *hereditas*.<sup>58</sup>

The name following this problematic abbreviation has been correctly identified by Halla-aho as *Dionysius*. This individual is not marked by his father's name in the genitive case, but by something pointing to his profession. One can read scanty traces of *n*; the top of a curved stroke, suggesting *c*, *e* or *p*; the long oblique stroke of *a*, and then the blurred but readable sequence *taf*. This suggests *n(umeri) cataf(ractariorum)*. *Dionysius* is a soldier: he belongs to a unit – *numerus*, abbreviated *n* – of *cataphractarii*, i.e. soldiers clad in armour (here written with *f* for *ph*<sup>59</sup>). For the syntagm and the abbreviations, see e.g. *CIL* 13.3493 *Val(erius) Durio | circit(or)*<sup>60</sup> *n(umeri) cataf(ractariorum) vix(it) an(nos) XXX [ . . . ]* (from

points straight ahead or downwards) in this writing, and read *arbc*·, which in turn leads to a much more reassuring *ar(carius) b(onorum) c(astrensium)*, a treasurer for the goods accumulated by the soldiers during their active service. *Bona castrensia* are dealt with, e.g., in *Ulp. dig.* 29.1.11; 29.1.13; 42.6.1 (= *ad ed.* 45 and 64); *Paul. dig.* 29.1.30 (= *quest.* 7); 29.2.90 (= *resp.* 12); *Papin. dig.* 38.12.2 (= *resp. frg.* 16).

<sup>56</sup> *AE* 2006, 1292 = *AE* 2017, +1284 ... *Pudenti arc(ario) | (uicesimae) her(editatum) pr(ouinciae) Mac(edoniae) u(ixit) a(nnos) XXIX | Vibia Q(uinti) f(ilia) Corinthias | uxor b(ene) m(erenti)* (Thessalonica, first century AD).

<sup>57</sup> *CIL* 5.3351 *loc(us) sepulturae | familiae (uicesimae) lib(ertatis) | reg(ionis) Transpad(anae) | Theopompus ark(arius) | d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) etc.* (Verona, first century AD).

<sup>58</sup> A similar tax for intestate succession is not attested in our sources, but might well have existed if in Roman law *hereditas* and *possessio bonorum*, though kept apart in legal theory, were considered different types within the same larger frame, i.e. succession law: the *bonorum possessio* “non può non assoggettare i diritti, che attribuisce ai successori pretori, alle stesse regole generali che valgono per gli eredi civili” (Voci [n. 54] 191–192; also 666).

<sup>59</sup> Details on this particular typology of soldiers within Roman army are given in J.W. Eadie, “The Development of Roman Mailed Cavalry,” *JRS* 57 (1967) 161–173.

<sup>60</sup> Literally “one who goes around,” i.e. a watchman. The rank is attested in Roman military and appears in military reports and lists of soldiers: see e.g. *P.Dura* 82 col. 1.7 *ci(rcitor) Iarhaeus Malchi*; l. 17 *ci(rcitor) Anton(ius) Val(erius) or Val(entinus)* (AD 223–232, *TM* 44813); *P.Dura* 88.2 *circitores Aurelius Ach . . . . abes, Gaius Salmāne[s]* (AD 230–240 c., *TM* 44819); and *P.Dura* 107 fr. a col. 2.13–14 (*centuria*) *Heliodori*

Samarobriua, in Gallia Belgica: date not reported). The mention of cataphracts, allegedly introduced in Roman army by Hadrian – if *CIL* 11.5632 is proof enough – can narrow down the chronological fork for this document from late first–second century AD to a post-Hadrianic period.<sup>61</sup> At the end of the line, *a* or *r* and then perhaps *o*.

6 The ink at the beginning of the line is blurred. *P* is certain, then a lacuna precedes traces of *n*; a large and badly damaged letter, which resembles an open and angular *u*; dot-like traces of perhaps *p* or *t*, and then *hi*; before the first lacuna, dot-like traces. With some difficulty, one can think of *P[a]nuphi*, *P[e]nuphi*, or *P[a]nuthi*, perhaps followed by *-s*. The Egyptian names involved would be Πανοῦφις or Πανοῦφις (including the attested variant Πανοῦφις),<sup>62</sup> Πανοῦθις, or Πανοῦθιος (attested variants from Παπνοῦτις).<sup>63</sup> The following name, probably a patronymic, is completely lost, but for what seems to be a final *-ēs*. Then I see an *s*, the bottom of *c*, *e* or *p*, the two long oblique strokes of *a* or *n*, and the top of *s*; an *m* follows, and – as Halla-aho surmised – *muššis* or *muštis*. This can be construed into the name + patronymic *Seṇaš Muštis*, Senas (Cεῦᾱc or Cηῦᾱc)<sup>64</sup> son of Mustes. *Mustis* is probably a Latinate genitive for the Greek name Μύσθης,<sup>65</sup> here transliterated “Mustes” without the aspiration.<sup>66</sup> The last legible names appear to be another couple of name + patronymic: the initial *sq* read by Halla-aho can be expanded in *Sarapion*

*Aurel(ius) | Absas Malchus Salme cci* (usually interpreted as *circitores*; AD 240–241, TM 44839). See also Veg. *Mil.* 3.8.

<sup>61</sup> So far, the earliest evidence for the existence of units within the Roman army specifically qualified as *catafractatae* go as far back as Hadrian’s rule: the *ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum catafractata*, allegedly created by the emperor in response to the long-standing weakness of imperial cavalry against Parthians first, Dacians and Sarmatians later: thus Eadie (n. 59) 164–167. That these units were introduced by Hadrian is in fact inferred by Eadie from *CIL* 11.5632.1–10 *M(arco) Maenio C(ai) filio Cor(nelia) Agriplae L(ucio) Tusidio Campestri | hospiti diui Hadriani patri | senatoris praef(ecto) coh(ortis) II Fl(auias) | Britton(um) equitat(ae) electo | a diuo Hadriano et misso | in expeditionem Brit{t}an(nicam) trib(uno) coh(ortis) I Hispanor(um) | equitat(ae) praef(ecto) alae I Gallor(um) | et Pannonior(um) catafractilae proc(uratori) Aug(usti)* etc. (AD 138–161, Camerinum). See also Eadie (n. 59) 167, n. 35. Afterwards mailed cavalry became a common presence among Roman troops, particularly in Late Antiquity: one also sees *numeri catafractariorum* from the third century AD onwards (pp. 169–172).

<sup>62</sup> TM Names 737.

<sup>63</sup> TM Names 749.

<sup>64</sup> TM Names 30425 or 36791. The name is, however, extremely rare, and caution is warranted.

<sup>65</sup> TM Names 4190.

<sup>66</sup> See e.g. *P.Vindob.Tandem* 15 col. 3.105 Σεβε(ννύτου) Μύσθης ὁ κα(ὶ) Σαραπ(-) Ἡρακ(-) (late first–early second century AD, TM 24926); *P.Strasb.* 7.606.19–20 δῦναται

*Ἀρποκρα[tio]ῆ[is]*, Sarapion son of Harpocraton<sup>67</sup> (here written without the aspiration).<sup>68</sup>

7 After *p*, *s* and *e* appear to be certain, then the blurred traces of *n*. Perhaps once again the name Psenosiris, for the third time (also in ll. 2 and 4); but given the rich set of Egyptian names in Psen-, no real certainty is possible here. Two further letters can be read, separated by a lacuna of about 12 letters. The letter before the wide lacuna, immediately following *Psen-*, might be the bottom of *r* or *s*. The letter in the middle of the line might be *a*, *d* or *n*.

8 The reading of Halla-aho is confirmed. Any Graeco-Egyptian name beginning with Pan- could fit here. The letter after the first lacuna has a long protruding oblique stroke and is probably *a*, *d* or *n*; the following letter is represented only by a dot at the bottom of the writing line.

9 A small improvement can be made here. After traces of six letters (two of which in two small lacunas), one sees a final *-i* and then an interpunct. The name before the interpunct is almost certainly in the genitive case and represents a patronymic. Only the bottom of the three letters before *i* survives; the first visible letter, visible instead only at the top, is *s* or *c*. An ending in *ἰρεῖσι* or *ἰτεῖσι* is possible. After the interpunct, either *n* or traces of two letters.

10 Only faint traces here.

I give here the text with the new readings:

- 
- 1 Petenῖ . . . . . [ . ] . [ . . ] . [
  - 2 Psenosirei Sarapῖonis tortaei[ . ] . [ . ]n . [ . . ]ε . . ῖsci Sarap[i]o[n] . . [
  - 3 Ποῆtionis Σαρᾶπ[io]n Isidori . . . . . s Flori Τίθοες Ἰῆατος S . [
  - 4 Π[ . . . ]η . . . . . ε . . . sioti · Psenosiris Çolluthῖ [ . ] . . . . . [ . . ] . . . ο[
  - 5 Ανοῦ[b]α[m]moniῖς Εὐφροσύνος ἀρ(αρίος) β( ) π( ) · Διονύσιος ἡ(μερί)  
     çataf(ractariorum) . . [
  - 6 Π[ . ]η . hi . . [ . . . . ]εῖς Σεῆας Μυστίς Σαρᾶπion Ἀρποκρα[tio]ῆ[is]

πανταχόθεν ἢ παρὰ Μύστου ἢ παρὰ Ἰ[Απολλιν]αρίου πορεῖσαι τῷ βασιλικῷ ἐπιστολῇν κτλ. (early second century AD, TM 26844).

<sup>67</sup> TM Names 4423.

<sup>68</sup> As in e.g. *P.Oxy.* 36.2772.2–3 *para* ἰ *Arpochrationi* · *collybiste* (AD 10/11, TM 16563); *ChLA* 12.521 *signu]m Aur(elii) · Horionis Aur(elii) · Arpocratonis q(ui) · e(t) · Didymi A[ur(elii) Theonis Aur(elii) etc.* (after AD 212, TM 69993); *P.Oxy.* 55.3785 col. 1.17 ἰς *Arpocraton* (c. AD 250, TM 22510).



7 Psen[ . ] . [ . . . . . ] . [ . ]  
 8 Pan[ . ] . . [ . ]  
 9 [ . ] . [ . ] . . . i . . . [ . ]  
 10 [ . . . . ] . . [ . . ] . [ . ]  
 — — — — —

### *Remarks on the Smaller Fragments*

A few further improvements, most of them of little importance, can be made to the smaller fragments, namely those belonging to P.Carlsberg and those from PSI inv. D 111.

P.Carlsberg inv. 555 fr. *bI*, l. 1: fa]bris ferrar( ) . i a · a[ ] . .

One way to solve the problem of the unusual width of the letter *r* in *ferrar*, which prompted Halla-aho to assume an abbreviation and traces of a further letter, is to understand the word as mistaken, both from the orthographic and the syntactical point of view: *ferrar*{*r*}*ia*· or *ferrar*{*e*}*ia* instead of *ferrariis*, governed by *fabris*. After the interpunct one can see . [ . ] . . [ . ], the three partially preserved letters being either *a*'s or *n*'s, less likely *r*'s.

P.Carlsberg inv. 555 fr. *bI*, l. 2: ] . . . . . [± 4] . s monoxyl( ) n(umero) XIII e[

Before *monoxyl(a)* or *monoxyl(orom)* one can read a difficult sequence: ]*n* *e* . . . n[ . . . . ] . s. Perhaps the Roman name <*A*>*e*lin[us?

P.Carlsberg inv. 555 fr. *bI*, l. 6: ] . [ ] a[d]fixum . b[

After ] *a[d]fixum*, perhaps [*o*]b rather than [*a*]b, for in this case one would be able to see the long protruding oblique stroke of the letter above the lacuna. It is also possible, since usually *m* does not have two protruding strokes of the same length in this document, that we may read the sequence ] *a[d]fixus* *ad* [*o*]b[, perhaps [*o*]b[*olos*], less likely [*o*]b[*icem* or [*o*]b[*eliscum*].

P.Carlsberg inv. 555 fr. *b2*, ll. 1–2: ] . e . XXV [ / ] . i nausita[

Instead of *e* surrounded by traces of two letters, I would see ]*sf*- (an abbreviation) or ]*se*, and then immediately XXV; in the following line, ]*i* is quite certain.

P.Carlsberg inv. 555 fr. c, ll. 1–2: ]it · XV K(alendas) Iun(ias) . . [ / ] .  
cornas's' . . i y . . [

After *Iun(ias)* *qđ* is possible, perhaps referred to some other day in the following lacuna: e.g. ]it · XV K(alendas) Iun(ias) *qđ* [diem ... K(alendas) *easdem* (or with the genitive, *Kalendarum earundem*). In l. 2 (see the image below), Halla-aho's hypothesis is correct: I can see an interpunct after *corn* precisely over an erased [*a*], then *s's'* – resulting in a *corn(icularius) s(upra)s(criptus)*.<sup>69</sup> The last letters before the lacuna can be interpreted as the name following that of the *cornicularius*, i.e. *Pseuth[is]* – incorrectly written like Anoybammon above, for *Pseuthis* ~ Ψευθις.<sup>70</sup>

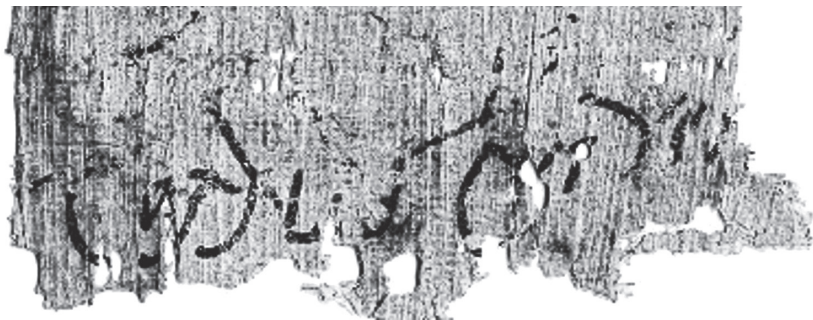


Image courtesy of the Papyrus Hauniensis Collection

PSI inv. D 111 fr. d, l. 3: ] a Dionysio Eutyche . . e[ ] . eo naua . [

This line can be partially improved: ] *a Dionysio Eutyche* · *ē[t]* *Leona* *u* . [, the last letter being *a* or *đ*. The personal name *Leonas* ~ Λεωνᾶς, here in the ablative case and coordinated with *Dionysius Eutyches*, is attested in Egypt.<sup>71</sup> My only perplexity is the *ē* of *ē[t]*, which is blurred and might well also be *k*, giving *Kleonas* ~ Κλεωνᾶς. In this case, however, *k* would hardly fill the whole space between its upright and the *l* of *leona*.

<sup>69</sup> For the *cornicularius*, a superior officer (*principalis*) responsible for several duties in military and civil offices (organisation of the *officium*, listing of the personnel, ordering of the archives, authentication of documents emanated from the *officium* etc.) see M. Albana, “Aspetti della burocrazia militare nell’alto impero,” *Annali della Facoltà di scienze della formazione. Università degli studi di Catania* 12 (2013) 3–39, esp. 13–16. The noun *cornicularius* can be in fact abbreviated both as *cor(nicularius)* and as *corn(icularius)*; no *corn(icen)*, on the other hand, is attested, but only *cor(nicines)*.

<sup>70</sup> TM Names 25582.

<sup>71</sup> TM Names 10140.

PSI inv. D 111 fr. e: ] . . [ ] ṣḏfṃ[ / traces / ] . [ ] naual . [ / traces

In the first line one can read ] *q̄ḅ e[iu]sdem*, perhaps followed by a noun in the ablative case in the lacuna. L. 3, on the other hand, can probably be construed *q̄ḏ [·] naual(ia) ḅ[* or *naua(e) ḅ[*, referring perhaps to a dockyard. This abbreviation is not attested for the noun *nauale*, -is, but it is found for the adjective *naualis*.<sup>72</sup>

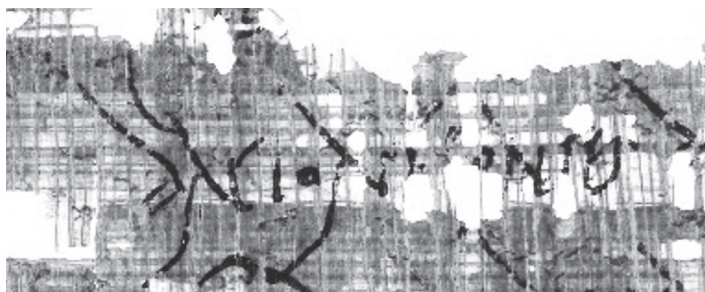
PSI inv. D 111 fr. g: ] . ṛçion[ / ] . a . [

In the first line (see the image below) one can read ]*dacion[*, which in turn is probably part of the name Dacio, -onis. The name is seldom attested in the extant evidence: in *CIL* 3.13058 (Salona, AD 175–250) where one clearly sees an Ulpius Dacio, and in P.Lund inv. 2049 r<sup>o</sup> (image below),<sup>73</sup> where a Dacio is styled as a *conser(uus)*. Notably, the hand in the P.Lund is remarkably similar to that in the present papyrus, so much as to make us wonder whether it is the same scribe who drafted both documents.

PSI inv. D 111 fr. g, l. 1 (image courtesy of the Papyrus Hauniensis Collection)



P.Lund inv. 2049 r<sup>o</sup>, l. 2



<sup>72</sup> E.g. *CIL* 12.6712 *I(oui) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | et Genio loci | L(ucius) Septimius Bellus | sig(nifer) leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) | optio naua(iorum) | u(otum) s(oluit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) | Saturnino et | Gallo co(n)s(ulibus)* (Mogontiacum, AD 198).

<sup>73</sup> TM 142779.

### Conclusion

The revised decipherment of the document, despite providing more clarity for the largest fragment – more names, in particular – does not get us closer than before to identify its overall typology. One can recognize meaningful features only in portions of it. The sub-set of fragments represented by P.Carlsberg inv. 555 fr. *b1* and *b2* and PSI inv. D 111 *a*, *b*, *d*, *e*, and *f* appears clear enough: as Halla-aho already surmised,<sup>74</sup> we are dealing with documents from the *milieu* of a Roman military unit, perhaps the report of a *fabrica legionis* where the scribe(s) would have noted how many people were working at the moment, their ranks (*fabri ferrarii*, for instance), and what they were working at – in our case, ships and boats – with precise numbers.<sup>75</sup> But the sub-set in which P.Carlsberg inv. 555 fr. *a* and *c* are included complicates the picture.

One is presented with a non-columnar list of names, mainly Egyptian in origin (only a few Greek ones are extant) and the individuals are noted with name and patronymic<sup>76</sup>; exceptions are made for people connected with the Roman administration (the treasurer Euphrosynus) and the army (the mail-clad cavalryman Dionysius, the unknown *cornicularius*). The dating formula in fr. *c* – if fr. *c* and *a* were part of the same section – might have introduced this list. These non-columnar lists of individuals in Latin documents usually appear in reports, rather than proper lists, but no known specimen of this group fits the bill for the present papyrus.<sup>77</sup> Bearing in

<sup>74</sup> Halla-aho (n. 2) 229.

<sup>75</sup> A parallel is *ChLA* 10.499 (second–third century AD, TM 69912). Notably, the syntagm *fiunt ad k(astra)* is repeated twice in fr. *b1* of the present papyrus, which strengthens the possibility of something brought to, or kept within, the camp.

<sup>76</sup> And in the nominative case. Notably, personal names seem to appear in a different fashion in the sub-set from the *fabrica* than in fr. *a* and *c*: in fr. *d1* 3 two names are mentioned in the ablative case, as a couple of agents in a lost sentence.

<sup>77</sup> One is reminded of, e.g., *PSI* 13.1321 (first half of the first century AD, TM 25149) containing accounts from a Roman bank or firm in Egypt where the names – mostly of Roman citizens, since they bear the *tria nomina* and the name of the tribe – are not listed in columns, but one after the other. The comparison, however, is defective: after every name there is a sum of money, for these people owed money to (or received money from) the bank; nowhere in fr. *a* or *c* can one find a quantity of money or other goods, not even a number. Another similar layout is in *acta diurna*, or morning reports, drafted in the *officia* of Roman legions and auxiliary units: after each duty or mission a list is appended of the soldiers involved, whose names are written one after the other. These morning reports normally present a number of entries, marked by the day and the month and very freely laid out in wide columns and irregular paragraphs, in which everyday activities, number and ranks of the soldiers are reported (the most detailed and recent outline is in O. Salati, *Scrivere documenti nell'esercito romano. L'evidenza dei papiri latini d'Egitto tra I e III secolo d.C.* [Wiesbaden 2020] 10–25). This can be seen e.g. in *PSI* 13.1307 r<sup>o</sup> (AD 65, TM 25148),

mind that at present there is no way to know the distance between the two sub-sets in the original document, therefore – as Halla-aho already suspected – that the sub-sets might represent completely different typologies of document within a larger one,<sup>78</sup> one is tempted to resort to Halla-aho's hypothesis that the listed people in fr. *a* were private contractors, providing raw material and other services for the Roman army<sup>79</sup>; and to think of fr. *a* and *c* as part of a list of debtors or contributors to the military unit, who might have come from different social standings.<sup>80</sup> The exact amount of what they owed, or gave, might have been inserted in another register, or at the top or at the bottom (both lost) of fr. *a*. One is reminded of *PSI* 2.119 r<sup>o</sup> + *ChLA* 4.264,<sup>81</sup> a Latin register pertaining to an unspecified Roman unit in Egypt, originally accommodated on the *recto* of a later re-used roll, where details and provenance of several incoming quantities of money were given in a chronological fashion. A resemblance in general appearance between the two papyri was already noticed in

P.Louvre inv. E 10490 (no TM number yet: recently published in Salati [n. 76] 195–200), *P.Dura* 82 (AD 223–232, TM 44813) or *P.Dura* 89 (AD 239, TM 44820). But this comparison is defective as well. One should assume that the individuals listed in P.Carlsberg were all Roman soldiers, and yet only one of them is styled as such (Dionysius, from a *numerus catafractariorum*); another appears to be connected with civil administration (Euphrosynus, an *arcarius* perhaps *bonorum possessionis*). It may be objected, that in *acta diurna* soldiers without a specific rank or profession were listed with only their name and patronymic (e.g. in the aforementioned *P.Dura* 82 or 89). This would make sense if Dionysius were provided with a specific notation indicating his rank or duty within the unit. Instead, he is only qualified as coming from a cavalry unit, as if what mattered for the scribe was the mere fact that he was a soldier, in contrast with Euphrosynus, a treasurer and (presumably) a slave, and with the other individuals who were *not* provided with the same notation – and therefore, one might surmise, were *not* soldiers. One might even think of an association (*collegium* ~ *cύνοδος*), but once again there is no clear evidence for it. The matter is further complicated by the fact that there seems to be no specific order in the presentation of names: they appear to be randomly distributed; moreover, the scribe interrupts the name + patronymic sequence in three cases at least (Euphrosynus, Dionysius and the *cornicularius*), which are well within the list, without separating them from the other ones, or without any sign of internal division.

<sup>78</sup> Halla-aho (n. 2) 229. The apparent divergence could in fact be explained if the original document was laid out in more than one column, or at any rate large enough to contain distinct texts written by the same scribe at different moments, perhaps both in a military *milieu*, but not necessarily both related to the internal proceedings of the military unit they referred to.

<sup>79</sup> Halla-aho (n. 2) 229.

<sup>80</sup> A possible parallel is *SB* 12.10796 (AD 198, TM 14339), a list of debtors which provides only names and – at the bottom – their provenance (l. 13 ἀπὸ Ταμείων), without noting quantities of money. However, that was a list drafted for private use; furthermore, the non-columnar layout of P.Carlsberg would still have to be accounted for.

<sup>81</sup> Early second century AD, TM 69879. A full re-edition with detailed commentary in O. Salati, “Un ‘dimenticato’ registro latino. *PSI* 2 119 r<sup>o</sup> + *ChLA* IV 264,” *Aegyptus* 97 (2017) 71–111.

Halla-aho (n. 2) 229. One might suspect, from the dating formula in P.Carlsberg inv. 555 fr. *c*, that frs. *a* and *c* contained an entry listing a large number of private individuals perhaps giving a specific sum (detailed only once at the bottom or at the top of the entry, and now lost) to the funds of the unit: see e.g. *PSI* 2.119 r<sup>o</sup> fr. *a* ll. 13–19 for a typical entry. Long lists of names are absent from this register, but it cannot be ruled out that there were some in the enormous lost portions of the papyrus. Notably, at ll. 15 and 19 of the *PSI* text, the notation *ad k(astra)* appears, as it also apparently does in the smaller fragments of the presently discussed papyrus, *PSI* inv. D 111 fr. *bl* l. 3 and fr. *a* l. 4.

To conclude: so far only partial explanations and only partially convincing parallels can be offered to explain the peculiarities of P.Carlsberg inv. 555 r<sup>o</sup> + *PSI* inv. D 111 r<sup>o</sup>. Whereas portions of it appear to be recognizable, others are still puzzling. The typology of the whole original document escapes us for the time being. One can at least date the document, thanks to the *catafractarius* Dionysius, to the Hadrianic or post-Hadrianic period.

## NEW READINGS OF PERSONAL NAMES (2)<sup>1</sup>

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*Abstract.* — Corrections to the reading of personal names in Greek papyri.

*Keywords:* personal names, ghost-names

### *Some More Ghost-Names*

Ἡρωτ-

This name was read twice in *P.Prag.* 3.223.2.6 and 7, an Arsinoite register of the second century: Ἡρωτ . τ[ and Ἡρωτ . τ . [. The editor notes: “The name is not in Preisigke, *NB*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum* .... A variant form of Ἡρώδης (...) may be possible, but I cannot read it here.” There is no new name, and the problem is due to the variable form of ν, as the image shows<sup>2</sup>; Ἡρων should be read in both lines. Τ[ follows in l. 6, but I am not sure about the reading of the two letters before the break in l. 7.<sup>3</sup>

Μυρίομος

*BGU* 4.1046, an extensively discussed Arsinoite document of 166/167, refers to a certain Ἀφροδίσιος Μυρίομου (2.2). His father’s name is unattested elsewhere. Preisigke, *NB* 222, listed it under Μυρίομος, adducing *BGU* 1.34.2.24 Μυρ[ιό]μω as another example, but added: “Möglich auch Μυ[ρισ]μῶ.” This appeared in 1922; Preisigke had recorded the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *BASP* 56 (2019) 287–296. With very few exceptions, most of the images mentioned in this article are accessible through <http://www.papyri.info>. Egyptian names are presented with the editors’ accentuation when quoted, but with the reformed (Clarysse) accentuation in the case of new readings.

<sup>2</sup> At <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/pprag;3;223>.

<sup>3</sup> There is another mysterious sequence at 2.15, με . οιω[, “[p]erhaps Μεσο(ρή) as ii 8, or possibly a place name.” The papyrus has Μεσο(ρη) ιθ [. Another dubious point: the sequence Εὐεργ[έτιδο(ς)] Ἀρ[σι]ν[οί(του)] ὑφ[μοῦ] at 1.2 is unidiomatic, and in fact it cannot be verified on the image, but I have no alternative to offer.



suggestion to read Μυ[ρις]μῶ in *BL* 1.9, published in 1913, but it seems he was not entirely convinced. This is what the papyrus has<sup>4</sup>:



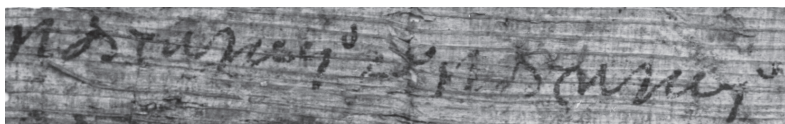
If the letter after Μυρ is ο, its form would be elliptical. Even if its right-hand part does not descend below the line as much as others in this hand, σ would be an easier reading, and would yield a securely attested name (TM Nam 10675). We may thus read Μυρίσμου.

Πανατωήους, Χανώιο(ς)

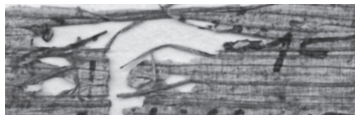
*P.Sijp.* 27 is a list of taxpayers of 69, excavated at Hawara. It was said not to be “really interesting from the point of view of the proper names listed,” but there is at least one novelty. Χανώιο(ς) in l. 9 is not known otherwise. The reading of ω may be questioned: α, β or κ are other possibilities, but the name would still be new.



In l. 19 we find Πανατωήο(υ)ιος το(ῦ) Πανατωήο(υ)ιος, and in l. 20 Πανατωήους Πανατωήο(υ)ιος. The editor notes: “the name is previously unattested, but the reading seems in all four instances quite certain. (...) For similar articulation, see e.g. F. Preisigke, *NB*, s.v. Πανεγβήουῖς, Πανεγβήουῖος.” However, the editor’s reading is not certain and the name is not new. We have to read Πανετβηο(ύ)ιος το(ῦ) Πανετβηο(ύ)ιος and Πανετβήους Πανετβηο(ύ)ιος. Πανετβήους is one of the many versions of Πανετβευσ (TM Nam 732).



Another name that requires correction is Ἡρακλῆς in l. 24. It begins with Α and ends βις, μις, or even κτις. Ἀρ[χ]ηβις, Ἀρ[ψ]ημις, and Ἀρ[β]ηκτις are possibilities.



<sup>4</sup> Credit for image clipping: © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung. Scan: Berliner Papyrusdatenbank, P 8144 R.

## Πετειμώτης

Πετειμώτου in *P.Leipz.* 11 r<sup>o</sup> 7, a third-century document from Memphis, could be a version of Πετειμούθης (so TM Nam 862), but the papyrus has Πεταρμώτου (there is a blank space between ρ and μ, as the scribe avoided writing over a *kollesis*). The name is attested in this form only once; it is more often written as Πεταρμώτης, a variant of Peteharmotnis (TM Nam 853).

The name is followed by a word transcribed as λινο<sup>1</sup> and interpreted as λινουργός. Although the curved abbreviation stroke descends below the line, it can hardly be anything but the one implying the presence of π. This person may have been a λينوπ(ώλης).

## Πιρῶς

The editor notes that Πιρῶς in l. 38 of *PSI Corr.* 1244 (= *SB* 14.11932), an Arsinoite document of 208, is a *hapax*, though Περῶς is attested. The letter read as ρ appears to be ε; the shape of the next letter is inconclusive, while ζ is certain. I propose to read Πιεῶς, a variant of Πιηυς (TM Nam 11606), attested in this region.

## Πκάλιος

This name (TM Nam 24375) made its first appearance in *P.Amh.* 2.151, a Hermopolite loan of 610–619: Πκαλίου (6), Πκάλιος (9), Πκάλι[ο]ς (20). The reading does not look objectionable, but we may just as well opt for Πκυλίου and Πκύλιος, a very common name in this area. The same name was read in *P.Laur.* 3.77.4 (603), Πκαλίου, but Πκυλίου is an easy alternative.

There remains the Theban *O.Leid.* 353.3 (fourth/fifth century) Πκάλιο(ς). Πκαλ is fairly clear on the published photograph (Pl. 89), but not what follows, which may be an abbreviation sign. We are probably dealing with a form of Πκαλη(ς) / πκαλε (TM Nam 18339).

## Σηλῆνος

The editor's note to l. 6 of *P.Mert.* 3.127, a list of *symmachoi* of the sixth century, reads: "Σηλῆνω: not in *NB*. *Lambda* is doubtful; if right, the name is probably a by-form of Σερῆνω." There is no by-form: the text reads Σερῆνω, as we can tell from the online image.

The papyrus was said to be of unknown provenance, but this can be established with certainty. The clue lies in the subscriptions, read as (*m.*<sup>2</sup>) γί(νεται) ὄλ(ον) νομιτ(ευσόμενα) νομισμάτια | ξξ, γί(ν.) ὄλ(ον) νομιτ(ευσόμενα) νο(μ.) ζ μ(όνον). | (*m.*<sup>3</sup>) † [γ]ί(ν.) π(ᾶν) ν[ο]μιτ(ευσόμενα) κτλ.

(ll. 9–11). ὀλ(ον) in ll. 9 and 10 conceals ἰδ(ιωτικῶ), the gold standard typical of late antique Oxyrhynchus. ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) may also be read instead of π(ᾶν) in l. 11.

### *Other Hidden or Mistaken Identities*

#### Scapula and Μέθη

In *P.Oxy.* 24.2421.27, a list of payments of the early fourth century, the editor read Ἑκαπλᾶς, a name not known from elsewhere, but this relies on a false reading; the papyrus has Σκάπλας. This must be a Greek version of the Latin name Scapula.

A search for #Σκαπλ in papyri.info/ddbpy yields “5 hits.” The first comes from *BGU* 9.1898.153, a second-century tax list from Theadelphia: Μύσθη Ζήνωνος πρὸς Σκαπλον. F. Zucker, *Gnomon* 14 (1938) 388 (= *BL* 3.27), recognized Σκαπλον as a rendering of Scapula. This is also the *cognomen* of an Augustan prefect of Egypt (P. Ostorius Scapula), written as Σκάπλου in *I.Fayum* 3.166.4, [Σ]κάπλου in *SB* 16.12531.13, and Σκάπλαι (dat.) in *SB* 16.12713.1. *P.Graux* 2.9 (Ars.; 33) introduced a servant of this name: Σκαπλᾶτι (l. 7), Σκάπλα (ll. 9, 11). An additional attestation may come from *P.Athen.* 41.20 (Ars.; first century) Σκαπλ( ), if correctly read.

Inspection of the online image of *BGU* 1898 reveals another point of onomastic interest in the same passage. The papyrus does not have Μύσθη<sup>5</sup> but Μεθη<sup>6</sup>:



This female name (TM Nam 10568) may derive from μέθη, “drunkenness.” It is attested only in two other Arsinoite texts, *I.Fayum* 3.143.3 (first/second century) and *SB* 20.14329.3, etc. (175). The final ι (not *sigma* in this hand) is curious; it may be of the superfluous kind, but there is no evidence of this practice elsewhere in the text.

#### *BGU* 1.6

This is an Arsinoite list of liturgical nominees of 158/159. After *BL* 1.7, there should be Φ[ . . . . . ] Φασει τοῦ Φασ . . in l. 13. The papyrus has

<sup>5</sup> *BGU* 9.1896.138f. Μύσθην | τὸν καὶ Σαραπίωνα Ζήνωνος might have influenced the reading.

<sup>6</sup> Credit for image clipping: © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung. Scan: Berliner Papyrusdatenbank, P 11669 R.

Φασει τοῦ Φασει; Φασει is a common form of the genitive of Φασεις. Before the break, the remains of the letter after Φ suit α, but the trace that follows is exiguous; this person would have been called e.g. Φασ[εις] or Φάη[σις].

#### BGU 2.499

In ll. 9–10 of this second-century Arsinoite document, we find the sequence ]ις Ἀρμύσεως τοῦ Ὡσεως [ - - | - - T<sup>(?)</sup>]αῶσις γυνή τοῦ προγεργ(αμμένου) Ἀπύγχ[εως. In view of “the afore-written Apynchis” in l. 10, it is virtually certain that in l. 9 we have to restore Ἀπυγγ]ις.

Another broken name occurs in l. 17, ]θ . . ς Ἀγχορίμφεως τοῦ Πεθέως. The papyrus has ]θμις (no dots needed). The likeliest name to restore is Ἀρσυ]θμις; it is found in l. 13 of the same text, Ἀρσύθμεως (BL 7.13, confirmed on the image), though it refers to a different person.

#### BGU 2.560

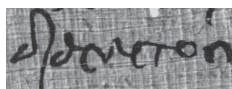
This Arsinoite document of the second century contains a list of men and their ages, the pattern being name + father’s name + grandfather’s name + mother’s name. A number of these names are uncertainly read, but we may reclaim two or three of them.

One of the problematic passages is Πασιπο[ . ] . ς Θώνε[ως] νεω(τέρου) Το[ . . ]παη( ) in l. 37:



Πασιπο- takes us nowhere; if we read Πασιγο-, we come close to the abbreviated name in l. 15, on which see below. Το[ . . ]παη( ) does not match any known name either, but may be approached differently: I would venture to read τοῦ [Ἀρ]παή(σεως). There is a high trace after το on the edge of the break, compatible with the left arm of υ. Though this scribe does not write τοῦ between νεω(τέρου) (l. 17, Θ)ώνεως νεω(τέρου) Νεφερῶτος) or πρεσβ(υτέρου) and the grandfather’s name elsewhere in this text, the construction is well attested in Arsinoite documents.

In l. 8, Τιθο[εῖους πρ]εσβ(υτέρου) Φασ . υτος, the unread name is Φασειτος. The shape of ει may be paralleled from Θανεῖτ(ος) in l. 3.



<sup>7</sup> Credit for image clippings: © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung. Scan: Berliner Papyrusdatenbank, P 2292 R.

In l. 15 we find ἀνθ' οὗ Πασινο( ) τοῦ Πανινούτιο(ς). The abbreviation Πασινο( ) implies a common name that would not have been misunderstood, but the sole name that begins with Πασινο- and is recorded in the Fayum is Πασινόσιρις (TM Nam 22957), found only in two Ptolemaic documents. Πασίνο(υς) (TM Nam 4925) would be an easier reading, but this name is not attested in this area.

Finally, one of the reviewers points out that in l.11 “we should read Τανινουτιος instead of the meaningless Ταναπουτιος.”

#### BGU 11.2131

This is a list of men written on the back of a composite roll of Arsinoite declarations of flooded land dated to 209. Some of them have Roman *nomina*: [Κλ]αύδιος Σαταρνείλου (1.4), Αἴλιος Ὠρίων[ος (?), Ἰούλιος Κλήμη[τος (?), Ἀγτών[ιο]ς Φη[ , Ἀγτώ[νιο]ς Διοσ[κόρου] (2.1, 3, 5, 7). Many *nomina* were also used as *cognomina*, but the question marks indicate the editor's uncertainty about two of them. As far as I can see, there is no example of Αἴλιος used as a *cognomen* in the papyri; it would be preferable to read Αἴλιος Ὠρίων. Κλήμη[τος] would also be an odd spelling of Κλήμεντος (to judge from the image, η is preferable to ε), but it would be preferable to read Ἰούλιος Κλήμη[ς]. As for Διοσ[κόρου], Διόσ[κορος] is also possible. Φη[ may be restored as Φῆ[λιξ] or Φή[λικος].

#### P.Abinn. 73

In l. 42 of this fourth-century Arsinoite account, the online image indicates that Πυ . η . . may be read as Πυμήγ, a phonetic version of Ποιμήν (TM Nam 11715).

#### P.Cair.Mich. 2.22

This is a list of names from Karanis of the late second century. One of the entries was read as Λογ[γῖ]νος Ἀπονείτου (2.5). Ἀπονείτου is uncertainly paralleled, and on close inspection cedes its place to something more common. The published photograph, as well as an image kindly supplied by Mohamed El-Maghrabi, shows that the papyrus has ἀπὸ Νέστου. This person came from Nestou (TM Geo 1450), a village in the division of Herakleides, located somewhere between Karanis and Philadelphieia.

Another person who had gone to Karanis from a different place was Aphrodisios, from nearby Bakchias: in place of Βα<κ>χίωγος in l.9, read Βαχιώτης. On this spelling of Βακχιώτης, see ZPE 208 (2018) 188.

Damage has obscured the reading of several names but at least two of them are recoverable: in 2.3, for  $\text{Κ} \dots \tau\omicron[\varsigma]$  read  $\text{Κ}\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omega[\rho]$ ; in 4.2, for  $\text{Ο}\upsilon\mu\epsilon\rho \dots \varsigma$  read  $\text{Ο}\acute{\upsilon}\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\varsigma$ .

*P.Genova 2.77*

This is a list of names of unknown provenance assigned to the second century. One name has remained unnoticed:  $\alpha\rho\chi\iota\kappa\omega$  in l. 2 should be read as  $\alpha\rho\chi\iota\beta\iota^{\circ}$ , i.e.,  $\text{Ἀρχιβιο}(\varsigma)$ .<sup>8</sup>

In l. 6, where the edition gives  $\text{Πάνος}$ , we may also consider  $\text{Πάπος}$ .

*P.Lond. 2.181*

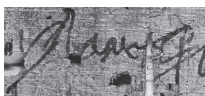
$\text{Ἀρσεῦτος}$  in C.5 of this Arsinoite tax register of 63 was changed to  $\text{Ἐριεῦτος}$  in *Tyche* 5 (1990) 180 = *BL* 9.126, but this is not an improvement. To judge from the online image, the papyrus has  $\text{Ὅρσεῦτος}$ , a name found also elsewhere in the register (A.5, B.21, C.11).

*P.Palau Rib. 25*

This is a Hermopolite lease of the sixth/seventh century. The reading of two names in the witnesses' subscriptions may be improved with the help of the plate (Lam. IV). In l. 10,  $\text{Αὐρ(ήλιος) Δωρόθεος Ἀ} \dots$  [, the father's name should be read as  $\text{Βίκ[τωρος]}$ . In l. 11,  $\text{Αὐρ(ήλιος) Καϝ[} \dots$  read  $\text{Βασ[ι]λ[} \dots$ , which suggests  $\text{Βασ[ι]λ[είδης]}$  or  $\text{Βασ[ι]λ[ειος]}$ .

*P.Princ. 3.138*

This is a receipt for the payment of tax grain, probably to be loaded on a boat, since it involves a skipper:  $\text{ὕπὸ Ἀνηλίου κυβερ(νήτου) ἰπλοί(ου) Ἰ[ω]άννου Πανερ( )}$  (ll. 2–4).  $\text{Πανερ( )}$  would suit a number of names, but there is no name at this point: read  $\text{λαμπρ}$ , that is,  $\text{λαμπρ(οτάτου)}$ .



The text may refer to an Aphroditopolite village (*BL* 9.221); no *vir clarissimus* named Ioannes is known from this area. The text was assigned to the sixth century, but the late fifth may be more likely.

<sup>8</sup> The papyrus is reproduced in Tav. XVII and at <http://www.pug.unige.net/pug;II;77>.

## PSI 3.218

The name of the signatory to this Oxyrhynchite contract of 250 was given as Αὐρηλία Σαασκ . . (?) (l. 10) in the edition. The image shows that her name is Σαραπιάς.

## PSI 7.733

In l. 58 of this Oxyrhynchite tax report of 235, there appears one Δρωσι[ . . ]α, on whose name the editor noted: “Forse Δρώσιλλα per Δρούσιλλα.” We may confidently restore Δρωσί[λλ]α; cf. *P.Oxy.* 44.3169.146 (ca. 210–12) Δρωσίλλα Πετσείριος.

## P.Wash.Univ. 2.89

An unexpected name occurs in this sixth-century list of payments: [π(αρά)] Ἐπικούρος (l. Ἐπικούρου) ἀπὸ Μεσοπ(οταμίας) (l. 7). The editor notes: “There is no Epicurus in Oxyrhynchus documents known to me – but the reading is uncertain.” As the online image shows, the name of this person is less remarkable; read [π](αρά) Πιηοῦτος ([π]’ pap.).

The papyrus was almost certainly found in Oxyrhynchus (cf. T.M. Hickey, *BASP* 57 [2020] 298ff.), but the text points to the region of Hermopolis. In l. 5 there is a γνωστήρ, a typical Hermopolite official, and in l. 6 a reference to a φυλή, another Hermopolite institution (for φ . λ(ου) read φυλ(η) ); I cannot make out what precedes it). Mesopotamia was a village in the north of the Oxyrhynchite nome, but also in the north of the Hermopolite; see F. Mitthof, *APF* 49 (2003) 210f.

## SPP 22.6

This text refers to Karanis and dates from 204/205. Its content was described as “*Indicantur (stratego?) nomina eorum qui tributa solverunt*,” to judge from the image, some of these *nomina* may be read differently:

In l. 11, the papyrus does not have Δωρατ( ) but Δωρᾶ, with *alpha* extended.

In l. 15, for Ἀγχῶπις Γν[ read Ἀγχωφίς γναφεύς (γ corrected from c).

In l. 18, for [K]άστωρ[ρ] *traces* [ read Κάστωρ Σαραπ[.

In l. 19, [Απ]ῦγχ[ις] is impossible. The papyrus has ]υ . λξ̄, to be read as [O]ὑαλέ(ριος) or rather, as one of the readers suggests, [O]ὑελέ(ριος).

## O.Mich. 1.87 (revised)

This ostrakon from Karanis bears a list of liturgical workers and may be assigned to the fourth century (see W. Clarysse and M.C.D. Paganini,



APF 55 [2009] 82). I present a revised edition on the basis of the online images.

κεφ(αλαιωτή) Πατέρμουτις	Παπαους Ἀσοει
Αγυς Παράνου (καί) ὁ ἀδελφ(ός)	Παῦλος Νεμεσίνου
Ἀπάμωγ καὶ Πασις	Ἄμαεις καὶ . εἰνος
Παῦλος Παράμμου	
5 Ὅλ ἀρτοκόπος	
Φηους Παγείνου	

1 κεφ' 2 ὁαδελφ, 5 ὁλ'

Col. 1.1 Cf. *O.Mich.* 2.940.1 κεφαλαιω(τή) | Πετέρμουθις, perhaps a mere coincidence (the hand of 940, assigned to the late third or early fourth century, looks earlier than that of 87).

2 Αγυς Παράνου (καί): Αὐρη(λία) Σαραποῦς (καί) APF 55 (2009) 88, n. 60: Αὐρή(λιος) Σαραποῦς *editio princeps*. The abbreviated (καί) was first read by H.C. Youtie, as we learn from the APIS record of this item (michigan.apis.114). The reading of the first name is tentative, but it is certainly not the *gentilicium*, which would also be unexpected. If correct, it could be a variant of Ἀνύσιος. (Κάστωρ Ἀνῦς in *P.Col.* 2.1r(3).8.12 does not inspire confidence.) Alternatively, read Απους, suggested by one of the journal's readers, to whom the reading of the other name as Παράνου is due. The name Παρανος is attested in Karanis from *O.Mich.* 1.341.5 (third/fourth century) and *BGU* 2.608.2.10 (fourth century).

3 Ἀπάμωγ καί: Ἀμμώνιος *editio princeps*.

4 Παράμμου: Πρόκλου *editio princeps*. Cf. *BGU* 2.608.20 Παράμμου.

5 ἀρτοκόπος: Ἀρποκρᾶτος *editio princeps*.

Col. 2.1 Παπαους remains without parallel. Σαπαους is also possible but would again be unique.

– Ἀσοει: ἀδελφ(ός) *editio princeps*. The new reading is due to P. Heilporn, noted on the APIS record.

2 Νεμεσίνου: or Νεμ<ε>σίνου.

3 Ἄμαεις καὶ . εἰνος: Ἀμᾶσις Καλλινός *editio princeps*. The second name might be Νεῖνος or Ἀγεινος (cf. *O.Mich.* 940.4).

# MAKING SENSE OF THE NUMBERS: THREE MONEY ACCOUNTS FROM SEVENTH-CENTURY FAYYŪM

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*Abstract.* — Revision of three seventh-century accounts of money from the Fayyūm, now housed in Vienna (*SB* 24.16140, *SPP* 20.231) and London (*P. Lond.* 1.113.8a).

*Keywords:* accounting, Fayyūm, *nomismata rhypara*, *nomismata Alexandreias*, *chrysones*, *zygostates*

This article discusses three accounts of money produced around the middle of the seventh century in offices of the financial administration of the “city of the Arsinoites.” As edited, the accounts show problems of balancing and contain textual oddities. Our study shows that all sums add up, especially if we make sense of the various monetary units used at that time.

We start with **SB 24.16140**, which contains two texts written on either side: a receipt for money addressed to a *chrysones* (ll. 1–3),<sup>1</sup> and an account of money addressed to another *chrysones* (ll. 4–12).<sup>2</sup> The latter was read as follows:

- 4 † τῷ κυρ(ίῳ) Κολλ(ού)θ(ῳ) χρυσώ(νῃ).  
ἔχει(ς) ὑπ(ἐρ) τ(οῦ) ὑποδέ(κτου) νο(μίσματα) ρξβ  
δ(ιὰ) Ῥοδακίου πρε(σβυτέρου) νο(μίσματα) ιβ  
δ(μοῦ) νο(μίσματα) ροδ  
8 ἀφ(ῶ)λεν δ(ι) ᾿Ι[σ]ᾱκ Εὐλωγίου νο(μίσματα) ρο  
δ(ιὰ) Πρεισακίου δ(ι) ὑ(ί)ῳ[ν] νο(μίσματα) λς κ(εράτια) δ ζ

<sup>1</sup> In l. 1, for (ὑπὲρ) λόγ(ου) read (ὑπὲρ) λοι(π ) (λογ. παρ.); at the end, νομισμάτων rather than νομισμάτων(ων). The date at the end of l. 3 was read as Φαρ(μοῦ)θ(ι) ιγ γ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος); it is also possible to read Φαμ(ενο)θ ἢ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ια or ιβ. (All new readings stem from autopsy of the original.)

<sup>2</sup> The *chrysones* was responsible for receiving taxes in gold and forwarding them to the central treasury; cf. C. Zuckerman, *Du village à l'Empire. Autour du registre fiscal d'Aphrodito* (525/526) (Paris 2004) 102–105.

δ(ιὰ) τ(οῦ) κόμε(τος) Εὐδαί(μονος) νο(μίσματα) β κ(εράτια) κδ  
 δ(μοῦ) νο(μίσματα) σθ κ(εράτια) δ λ  
 12 πλῆ(ρες) νο(μίσματα) λε κ(εράτια) δ λ

The purport of the account is not immediately obvious, especially its second part (ll. 8–12). The first part (ll. 4–7) indicates receipts, which total 174 *solidi* (l. 7). A second total, 209 *solidi* 4½ carats, is given in l. 11. πλῆ(ρες) in l. 12 was taken as a phonetic version of πλῆρες, but not only would this word be unusual in an account, it also does not correspond to what it introduces, viz. 35 *sol.* 4½ car., the difference between the sums in ll. 7 and 11. πλε( ) suggests πλε(ίω), which refers to the remainder in an account, usually a surplus, or occasionally excess expenditure.<sup>3</sup> It is the latter that we have here. In l. 8, we should read ἄφ' (ᾧν), which introduces expenses that total 209 *solidi* 4½ carats. πλε(ίω) in l. 12 indicates that the account was overspent by 35 *solidi* 4½ carats.

Study of the image and the original has resulted in a number of new readings. The structure of the account is now intelligible, though some details remain unclear. We propose the following text:

† λ(ό)γο(ς) τοῦ κυρ(ί)ου Κολλ(ού)θ(ου) χρυσώ(νου)  
 ἔχῳ (ὑπὲρ) τ(οῦ) ὑποδέ(κτου) νο(μίσματα) ρξβ  
 δ(ιὰ) Ῥοδακίου προ(νοητοῦ?) νο(μίσματα) ιβ  
 4 δ(μοῦ) νο(μίσματα) ροδ  
 ἄφ' (ᾧν) ἐν χρ . σε . φγι( ) νο(μίσματα) ρο  
 δ(ιὰ) προ( ) Ἰσακίου αλ . νο(μίσματα) λς κ(εράτια) δ λ  
 δ(ιὰ) τ(οῦ) κόμε(τος) Εὐλογί(ου) νο(μίσματα) β κ(εράτια) κα  
 8 δ(μοῦ) νο(μίσματα) σθ κ(εράτια) α λ  
 πλε(ίω) νο(μίσματα) λε κ(εράτια) α λ

“Account of lord Kollouthos, *chrysones*.

I have on behalf of the *hypodektes* 162 *solidi*.

Through Rhodakios, *pronoetes*(?) 12 *solidi*.

Altogether 174 *solidi*.

Of which in ... 170 *solidi*.

Through ... Isakios ... 36 *solidi* 4½ carats.

Through the *comes* Eulogios 2 *solidi* 21 carats.

Altogether 209 *solidi* 1½ carats.

Excess 35 *solidi* 1½ carats.”

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. Ast, *ZPE* 153 (2005) 160f.

1  
2  $\uparrow$  λόγ(ος) κυ<sup>ε</sup>σι<sup>ε</sup> Ηλία ε<sup>υ</sup>ψ(στατου)  
3 ο<sup>υ</sup>(τωσ)  
4 ηγ(τάκιον) α<sup>α</sup> ε<sup>υ</sup>ψ(α<sup>α</sup>) υ<sup>υ</sup>μ(α<sup>α</sup>) β<sup>β</sup>  
5 ηγ α ε<sup>ε</sup> β<sup>β</sup>  
6 ηγ α ε<sup>ε</sup> μ<sup>μ</sup>  
7 ηγ α ε<sup>ε</sup> γ<sup>γ</sup>  
8 ηγ α 'Αλ(ε<sup>ε</sup> α<sup>α</sup> ο<sup>ο</sup> ρ<sup>ρ</sup> ε<sup>ε</sup> ι<sup>ι</sup>) υ<sup>υ</sup> ρ<sup>ρ</sup> ξ<sup>ξ</sup> γ<sup>γ</sup> δ<sup>δ</sup>  
9 ηγ α ε<sup>ε</sup> η<sup>η</sup>  
10 ηγ α ε<sup>ε</sup> β<sup>β</sup>  
11 ηγ α 'Αλ(ε<sup>ε</sup>) ο<sup>ο</sup> α<sup>α</sup> [γ<sup>γ</sup>] κα  
12 ηγ α ε<sup>ε</sup> ι<sup>ι</sup>  
13 ηγ α 'Αλ(ε<sup>ε</sup>) γ<sup>γ</sup> μ<sup>μ</sup>  
14 ηγ α ε<sup>ε</sup> ν<sup>ν</sup> κ<sup>κ</sup>  
15 ηγ α ε<sup>ε</sup> ν<sup>ν</sup> κ<sup>κ</sup>

16 γ<sup>γ</sup> ι<sup>ι</sup> ν<sup>ν</sup> ε<sup>ε</sup> τ<sup>τ</sup> α<sup>α</sup> υ<sup>υ</sup> ε<sup>ε</sup> ι<sup>ι</sup> (και) ε<sup>ε</sup> ι<sup>ι</sup> σ<sup>σ</sup> ι<sup>ι</sup> λ<sup>λ</sup> ε<sup>ε</sup> ο<sup>ο</sup> π<sup>π</sup> α<sup>α</sup> κ<sup>κ</sup> β<sup>β</sup> γ<sup>γ</sup>  
17 σ<sup>σ</sup> (και) 'Αλ ε<sup>ε</sup> α<sup>α</sup> ε<sup>ε</sup> ο<sup>ο</sup> σ<sup>σ</sup> λ<sup>λ</sup> α<sup>α</sup> γ<sup>γ</sup> β<sup>β</sup>  
18 ο<sup>ο</sup> (μου) υ<sup>υ</sup> τ<sup>τ</sup> ι<sup>ι</sup> η<sup>η</sup> γ<sup>γ</sup> ε<sup>ε</sup> γ<sup>γ</sup> 'Αλ ε<sup>ε</sup> γ<sup>γ</sup>  
19 δ<sup>δ</sup> (λ<sup>λ</sup> α<sup>α</sup> ν<sup>ν</sup>) ε<sup>ε</sup> σ<sup>σ</sup> χ<sup>χ</sup> ο<sup>ο</sup> ν<sup>ν</sup>  
20 ο<sup>ο</sup> υ<sup>υ</sup> (τωσ)  
21 ηγ α ν<sup>ν</sup> α<sup>α</sup> λ<sup>λ</sup> ε<sup>ε</sup> α<sup>α</sup> υ<sup>υ</sup> 'Αλ(ε<sup>ε</sup>) 'Αλ ε<sup>ε</sup> ο<sup>ο</sup> π<sup>π</sup> ε<sup>ε</sup>  
22 ηγ α 'Αλ ε<sup>ε</sup> ο<sup>ο</sup> ξ<sup>ξ</sup> ε<sup>ε</sup> γ<sup>γ</sup> ε<sup>ε</sup> δ<sup>δ</sup> μ<sup>μ</sup> η<sup>η</sup>  
23 ηγ α α<sup>α</sup> ν<sup>ν</sup> γ<sup>γ</sup> (ω<sup>ω</sup> ν<sup>ν</sup> η<sup>η</sup> γ<sup>γ</sup>) ε<sup>ε</sup> σ<sup>σ</sup> ι<sup>ι</sup> τ<sup>τ</sup> α<sup>α</sup> 'Αλ ε<sup>ε</sup> ο<sup>ο</sup> ξ<sup>ξ</sup> ε<sup>ε</sup> γ<sup>γ</sup> ε<sup>ε</sup> δ<sup>δ</sup> μ<sup>μ</sup> η<sup>η</sup>  
24 ηγ α ε<sup>ε</sup> σ<sup>σ</sup> L ε<sup>ε</sup> ι<sup>ι</sup> σ<sup>σ</sup> α<sup>α</sup> γ<sup>γ</sup> η<sup>η</sup> L η<sup>η</sup>  
25 ηγ α ε<sup>ε</sup> σ<sup>σ</sup> L ε<sup>ε</sup> ι<sup>ι</sup> σ<sup>σ</sup> α<sup>α</sup> γ<sup>γ</sup> η<sup>η</sup> σ<sup>σ</sup> η<sup>η</sup> γ<sup>γ</sup>  
26 ηγ α γ<sup>γ</sup> β<sup>β</sup> 'Αλ ε<sup>ε</sup>  
27 ηγ α γ<sup>γ</sup> ε<sup>ε</sup> ι<sup>ι</sup> ε<sup>ε</sup>

Inspection of the papyrus has shown that Wessely's l. 1 and the text to the right of ll. 3–6 are the concluding part of the account, with the final totals; only by placing them as independent lines in a second column, to be inserted in the text after l. 27 (properly l. 26), is it possible to make sense of the account. What confused Wessely must have been his lines 16–18 (= 15–17), and to some extent also lines 23–27 (= 22–26): these, placed at the centre of the sheet, seem to divide the page into an upper and a lower part rather than a first and second column. The correct distribution of the lines is given in the version of text in DDbDP, but we do not know on what basis (there is no relevant entry in the *Berichtigungsliste*). There are several other textual problems that require attention, so that we thought it worthwhile to offer a new edition.

P.Vindob. G 2249

H × W = 30 × 16.3 cm

Arsinoite nome, 630s?

A light-coloured papyrus of good quality, intact on all sides. A sheet join of good making, *ca.* 3 cm wide, runs vertically *ca.* 4 cm from the left edge. There is a horizontal fold *ca.* 16.5 cm from the lower edge, and vertical folds at intervals of *ca.* 3 cm. The text is written in an ink now dark brown, along the fibres on the front and against the fibres on the back. On the back, very close to the right edge and towards the middle of the part above the horizontal fold, there are specks of ink that do not seem to be of letters; they may be crossed lines drawn on the papyrus fibre that, once the sheet was folded, had to keep it closed. The script is a minuscule written by an experienced scribe (less careful on the back).

On the front of the papyrus, in two different sections, we find sums of money paid in νομίσματα ῥυπαρά and νομίσματα Ἀλεξανδρείας. The text opens with the heading λόγ(ος) κυροῦ Ἡλίας ζυγο(στάτου) and continues from l. 18 with a second part beginning (ἀφ' ὧν) ἔσχ(ον). Is the subject of ἔσχ(ον) the same Elias of l. 1 or someone else? In any case, the sums in ll. 3–14 are a total out of which the amounts of the entries in the second part, ll. 18–30, are subtracted: the first part must be receipts, the other expenses, and ἔσχ(ον) in l. 18 must have the sense of, “I received from the cashier, to spend.” The mention of Elias has led to the suggestion that the document is Arsinoite and should be dated to the middle of the seventh century (*P.Prag.* 2.152.2n. = *BL* 10.272). The references to the ἀννωνοκάπιτον (l. 22) and to a substantial payment for the transport of grain to Alexandria (l. 20), not Babylon, show that the document predates the Arab conquest.

Front →

	† λόγ(ος) κυρ(ί)ου Ἡλία ζυγο(στάτου)	
	οὐ(τως)·	
	πι(ττάκιον) α	ῥ(υπαρὰ) νο(μίσματα) β
4	πι(ττάκιον) α	ῥ(υπαρὰ) νο(μίσματα) β ἷ
	πι(ττάκιον) α	ῥ(υπαρὰ) νο(μίσματα) μς
	πι(ττάκιον) α	ῥ(υπαρὰ) νο(μίσματα) γ
	πι(ττάκιον) α	Ἄλε(ξανδρείας) νο(μίσματα) ρξγ ἷδ'
8	πι(ττάκιον) α	ῥ(υπαρὰ) νο(μίσματα) η
	πι(ττάκιον) α	ῥ(υπαρὰ) νο(μίσματα) β ἷ
	πι(ττάκιον) α	Ἄλε(ξανδρείας) νο(μίσματα) οα (κεράτια) κα
	πι(ττάκιον) α	ῥ(υπαρὰ) νο(μίσματα) ἱ
12	πι(ττάκιον) α	Ἄλε(ξανδρείας) (κεράτια) ἱς
	πι(ττάκιον) α	ῥ(υπαρὰ) νο(μίσματα) κ
	πι(ττάκιον) α	ῥ(υπαρὰ) νο(μίσματα) κ
15	γί(νονται) ῥ(υπαρὰ) νο(μίσματα) ρῖδ [(καὶ) Ἄλε(ξ.) νο(μ.) σλς (κερ.) ζ]	
	εἰ(ς) Ἄλε(ξανδρείας) νο(μίσματα) πα (κεράτια) κβ ἷ	
16	(καὶ) Ἄλεξα(νδρείας) νο(μίσματα) σλς (κεράτια) ζ	
	δ(μοῦ) νο(μίσματα) τη (κεράτια) ε ἷ Ἄλεξ(ανδρείας)	
	(ἀφ' ὧν) ἔσχ(ον)	
	οὐ(τως)·	
20	πι(ττάκιον) α ναύλου Ἄλε(ξανδρείας) Ἄλε(ξανδρείας) νο(μίσματα) πς	
	πι(ττάκιον) α Ἄλε(ξανδρείας) νο(μίσματα) ἱ	
	πι(ττάκιον) α ἀνν(ωνο)κ(απίτου) Ἄλε(ξανδρείας) νο(μίσματα)	
	ξε (κεράτια) ε δ'μη'	
	πι(ττάκιον) α ῥ(υπαροῦ) νο(μίσματος) ἷ εἰ(ς) (κεράτια) η ἷη'	
24	πι(ττάκιον) α ῥ(υπαροῦ) νο(μίσματος) ἷ εἰ(ς) (κεράτια) η ἷη'	
	πι(ττάκιον) α (κεράτια) ζ Ἄλε(ξανδρείας)	
	πι(ττάκιον) α (κεράτια) ἱε	

col. 2

	τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ)	
28	οὐ(τως)·	
	πι(ττάκιον) α (κεράτια) ζ ἷ Ἄλε(ξανδρείας)	
	δ(μοῦ) νο(μίσματα) ρξδ (κεράτια) δ μη'	
	ὡς πλείω νο(μίσματα) ρνδ (κεράτιον) α ἷ	

Back ↓ ( $m^2$ )

32	† ἴσ(ον) πι(ττακίων) τοῦ κυρ(ίου) Ἀμαίου	
	πι(ττάκιον) α νο(μίσματα) ζ ῥ(υπαρὰ)	

	β	νο(μίσματα) λη
	γ	νο(μίσματα) λ
36	δ	νό(μίσμα) α
	ε	νο(μίσματα) λ
	ς	νο(μίσματα) γ
	ζ	νο(μίσματα) λβ
40	η	νο(μίσματα) ιε
	θ	νο(μίσματα) η
	ι	νο(μίσματα) κε
	ια	νο(μίσματα) ιγ

“(Front) Account of lord Elias, *zygostates*, as follows:

<i>pittakion</i> 1	2 unclean <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i> 1	2½ unclean <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i> 1	46 unclean <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i> 1	3 unclean <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i> 1	163½¼ <i>solidi</i> of Alexandria
<i>pittakion</i> 1	8 unclean <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i> 1	2½ unclean <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i> 1	71 <i>solidi</i> 21 carats of Alexandria
<i>pittakion</i> 1	10 unclean <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i> 1	16 carats of Alexandria
<i>pittakion</i> 1	20 unclean <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i> 1	20 unclean <i>solidi</i>

Total 114 unclean *solidi* and ~~236 *solidi* 7 carats of Alexandria~~, equivalent to 81 *solidi* 22½ carats of Alexandria,  
and 236 *solidi* 7 carats of Alexandria,  
total 318 *solidi* 5½ carats of Alexandria.

Of which I had, as follows:

<i>pittakion</i> 1 for the freight of Alexandria	87 <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i> 1	10 <i>solidi</i> of Alexandria
<i>pittakion</i> 1 for <i>annonocapitum</i>	65 <i>solidi</i> 5¼¼ <sub>48</sub> carats of Alexandria
<i>pittakion</i> 1	½ unclean <i>solidus</i> , equivalent to 8½⅞ carats
<i>pittakion</i> 1	½ unclean <i>solidus</i> , equivalent to 8½⅞ carats
<i>pittakion</i> 1	7 carats of Alexandria
<i>pittakion</i> 1	15 carats



(col. 2) Of the same person, as follows:

*pittakion* 1    7½ carats of Alexandria  
 Altogether 164 *solidi* 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>48</sub> carats  
 Excess 154 *solidi* 1½ carats

(Back) Copy of the *pittakia* of lord Amaios:

*pittakion* 1    7 unclean *solidi*  
*pittakion* 2    38 *solidi*  
*pittakion* 3    30 *solidi*  
*pittakion* 4    1 *solidus*  
*pittakion* 5    30 *solidi*  
*pittakion* 6    3 *solidi*  
*pittakion* 7    32 *solidi*  
*pittakion* 8    15 *solidi*  
*pittakion* 9    8 *solidi*  
*pittakion* 10   25 *solidi*  
*pittakion* 11   13 *solidi*”

12 (κεράτια) ις: The correct reading was first recognized by P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Tyche* 9 (1994) 220 (= *BL* 10.272). Wessely had read (κεράτια) μς.

15 (καὶ) Ἀλεξανδρείας): K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia* (Opladen 1994) 107, n. 10 (= *BL* 10.272), proposed to read αἱ εἰ(σίν), followed by εἰ(ς) Ἀλεξανδρείας νομίσματα πα (κεράτια) κβ λ, but the papyrus has (καί), as transcribed by Wessely. The clerk first wrote the total of the Alexandrian *solidi* registered in ll. 7, 10, and 12; then he erased what he had written and inserted the conversion of the ῥυπαρά into Alexandrian *solidi*. Remains of the earlier writing are recognizable under the second version. The total of the sums in ll. 7, 10, and 12 was then reported in l. 16.

18 ἔσχ(ον): *P.Lond.* 1.113.8a.13 (see below) has ἔχω in a similar position. Who is the subject of the verb? On the face of it, the writer of the account, someone who works for Elias and Amaios, each of them called a κύριος (ll. 1, 32).

19 The presence of this line was first noticed by Sijpesteijn, *ibid.*, who, however, placed it immediately after l. 1, following the arrangement of Wessely's text.

20 ναύλου Ἀλε(ξανδρείας): This is a charge for the transport of the grain of the *embole* to Alexandria. 87 *solidi* is a large figure: if we reckon with a rate of  $\frac{2}{3}$ – $\frac{3}{4}$  *solidus* per 100 artabas of wheat (see Johnson-West, *Byzantine Egypt* 159), we would have a load of 11,000–13,000 artabas. That rate, however, refers to transport from Oxyrhynchus to Alexandria; the transport from the Fayyūm must have cost somewhat less.

22 ἀνν(ωνο)κ(απίτου): The reading is due to F. Mitthof, cited in *Lex.Lat.Lehn*. 1.84 (= *BL* 11.267). The term referred to military rations and animal fodder together; see Mitthof, *Annona militaris* (Florence 2001) 1.232–234.

23 εἰ(ς): Here and at 24, Wessely resolved εἰ(σί).

27f. This heading does not introduce anything new: the line that follows (29) is only a continuation of ll. 18–26, for which the total is given in l. 30. It was probably added because the text continues in another column, and the arrangement of the entries on the sheet could have created some confusion; and confusion is in fact reflected by Wessely's edition.

30 (κεράτια) δ μῆ': Wessely read (κεράτια) δ μβ', but the fraction  $\frac{1}{42}$  was not used in accounts of this period. The DDbDP text contains a correction to this line ("r. ii 5"), according to which Wessely's μβ should be read as ρμη; it is unclear whether ρ is an oversight (the fraction marker is missing, though it was transcribed by Wessely) or based on an interpretation of the account.

31 (κεράτιον) α λ': This reading too is due to Sijpesteijn, *ibid.* (= *BL* 10.272). Wessely had read (κεράτιον) α.

32 ἴσ(ον) πι(ττακίων): Cf. *P.Flor.* 3.297 v° 2.461 = *P.Aphrod.Reg.* 642 (525) ἴσον ἐ[ν]ταγί(ων) καν(όνος) τετάρτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος); *P.Oxy.* 16.1917.2 and *SB* 22.15634.2 are other lists headed ἴσον. *P.Lond.* 1.113.8c.1 (below) uses λόγο(ς) instead of ἴσ(ον). Wessely had read ἰσί, for εἰσί.

– τοῦ κυρ(ίου) Ἀμαίου: Amaiōs may have been a *zygostates*, like Elias in the account on the other side. A *zygostates* of this name occurs in *P.Lond.* 2.387.11, Ἀμάιος ζ[υγ]οστάτης ( . μαρος *ed. pr.*, αμαῖος *pap.*; the diaeresis over non-initial *iota* speaks against writing the name as Ἀμαῖος); this text refers to the *zygostates* Elias in l. 22, and should thus be

*SPP* 20.231 has close affinities to *P. Lond.* **1.113.8a**, an account headed  $\text{† } \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron(\varsigma) \pi\iota(\tau\tau\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu) \tau\omicron\upsilon \kappa\upsilon\rho(\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu) \text{ Παύλου } \zeta\upsilon\gamma(\omicron\varsigma)\tau(\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon)$  (after F. Preisigke in *BL* 1.238); then the text of the edition reads as follows:

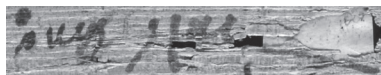
<sup>5</sup> See F. Morelli, *I prezzi dei materiali e prodotti artigianali nei documenti tardoantichi e del primo periodo arabo (IV ex.-VIII d.C.)* (Berlin-Boston 2019) 208.

	πι/	ν° μ
	πι/	ν° λδ
	πι/	ν° κα
5	πι/	ν° θ
	πι/	ν° λζ
	πι/	ν° δ
	πι/	ν° κε
	πι/	ν° κθ
10	πι/	ν° κγ
	πι/	ν° μη
	/ ν° σο ῥ	
	αφῖ ἐχῶ —	
	πι/	ν° ρα γ ζ λ
15	πι/	ν° ις
	πι/	ν° ια γ ς
	πι/	ν° ια γ ς
	πι/	ν° η
	πι/	ν° ια γ ι δ
20	[π]ι/	ν° κα γ ια λ
	πι/	ν° ξθ γ θ δ
	πι/	ν° ς γ ς
	πι/	ν° κ
	πι/	γ ε
25	/ ν° σνη γ ι δ λοι ἐχει ν° ια γ ζ [λ δ]	

Here too we have a first series of *πιττάκια* in ll. 2–11, for which a total of *σο* (= 270) *νομίσματα* ῥ(υπαρά) is given in l. 12: the *νομίσματα* of the previous entries, which add up to 270, will have been of the same type. The amounts listed in this first part of the account must be of receipts, since the second part, introduced by ἀφ' (ῥ) ἐχῶ in l. 13, records sums that must have been subtracted from them. The total of these subtractions is given as 258 *solidi* 10¼ carats in l. 25: *νομίσματα* σνη (κεράτια) ι δ. Yet this figure is almost 18 *νομίσματα* lower than the sum total of the entries in ll. 14–24, namely 276 *solidi* 14 carats. Kenyon, the editor, was aware of the problem, and thought that “there must be an error

somewhere. The doubts attaching to ll. 20, 22, 23, 24, may perhaps account for it” (25n.).<sup>6</sup>

Nonetheless, the arithmetic of the account is correct. In l. 20 the *solidi* are not 21 (κα) but 2: the papyrus has νο(μ.) β, followed by something that has been cancelled, to which we will return. After that, there was written, perhaps at a later stage and by a second hand (cf. the shape of the symbol for ½), (κερ.) ια ζ:



The new total of the subtractions would be 257 *solidi* 14 carats, or, if we keep the two monetary units distinct, 255 *solidi* 62 carats: much closer to that indicated in the papyrus, as well as to that reported by Kenyon in the note to l. 25, viz. 258 *sol.* 10¼ car. However, in this calculation it is impossible to obtain the fraction of ¼ carat in l. 25, regardless of how we reckon with the number of the carats: the fractions in ll. 14–24 are ½, ¼, ½, ½¼, which add up to 2 carats; nor is it possible to see anywhere remains of the ¼ carat that may have disappeared or been cancelled.

We have already observed that in *SPP* 20.231 the carats are used only for the νομίσματα Ἀλεξανδρείας, while for the ρυπαρά we find only fractions of the *solidus*. Yet the *solidi* of *P.Lond.* 1.113.8a too are νομίσματα ρυπαρά: those of the second part are also surely ρυπαρά, since the total of 258 νομίσματα is subtracted directly from the 270 νομίσματα ρυπαρά of l. 12. On the other hand, if we reckon with a *solidus* of 24 carats, and if we make a subtraction from a round number such as the 270 *solidi* of l. 12, it is impossible to obtain the 258 *solidi* 10¼ carats of l. 25, a total such as that of the same line, which includes a number of carats between 7 and 8. We have to reckon with a *solidus* of 10¼ + 7 and perhaps more fractions (there is a lacuna after ζ in l. 25), i.e. a sum between 17¼ and just under 18¼ carats. Kenyon had thought of a *solidus* of 18 carats (*P.Lond.* 1, p. 218), but the account remained obscure.

Let us consider the rate of 17¼ carats per *solidus*, which is also the ratio between νομίσματα Ἀλεξανδρείας and νομίσματα ρυπαρά in *SPP* 20.231. We have seen that the total of the entries in ll. 14–24 can be expressed as 255 *solidi* 62 carats. If 1 *solidus* = 17¼ carats, 62 carats = 3 *solidi* 10¼ carats. Adding this amount to the 255 *solidi*, we obtain 258 *solidi* 10¼ carats, which is the total given in l. 25. The accountant of *P.Lond.* 1.113.8a

<sup>6</sup> The editor speaks of “257 [*solidi*] : 3 [carats],” a sum apparently obtained from readings that were different from the text that went to press.

reckoned with νομίσματα ῥυπαρά, but for the carats, that is, the sums in bronze recorded in the account as gold, he used carats on the Alexandrian standard;  $17\frac{1}{4}$  such carats make 1 νόμισμα ῥυπαρόν. Therefore nothing was lost at the end of l. 25, and the restored [ζδ] of the edition must be disposed of. The *solidi* of  $17\frac{1}{4}$  carats explain the cancellation in l. 20: the clerk first wrote the symbol for  $\frac{2}{3}$ , and then cancelled it and replaced it with the equivalent in carats: at this rate,  $\frac{2}{3}$  *sol.* =  $11\frac{1}{2}$  carats.

We move on to some smaller points of detail, and append a revised text and translation. The heading is followed by ο(ῥτως) in a second line, reproduced as a long horizontal stroke in the edition. ο(ῥτως) also stands for what was transcribed as a dash after ἔχω in l. 14 (13). A dot is written before every entry. In ll. 13 (12) and 26 (25), there is a dot before a dash, followed by a total. This could be interpreted as (γίνονται), preceded by a dot as in every other entry, but we prefer to take the “dot” as a minute *omikron* and the dash as an abbreviation stroke, and thus read ὁ(μοῦ), as in the two texts discussed above.

† λόγο(ς) πι(ττακίων) τοῦ κυρ(ίου) Παύλου ζυγ(οσ)τ(άτου)	
οῦ(τως)·	
• πι(ττάκιον)	νο(μίσματα) μ
• πι(ττάκιον)	νο(μίσματα) λδ
4 • πι(ττάκιον)	νο(μίσματα) κα
• πι(ττάκιον)	νο(μίσματα) θ
• πι(ττάκιον)	νο(μίσματα) λζ
• πι(ττάκιον)	νο(μίσματα) δ
8 • πι(ττάκιον)	νο(μίσματα) κε
• πι(ττάκιον)	νο(μίσματα) κθ
• πι(ττάκιον)	νο(μίσματα) κγ
• πι(ττάκιον)	νο(μίσματα) μη
12 ὁ(μοῦ) νο(μίσματα) σο ῥ(υπαρά)	
ἀφ' (ῶν) ἔχω, οῦ(τως)·	
• πι(ττάκιον)	νο(μίσματα) ρα (κεράτια) ζ λ
• πι(ττάκιον)	νο(μίσματα) ις
16 • πι(ττάκιον)	νο(μίσματα) ια (κεράτια) ζ
• πι(ττάκιον)	νο(μίσματα) ια (κεράτια) ζ
• πι(ττάκιον)	νο(μίσματα) η
• πι(ττάκιον)	νο(μίσματα) ια (κεράτια) ι δ
20 • πι(ττάκιον)	νο(μίσματα) β [ω] (κεράτια) ια λ
• πι(ττάκιον)	νο(μίσματα) ξθ (κεράτια) θ λδ
• πι(ττάκιον)	νο(μίσματα) ς (κεράτια) ς

- πι(ττάκιον) νο(μίσματα) κ
- 24 • πι(ττάκιον) (κεράτια) ε
- δ(μοῦ) νο(μίσματα) σνη (κεράτια) ι δ'· λοι(πὰ) ἔχει νο(μίσματα) ια (κεράτια) ζ.

“Account of *pittakia* of lord Elias, *zygostates*, as follows:

<i>pittakion</i>	40 <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i>	34 <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i>	21 <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i>	9 <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i>	37 <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i>	4 <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i>	25 <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i>	29 <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i>	23 <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i>	48 <i>solidi</i>

Altogether 270 unclean *solidi*,

of which I have, as follows:

<i>pittakion</i>	101 <i>solidi</i> 7½ carats
<i>pittakion</i>	16 <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i>	11 <i>solidi</i> 6 carats
<i>pittakion</i>	11 <i>solidi</i> 6 carats
<i>pittakion</i>	8 <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i>	11 <i>solidi</i> 10¼ carats
<i>pittakion</i>	2⅔ <i>solidi</i> 11½ carats
<i>pittakion</i>	69 <i>solidi</i> 9½¼ carats
<i>pittakion</i>	6 <i>solidi</i> 6 carats
<i>pittakion</i>	20 <i>solidi</i>
<i>pittakion</i>	5 carats

Altogether 258 *solidi* 10¼ carats; as remainder, he has 11 *solidi* 7 carats.”

*SPP* 20.231 and *P. Lond.* 1.113.8a stem from the same milieu, the offices of cashiers in the city of Arsinoe. A similar document of the same date is *SPP* 20.263, headed λόγου κυρ(ίου) Μηνᾶ ζυγο(στάτου) and listing payments in Alexandrian *solidi* on the front, and *pittakia* with named beneficiaries and their values in gold on the back.<sup>7</sup> The background to

<sup>7</sup> Some minor textual corrections. The total in l. 7 of the front is given as δ(μοῦ) νο(μ.) ζ (κερ.) δ [ ]'; the entries total 7 *sol.* 4½¼ car., and the online image shows that the line ends ζη'. On the other side, l. 3 has νο(μ.) γ, not ιγ, and in l. 7 Θεοδόρου is followed by παι(δόζ).



these accounts and purpose of the payments are difficult to establish. The *pittakia* were “vouchers” or “credit notes”; these would be payments made “on paper,” with the *zygostatai* holding and disbursing the cash when needed, functioning as bankers. The use of *pittakia* is well known for payments of workers,<sup>8</sup> but some of the sums in these accounts are rather high. The *zygostatai* also acted as fiscal agents, and their *pittakia* are mentioned in several tax receipts from the first decades of the Arab period.<sup>9</sup> These accounts are slightly earlier – certainly *SPP* 20.231, which also concerns taxes, at least in part. In sum, we can hardly go beyond seeing these accounts as mere records of transactions handled by *zygostatai*, whatever their nature.

<sup>8</sup> See P. Sarris, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge 2006) 56, 92–93; cf. also *P.Sijp.* 35 with introd.

<sup>9</sup> For a summary of the evidence and related questions, see N. Gonis, *ZPE* 143 (2003) 149f.

## NOTES ON PAPYRI

### *P.CtYBR inv. 4352*

*P.CtYBR inv. 4352* (fourth/fifth century AD) features four lines from a *per libellum* judicial process.<sup>1</sup> In lines 2–3 of this bilingual papyrus the edition reads:

- 2 [*cum obtulisset libellum* N.N.: *ex officio*: ὁποῖον λίβελλον N.N.  
ἐπιδέ]δωκεν τῇ cῇ ἀρετῇ ἔχ[ων μετὰ χεῖρας ἀναγνώσομαι,  
εἰ προτάξειεν σοῦ τὸ μέγεθος.]
- 3 [-----ἀναγινωσκέεσθω. \et *recitay[it]*/: πρὸς τῇ[ν cῇν ἀρετὴν  
παρὰ N.N. κτλ.]

In these lines, the typical process is recorded: the *officium* asks permission to read a petition (λίβελλον) to the presiding official and he grants it.<sup>2</sup> In line 3, the scribe adds *et recitay[it]* in the interlinear space (see the editor's note *ad locum*). Looking at the available image,<sup>3</sup> however, it seems to me that *ex offic(io) rēc(itatum) e[st]* is written. The *et* and *ex* ligatures are identical, but the ascending vertical of *x* curves into a diminutive *o* that then goes into the vertical stroke of *f*; the following *-ffī-* complex is very similar to that found in the same word in *P.Oxy.* 16.1878.2 (461) and *P.Oxy.* 63.4381.2–3 (375). *officio* is probably abbreviated to *offic(io)*, as in *P.Oxy.* 63.4381.2–3, *ChLA* 45.1321.3 (436?),<sup>4</sup> *P.Thomas* 25.2 (437?), *P.Oxy.* 16.1878.2 and 1877.2 (*ca.* 488), and *ChLA* 43.1247.2, 11, 13 (fifth century). *rēc(itatum) e[st]* is based on *P.Oxy.* 63.4381.3 and *ChLA* 43.1247.11, 13; the reading is uncertain, but some of the traces agree: after *c* follows an indecipherable trace at mid-height, then an

<sup>1</sup> Edited by A. Benaissa, “Six Papyri of the Fifth Century from the Beinecke Library,” *APF* 56.2 (2010) 278–281.

<sup>2</sup> For a summary of the process, see B. Palme, “Libellprozess und Subskriptionsverfahren,” in E. Cantarella, M. Gagarin, G. Thür, and J. Velissaropoulos (eds.), *Symposium 2017* (Wien 2018) 262–265.

<sup>3</sup> Image: <https://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=15525452#page/1/mode/1up>.

<sup>4</sup> For some relevant corrections on the text of this papyrus, see G. Iovine, “Korr. Tyche 909,” *Tyche* 34 (2019) 245–246.

ascending oblique (upper curve of *e*?), next to it a circular trace (*c*?), then a curve at the base-line with an ascending vertical and traces of what seems to be a crossbar descending towards the base-line (probably *e*).

*Patras*

Georgios Papaioannou

*P.Lond. 3.897.22–23*

In a private letter dated to 84 CE, *P.Lond. 3.897*, lines 19–24 run as follows<sup>1</sup>:

- καὶ περὶ ἄλλων
- 20 ἀναγκαίω[ν] με[τε]ώρω[ν] ἠθελόν σοι γράψαι νῆ [τ]οὺς θεούς.  
οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ διὰ τῆς ἐ[π]ιστολῆς εἰδῶς ἑμαυτῶι ὅτι ἦδη  
[π]ροέσχη[κας] ἐν τῶι πράγματι. παρακαλῶι δέ σε εἶνα (l. ἵνα) μὴ με-  
λανήσης δι[ὰ τ]ῆς ἐπιστολῆς, κ[α]ὶ π[α]ραγενάμενος ε[ὐ]θέως  
[ . ] . ινα εκτ[---]

Olsson, *Papyrusbriefe* (1925) 145, no. 50, translated: “Auch bezüglich anderer notwendiger laufender Angelegenheiten möchte ich bei den Göttern an Dich schreiben. Aber ich schreibe hierüber nicht in dem Brief, da ich mir bewusst bin, dass Du schon tüchtig in dieser Sache bist. Aber ich ermahne Dich, dass Du nicht anschwärzen(?) mögest ...” He also commented on the strange phrase μὴ μελανήσης on p. 147, note to l. 22: “Der Vorschlag von Preisigke, με ἀμελήσης für μελανήσης zu lesen, scheint mir nicht annehmbar. Ich ziehe μελανήσης zu μελανέω, das gewöhnlich intransitiv ist, ‘schwarz werden,’ aber bisweilen transitive Bedeutung hatte. Corp. gloss. lat. II 83,2: Infuscant μελανοῦσιν, σπιλοῦσιν. Hier muss es in übertragenem Sinn stehen ‘anschwärzen,’ ‘verleumden.’”

My proposal is to read in ll. 22–23 παρακαλῶι δέ σε εἶνα (l. ἵνα) μὴ με | πλανήσης δι[ὰ τ]ῆς ἐπιστολῆς, and to translate the entire text (ll. 19–24) as: “and I wanted to write to you about other important matters – really, I wanted, I swear in the name of the gods –, but I did not write these in this letter because I believe that you will have already seen to these matters. Therefore, do not cause me to wander in your letter, and after you come here, immediately do ...” At the beginning of l. 23 we can see the left vertical and the left edge of the horizontal of π and then, just before α only the end of a horizontal stroke is preserved. This horizontal belongs to a λ, which is not ligatured with the following α as in ll. 1, 15 and 16. In addition, it seems that π and λ have been squashed together. For the phrase see LSJ s.v. πλανάω I 1 for the earlier examples; cf. also Matt. 24:4 βλέπετε μή τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ; Apoc. 20:3 ἐκλείσεν καὶ ἐσφράγισεν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ ἵνα μὴ πλανήσῃ ἔτι τὰ ἔθνη. In papyri we find the same

<sup>1</sup> See Plate 27 in the edition. A digital image is available at [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus\\_897](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_897).

meaning in two petitions of the second century CE: *P.Oxy.* 22.2342.16–17 (102) *πλανῶσα [ἐμ]ὲ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν*; *P.Oxy.* 6.898.7–9 (123) *πολλά μ[ε] ἀ]δικοῦσα ἔτι καὶ πλανήσασά με ἐποίησεν εἰς Ὅασιν καταβῆναι*.

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*P.Princ.* 3.142.15

*P.Princ.* 3.142 is a contract for a loan of money probably drawn up at Tebtynis (see *BL* 7.168) and dated to the end of the first century and the beginning of the second century CE; cf. *P.Oxy.* 3.511 (103; Harrauer, *Paläographie*, Abb. 90); *P.Oxy.* 50.3557 (125/126; Harrauer, *Paläographie*, Abb. 99); see *BL* 6.119, 9.221, and 10.165. At the end of the contract there is the so-called “*πρᾶξις*-clause,” which is followed by a strange sequence of letters (ll. 12–15):

- 12 τῆς πράξεως οὐ-  
 σης τῇ Κολλαῦθι ἔκ \τε/ τοῦ Νείλου καὶ  
 ἔκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ πάν-  
 15 των. (hand 2) παχατῶσαντο( ) καθαιυμαιηρακισιοθ( ).

The note *ad loc.* states that “The cursive script has so far defied attempts at decipherment. Normally the formula of exaction should end καὶ ἔκ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπαρχόντων πάντων καθάπερ ἔκ δίκης, but this is not the case here. There is no evidence that the signatures of either party were affixed, nor is the formula on behalf of illiterates used.”

I reproduce the strange handwriting<sup>1</sup>:

I can see *υπαρχ* αὐτῷ παντῷ *καθα*<sub>f</sub> *εκ* *δικ*<sub>f</sub> *ηρα*<sup>k</sup> *ισιδ*<sup>w</sup> and propose the following text: *υπαρχ(όντων) αὐτῷ πάντω(ν) καθάπ(ερ) ἔκ δίκ(ης). Ἡρακ(λ-) Ἰσιδώ(ρου)*. All the words are written very cursively: from *υπαρχ(όντων)*, only the letter ρ is not clear: it is ligatured and squeezed between α and χ. One can also consider that part of ρ is the stroke which forms the first oblique of χ. Then the words *αὐτῷ πάντω(ν) καθάπ(ερ)* are also clear: *αὐτῷ* has its final letter superscript, although it is not necessary. Then, *ἔκ δίκ(ης)* is expected: after *εκ*, the letter κ flows cursively into δ, which leads to ι. The word is abbreviated after κ with a vertical f-shaped stroke. In *Ἰσιδώ(ρου)* the first two strokes of δ are squeezed together, then the final stroke ligatures into a raised ω. A certain Herakleides, son of Isidoros, appears to have signed in *BGU* 2.427 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 159 CE) and *BGU* 3.859 (Arsinoite nome, 161–163 CE), and possibly in *P.Prag.* 1.20 (Dikaίου Nesos, 159 CE), but the handwriting in all these cases is different from the one in *P.Princ.* 3.142.

<sup>1</sup> The image of the papyrus can be seen at <http://pudl.princeton.edu/objects/kd17cw449>.

This proposal implies that this line is a supplementary note or an after-thought, because the legal clause in ll. 12–15, which is finished after ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ πάντων, was not written in full and properly. A certain person did not just write καθάπ(ερ) ἐκ δίκ(ης) which would have completed the clause but repeated the last words of the clause, ὑπαρχ(όντων) αὐτῷ πάντω(ν). The same person might have also added τε in l. 13. At the end he also wrote the name of the amanuensis, that is, Herakleides, son of Isidoros, but for some reason he did not continue to complete the amanuensis formula.

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## Some “Minus Carats” Figures

## (1) A new Oxyrhynchite aberrant

*P.Oxy.* 47.3355 is an antichretic “loan of two solidi less an uncertain sum expressed in carats,” dated to 535. The endorsement describes the amount borrowed as χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτων) β παρὰ κερ(ατι-) . . . . [ (l. 16). On the online image, it is possible to read παρὰ κερ(άτια) ι ≠ ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) [ (ἰδ/ pap.). We have 2 *solidi* minus 10 carats, which reflect a deduction of 5 carats per *solidus*. This is higher than the rate prevalent in private documents from Oxyrhynchus from 520 (*P.Oxy.* 85.5520) to 552 (*P.Oxy.* 1.145), viz. “minus 4,” with a few exceptions showing lower figures. The rate rises later, but the picture is not uniform.

## (2) Too many carats deducted?

*BGU* 17.2718 is a receipt for the repayment of a debt of 1 *solidus* minus 12 carats from Hermopolis, assigned to the sixth/seventh century. There are three references to this amount: νομί[σ]ματα (l. νόμισμα) ἐν εὔσταθ(μον) παρὰ κερ(άτια) δώδεκα, ἡ γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νό(μισμα) α εὔσταθ(μον) παρὰ κερ(άτια) ἰβ μό(να) (ll. 3–4); νομίσματος ἐνὸς εὔστάθ(μου) παρὰ κερ(άτια) δώδεκα (l. 5, written by a second hand). To quote J. Gascou, *Cd'É* 77 (2002) 331 (≈ *BL* 12.28), “On est surpris de noter un solidus sujet à une énorme retenue de 12 carats. Le παρὰ des ll. 3, 4 et 5 est sûr? L'écriture est très pâlie et on ne peut vérifier aucune conjecture.” The image that has since appeared online helps settle the question. There is no παρὰ in l. 4 but a sinusoid, to be resolved as (καί). In l. 5, the same word is written out in full: καί. What precedes κερ(άτια) in l. 3 is too abraded to be verified, but there is enough room for καί. Thus we have 1 *solidus* “of full weight” and 12 carats, as e.g. in *P.Giss.* 106.4 (Herm.; 6th/7th c.) χρυσοῦ νόμισμα ἐν εὔστ(α)θ(μον) καὶ κεράτια δώδεκα.

## (3) Deducting and multiplying

*P.Lond.* 5.1781 is a Hermopolite<sup>1</sup> receipt “for 5 solidi less 6 (?) carats each, as rent for land,” assigned to the sixth century. The amount paid is χρ[υ]σοῦ νομισμάτια πέντε παρὰ κερ[α]τία ἕξ ἑκαστον χωρ[ι]ς παρὰ μ[υ]θίας, ἡ γί(νονται) χρ(υσοῦ) νομισμάτια ε παρὰ κερ(άτια) δ (ll. 2–3). The note to l. 2 conveys uncertainty: “κεράτια εἰς: in l. 3 κ/δ seems clear, and εἰς here might be ερ/; but the traces before it suggest

<sup>1</sup> The papyrus was only tentatively considered Hermopolite on the basis of a place-name that recalls one from this area, but this is also suggested by the wording.

the reading given rather than κ[ερ/ τ]εσσερ/. δ in l. 3 may therefore be a slip of the pen.” The editor appears to have thought that the number in l. 3 ought to be 6, but this would still be incorrect: with minus 6 carats per *solidus* (the implications of ἑκαστὸν seem to have been missed), there should be 5 *solidi* minus 30 carats, and the number after κ(εράτια) in l. 3 should be λ. An image shows the top of a triangular letter, which would suit either δ or λ; δ = 4, which the editor read, would be wrong, but λ = 30 is the expected reading. Other Hermopolite documents referring to “5 gold *solidi*, minus 6 carats each ... total 5 gold *solidi* minus 30 carats” are *SB* 20.15043.4–5<sup>2</sup> (6th/7th c.) and *P.Grenf.* 2.87.15–17 (602).

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<sup>2</sup> In l. 5, read κερ(άτια) λ in place of κερ(άτια) ζ, as an image shows (a typo rather than a misreading).

# CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM EGYPT AND NUBIA 8 (2020)

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*Abstract.* — Eighth installment of an annual overview of published inscriptions in Greek and Coptic from Christian Egypt and Nubia.

2020 has been an incredibly rich year for the Christian epigraphy of Egypt and Nubia. Among the unusually high number of studies are a volume on Late Antique Abydos with no less than seven relevant contributions (23, 24, 29–42, 43, 44, 45, 46–49; add an article on the Coptic stelae from the same site, 25–28) and two monographs on the inscriptions of Banganarti alone (104–132, 133). Together with some left-over items from previous years (2013: 78; 2016: 3, 97; 2017: 86, 99; 2018: 90, 139–143), and – the equally unusual – 20 items from 2019 that could not be included or were missed in the previous bulletin (2, 18, 53, 59, 61, 72–77, 85, 87, 88, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 100, 134, 135, 136, 137, 144), this results in by far the largest issue that we have so far produced.

**1. Egypt. Greek and Coptic inscriptions, 4th–7th cent.** J.-L. Fournet, *The Rise of Coptic. Egyptian versus Greek in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 2020). A synthetic study of the early stages of development of written Coptic, in particular in relation to Greek (on bilingualism, see also his earlier article discussed at *CIEN* 6.4), until the Arab Conquest. While the study is mainly papyrological, inscriptions are occasionally mentioned, especially at pp. 23–24, where the author emphasizes the predominance of Greek in public epigraphy up until the seventh century, and at pp. 58–59 (with Fig. 17), where he refers to the eighth-century Greek inscription on the lintel of the el-Mu'allāqa church in Cairo (see *CIEN* 6.6), showing the status of Greek to be independent of religious dissent.

**2. Egypt. Michael as psychopomp.** K.C. Innemée, “The Archangel Michael as Psychopomp in Christian Iconography in Egypt,” in I.S. Gilhus,

A. Tsakos, and M.C. Wright (eds.), *The Archangel Michael in Africa: History, Cult and Persona* (London 2019) 35–50. This primarily iconographic study discusses, among other sources, a relief now in Mainz (Landesmuseum, ex-collection Prince Johann Georg zu Sachsen, sixth-seventh century?) that must have been part of an inscribed funerary monument (remains of letters are still visible in the present upper margin) and the early-tenth-century wall painting of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary in the church of Deir el-Surian, quoting its (Bohairic) Coptic legends. The author does not mention the Greek epitaph of Zoneene, Lefebvre, *Recueil* 48 (Alexandria, 19 March 409), re-edited most recently in J. Dresken-Weiland, A. Angerstorfer, and A. Merkt, *Himmel – Paradies – Schalom* (Regensburg 2012) 216–218, no. 6.4, which invokes Michael as a psychopomp in terms close to the offertory of the Latin Mass of Requiem.

**3. Egypt. Greek epigrams on stone, 5th-6th cent.** G. Agosti, “Les langues de l’épigramme épigraphique grecque: regard sur l’identité culturelle chrétienne dans l’Antiquité tardive,” in E. Santin and L. Foschia (eds.), *L’épigramme dans tous ses états: épigraphiques, littéraires, historiques* (Lyon 2016) 276–295. Study of the poetic language of Late Antique Greek epigrams on stone. While Homeric allusions and imitations are usually highlighted, the author shows that these verse inscriptions are often inspired by contemporary poetic language and in particular Christian poetry. In this sense, the epigrams are part of a more general movement of the Christianization of Hellenism. Several inscriptions from Crete and Asia Minor are discussed, as well as four texts from Egypt (pp. 287–290), for which the author highlights the influence of Nonnus of Panopolis (Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* 140 = 145, 144 and *SEG* 24.1243) and Gregory of Nazianzus (Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* 61). In Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* 140 (= 145), an inscription in two copies, which the Alexandrian Philastrios left in the tombs of Ramesses IV and VI, respectively, in the Valley of the Kings, the adjective πολυθαμβής in l. 2 is attested only in Nonnus’ works. In Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* 144, also from the tomb of Ramesses VI, the author proposes to read in l. 2 διδάγματα, rather than ἀνιήματα, on the basis of Nonn. *par. Jo.* 8.32. In *SEG* 24.1243, Agosti shows that the metrical characteristics as well as the style and language recall Nonnus’ poetry. Finally, the funerary epigram of Ioannia, Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* 61, is an adaptation of Gregory of Nazianzus’ epigram for Martinianus (*AP* 8.108).

**4. Egypt. Greek verse inscriptions, 4th-6th cent.** G. Agosti, “Layout e segni di lettura nelle iscrizioni metriche dell’Egitto tardoantico,” in

N. Carlig et al. (eds.), *Signes dans les textes. Continuités et ruptures des pratiques sribales en Égypte pharaonique, gréco-romaine et byzantine* (Liège 2020) 241–255 highlights how the layout and lectional signs used in Late Antique verse inscriptions from Egypt contribute to enhancing their literary character. The corpus under consideration includes some twenty inscriptions (Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* 27, 58–61, 79, 80, 82, 111, 122–124, 131, 147–151, 173; *SEG* 24.1243, 58.1810). As the author shows, many of them aim to emphasize the metrical structure of the text, for example by putting one verse per line and indenting the pentameter (e.g. Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* 60), or dividing the lines at the *caesura* (e.g. Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* 82 and 124). Sometimes verses are separated by small oblique strokes (Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* 123) or middle dots (Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* 147). The placement of the text in two columns (*SEG* 24.1243) clearly evokes the layout of codices, and lectional signs (diacritics and punctuation) mimic the habits of literary texts. The inscriptions fit a trend towards the literarization of the written word during this period, which can also be observed in documents on papyrus. The influence of education is then discussed, but also the question of performativity: all these signs and layouts facilitate recitation by the reader and thus bear witness to the oral practices associated with the inscriptions.

**5–13. Egypt. Greek inscriptions on spoons, 5th–7th cent.** J.-L. Fournet and D. Bénazeth, “Quand les cuillers se mettent à parler,” in A. Boud’hors et al. (eds.), *Études coptes XVI* (Paris 2020) 129–159. Study of inscribed spoons from Late Antique Egypt. The corpus consists of 26 items and contains spoons made of iron (and shell; 19), copper alloy (1), and silver (5); one is in wood. Their provenance is usually unknown (three come from Edfu, one from Antinoopolis, the five in silver from Tuna el-Gebel). The inscriptions, generally engraved on the handles, can be classified into five types: name of the owner (e.g. no. 21, Ἀμμωνίου, written as a monogram); dedication to saints (e.g. no. 6, Ἀνδρέας ἀπόστ(ολος) or no. 16, ὁ ἅγιος Φυβάμων); texts evoking their concrete use (e.g. no. 1, Καλοῦ οἴνου “(Drink) good wine” or no. 5, Πίε πρόπομα “Drink an aperitif”); moral maxims (e.g. no. 17, Μὴ ἀγνώμων “Do not be ungrateful”; these maxims are sometimes taken from the Bible, e.g. no. 9, Δὸς πτωχοῖς (read πτωχοῖς) “Give to the poor” [cf. Luke 18:22]); invitations to be joyful (e.g. no. 4, Μὴ στυγνός “Do not be grave”). The spoons were used privately, but liturgical use is also conceivable, at least for some of them. The absence of Coptic inscriptions is explained by the relatively early date of the spoons, fifth-seventh century, a period when Christian epigraphy is predominantly

Greek (see 1 above), but also because the spoons, though primarily private in nature, were at the same time intended to be read by persons outside the family; that could explain the choice of Greek, the language of communication of the Church and the state. The corpus gives a re-edition (often with new readings and/or a new translation) or the first edition of the spoons, accompanied by a photograph or facsimile of the text. We list here only the new editions. All of them are in iron, except for the last one (no. 26 = 13), which is wooden.

5. Coptic Museum, inv. 5874. *Ed. princ.* Fournet and Bénazeth, pp. 144–145, no. 8: ΚΑΔΗΝΓΟΡΑΣΟΥ or ΚΑΔΗΝΓΟΡΑΣΟΙ, tentatively interpreted as Κάδι(ο)ν κορέσοι “May a measure (of wine) satiate.” One wonders whether one should not recognize herein a distorted form of the expression Καλή ἡμέρα σοι “Good day to you” (cf. no. 18 = 11 below).

6. Coptic Museum, inv. 7382. *Ed. princ.* Fournet and Bénazeth, pp. 145–146, no. 10: . . . ἸΗΖΩΝ, possibly ἐν ἀρετῇ ζῶν “living in virtue.”

7. Coptic Museum, inv. 7384. *Ed. princ.* Fournet and Bénazeth, p. 146, no. 11: Μ[ὴ] προπετής // “Do not do anything rash” (cf. Acts 19:36).

8. Coptic Museum, inv. 9148. *Ed. princ.* Fournet and Bénazeth, p. 146, no. 12: [ - - - ] . ΣΑΟΗΚΑΕΙΣ, meaning unclear.

9. Coptic Museum, inv. 9155. *Ed. princ.* Fournet and Bénazeth, pp. 146–147, no. 13: Μὴ μεγαλορήμων “Do not be boastful” (cf. Ps. 11:4).

10. Coptic Museum, inv. 5899 (from Edfu). *Ed. princ.* Fournet and Bénazeth, p. 147, no. 14: + Πάντα ἐν ἀγάπῃ + “+ Let all things be done in charity +” (cf. 1 Cor. 16:14).

11. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 04.1799. *Ed. princ.* Fournet and Bénazeth, p. 149, no. 18: Καλή ἡμέρα “Good day.”

12. Hermitage Museum, Department of the Ancient Orient, inv. DV 10796. *Ed. princ.* Fournet and Bénazeth, pp. 150–151, no. 20: Θωμάς ἀπόστολ(ος).

13. Musée du Louvre, inv. E 24010. *Ed. princ.* Fournet and Bénazeth, pp. 155–156, no. 26. Inscriptions on two sides: Ἀθρ(ῆ) and what is interpreted by the editors as a pseudo-monogram. In the latter case, it seems better to say that either the engraver attempted to make a monogram in the form of a cross but did it so poorly that the letters are no longer recognizable or it concerns a cross that he wanted to engrave in an original manner.

**14–16. Naqlun. Arabic graffiti and Coptic/Arabic commemorative dipinto.** A. Lagaron Khalifa and N. Vanthieghem, “Étude de la documentation épigraphique arabe du complexe monastique du Ġabal Naqlūn,” in A. Boud’hors et al. (eds.), *Études coptes XVI* (Paris 2020) 171–185. Preliminary study of the Arabic inscriptions found by the Polish mission

at Deir el-Naqlun. A first edition is presented of nine texts: two Islamic epitaphs (nos. 1–2), a Christian epitaph of too late a date to be considered here (eighteenth/nineteenth century; no. 3), two inscriptions from the church of the Archangel Gabriel (nos. 4–5 = **14–15**), and four graffiti from Hermitage 89 (nos. 6–9 = **16**).

**14. Coptic/Arabic commemorative *dipinto*, 1183 CE.** Nd.KAG.A.09.b. *Ed. princ.* Lagaron Khalifa and Vanthieghem, pp. 178–179, no. 4, Figs. 4–5. Bilingual inscription painted on the right jamb of the central apse of the church of Gabriel commemorating the death of a bishop. The text begins with a prayer in Coptic, of which the first line(s) are lost, invoking  $\text{ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲩ} \text{ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡ} \text{ⲟⲥ} \text{ⲙⲉⲛ} \text{ⲛⲉⲡ} \text{ⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩ} \text{ⲧⲙⲣⲟⲥ}$  (read  $\text{ⲛⲉⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ}$ ; *ed. princ.* has  $\text{ⲛⲉⲡ} \text{ⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧ} \text{ⲉⲣⲟⲥ}$ )  $\text{ⲙⲉⲛ} \text{ⲛⲁⲓⲁ} \text{ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ}$  [ⲙⲉⲛ]  $\text{ⲛⲙⲟⲩⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ}$  “my fathers the bishops, the priests, the deacons and the monks” (ll. 3–6). The author then asks for remembrance and prayer ( $\text{ⲁⲣⲓ} \text{ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ} \text{ⲩⲗⲛⲗ}$  [not  $\text{ⲩⲗⲉⲗ}$  as in the *ed. princ.*]  $\text{ⲉⲭⲟⲓ} \text{ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲡⲛ}$  “remember me and pray for me in charity,” ll. 6–7) and the Coptic text ends with a date ( $\text{ⲧⲣⲱⲙⲡⲓ} \text{ⲧⲁⲓ} : \text{ⲱⲣⲟ} \text{ⲡⲟⲟⲩ} \text{ⲡⲁⲓ} \text{ⲥⲟⲩ} \text{ⲕⲟ} \text{ⲙⲡⲉⲃⲟⲩ} \text{ⲡⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ}$ , that is, 24 April 1183, ll. 8–9; *ed. princ.* omits *diaeresis* in  $\text{ⲧⲁⲓ}$ , and the year should be noted  $\text{ⲱⲣⲟ}$  rather than  $\text{ⲱⲣⲟ}$ ). At the end of ll. 2–6 space fillers are used (: –). The most informative part of the text (ll. 10–13) is written in Arabic: it commemorates Bishop Andreūs (ll. 10–11), who was buried in this place (l. 13); the text highlights his role as an intercessor (l. 12). The inscription shows that Arabic was at this time the vernacular language of the monks.

**15. Arabic graffito, 1270 CE.** Nd.92.073. *Ed. princ.* Lagaron Khalifa and Vanthieghem, pp. 179–180, no. 5, Fig. 6. Arabic graffito incised in a small column in the northern aisle of the church. The text commemorates a visit made by a Muslim to the church (13 August 1270).

**16. Arabic graffiti, 14th cent.?** Nd.90.351. *Ed. princ.* Lagaron Khalifa and Vanthieghem, pp. 180–183, nos. 6–9, Figs. 7–10. Four Arabic inscriptions incised in the plaster of Room B of Hermitage 89. The graffiti were left by Christians in the fourteenth century (at the earliest). The texts begin with the formulae *uḏkur yā rabb ‘abda-ka* “Remember, Lord, your servant” (nos. 6 and 8) or *yā rabb irḥam ‘abda-ka* “Lord, have mercy on your servant” (nos. 7 and 9).

**17. el-Bahnasa (Oxyrhynchus). Two Greek funerary stelae, 6th–7th cent.** E. Subías, “Further Reflections on the Byzantine Fortress at Oxyrhynchus: Martyrial and Funerary Church, Monastery and Arab Fort,” in P. Buzi (ed.), *Coptic Literature in Context (4th–13th Cent.): Cultural*



*Landscape, Literary Production, and Manuscript Archaeology* (Rome 2020) 77–92. Re-examination of the walled complex north-west of Oxyrhynchus excavated by the Spanish team between 2005 and 2010, focusing in particular on the two Greek tombstones that were found in the church located within the complex, the funerary stela of the Abbot Menas and an epitaph of which only the date has been preserved (*CIEN* 7.6–7, with reference to an earlier archaeological description of the site by the same author). At pp. 77–78, n. 2, revisions to the *ed. princ.* of the two inscriptions (by A. Soldati) are presented, which can be compared to our own corrections in *CIEN* 7: in ll. 5–6 of the Menas stela read προεστῶ(τος) (for προεστῶτος), not προεσ(τῶτος) τοῦ; also note that the date of the second text equals 685, not 686, as claimed on p. 78. The author suggests that the Cyriacus after whom the monastery led by Menas was called may be a, possibly, seventh-century Oxyrhynchite bishop of that name, although she admits that there is no evidence to back up this identification. She then goes over various interpretations as to the function of the church and the complex as a whole (likely a monastery, at least originally), pending further excavations.

**18. el-Sheikh ‘Ibada (Antinoopolis). Greek funerary stelae.** L. Del Corso, “Le iscrizioni greche di Antinopolis. Il contributo degli scavi italiani,” *Mediterraneo antico. Economie, società, culture* 22 (2019) 235–256. Overview of the Greek inscriptions of Antinoopolis, especially the texts found by the archaeological mission of the Istituto Papirologico “G. Vitelli.” At pp. 250–256, the author discusses the Greek epitaphs from the Christian period and shows that there is a distinction between inscriptions on limestone and marble. The former are presented in a rather simple and standardized form (ἐκοιμήθη ὁ μακάριος/ἡ μακαρία “the blessed ... went to his/her rest,” with sometimes an invocation of God, ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ μακαρίου/τῆς μακαρίας “give rest to the soul of the blessed”), and are often written with poor spelling. Belonging to this group is the epitaph of Elisabet (Fig. 3; *CIEN* 5.44) and that of Maria (Fig. 4; *CIEN* 5.46). The other group, probably later, despite the uncertainties in the dating of all these inscriptions, consists of marble inscriptions with a more developed formula and of a more elaborate literary character, such as the epitaph of Isaak (Fig. 6; *CIEN* 2.54).

**19. el-Sheikh ‘Ibada (Antinoopolis). Coptic graffito on a column, 6th–8th cent.** A. Delattre, “Papyrologica IX,” *Cd’É* 95 (2020) 370–371, no. 115, returns to *CIEN* 5.28, one of the graffiti on columns from church D3 at Antinoopolis, identifying it as the beginning of Ps. 50 (for the beginning of Psalms in inscriptions from Saqqara and Bawit, cf. *CIEN* 7.2).

**20–22. Upper Egypt. Three funerary stelae.** *Ed. princ.* A. Hidding, “Three Christian Funerary Stelae from the Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst at Munich,” *APF* 66 (2020) 139–149. First edition of three funerary stelae bought in 1912 by Friedrich von Bissing and now kept in the Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst at Munich. The first two (nos. 1–2 = **20–21**) do not contain text, the third (no. 3 = **22**) has two Greek inscriptions.

**20. Deir el-Bala’iza? Funerary stela, 7th–9th cent.** Inv. GL 147. *Ed. princ.* Hidding, pp. 141–143, no. 1, Fig. 1. Limestone stela (72 × 52 × 8 cm) with an *orans* in a frame; the figure is surrounded by palm leaves and crosses. The *orans* bears a simple tunic. As to the type of representation, the stela is comparable to those found by W.M. Flinders Petrie at Deir el-Bala’iza (hence the proposed provenance). It can be dated to the seventh–ninth centuries.

**21. Armant (Hermonthis)? Funerary stela, 6th–7th cent.** Inv. GL 134. *Ed. princ.* Hidding, pp. 143–145, no. 2, Fig. 2. Limestone stela (72 × 45 × 11 cm) with a *crux ansata* between two Corinthian columns and below a conch; the *aedicula* is crowned by a triangular pediment. Format and decoration suggest that the stela comes from Armant and dates to the sixth–seventh centuries.

**22. Edfu (Apollinopolis Magna)? Greek funerary stela, 7th–10th cent.** Inv. GL 144a+b. *Ed. princ.* Hidding, pp. 145–149, no. 3, Figs. 3–4. Richly decorated limestone stela (107 × 48 × 14 cm) once broken into two fragments. On the one side, decorative strips frame three registers: in the lower part, an amphora; in the central part, a cross “pattée” within an *aedicula*; in the upper part, a short inscription in Greek: + Εἰς <ς> Θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν (read ὁ βοηθῶν) Πασηπ “One God, who helps. Pasep.” On the other side, a second funerary inscription was engraved on the lower block; one sees an X-shaped cross, surrounded by acanthus leaves; vertical strips of palm leaves have been carved on the right and left. Above the figural part, the name of the deceased is found: + Φάνης. The parallels allow the stela to be assigned to Edfu. It can be dated to the seventh–tenth centuries.

**23. Abydos. Greek and Coptic inscriptions.** E.R. O’Connell, “Abydos and the Thinite Region in the First Millennium AD,” in E.R. O’Connell (ed.), *Abydos in the First Millennium AD* (Leuven 2020) 1–31. The volume to which this article serves as introduction (and which is further covered in the entries **24**, **29–42**, **43**, **44**, **45**, **46–49**) provides the first overview of current fieldwork on Abydos in the first millennium, in particular the transition to Christianity in Late Antiquity and the first centuries of

Arab rule, periods of the site's history that have been hitherto neglected. After placing the site in the context of its nome, the Thinite, the author offers a thoroughly useful summary, illustrated by excellent plans and photographs (including at p. 20, Fig. 14, a color photo of *SB Kopt.* 4.2001, a Coptic stela of the litany-type [see 25–28 below] in the British Museum), of what we know from the textual and archaeological sources about the site during these periods.

**24. Abydos. Greek and Coptic inscriptions.** J. Westerfeld, “Recovering Late Antique Abydos: A Review of Scholarship from the Enlightenment to World War II,” in E.R. O’Connell (ed.), *Abydos in the First Millennium AD* (Leuven 2020) 33–55 gives an engaging account of the excavations at the site up to World War II, which reveals the bias, common at the time, against “the Copts,” and a tendency to interpret material remains through the lens of a local hagiographical work, the *Life of Moses*, a preoccupation that has not failed to have its effect even on recent scholarship, as the present volume itself testifies (see 44 below). In passing, several Coptic inscriptions are mentioned, such as two tombstones of the litany-type [see 25–28 below] found in Peet’s “Cemetery D,” of which photos are found at p. 42, Figs. 5–6 (the latter edited as 28 below).

**25–28. Abydos. Three Coptic funerary stelae and one Coptic dedicatory *dipinto*.** J. van der Vliet, “Coptic Epitaphs from Abydos,” *Journal of Coptic Studies* 22 (2020) 205–228. A first systematic review of the Coptic tombstones from Abydos. The author starts by remarking (p. 205, n. 2) that a group of stelae with the Greek opening formula  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  “Grace of God,” previously thought to come from Abydos (S. Schaten, “Zur Bearbeitung der Grabsteine mit Inschriften. Die Grabsteine des Apa Moyses-Kloster in Abydos,” in T. Orlandi and D.W. Johnson [eds.], *Acts of the 5th International Congress of Coptic Studies*, vol. 2.2 [Rome 1993] 401–410; cf. B. Tudor, *Christian Funerary Stelae of the Byzantine and Arab Periods from Egypt* [Marburg 2011] 91, 206–207), should be assigned to the Aswan region (see already *CIEN* 5.59). He then divides the stelae with a certain Abydene provenance into two groups, each worked out in a separate section. The first group (pp. 205–211), which he calls the “Balyana group,” consists of five stelae with dates between 874 and 949 CE; a sixth stela (*SB Kopt.* 3.1620), although it has a more concise formulary and is considerably older (743 CE), may also be counted among this group. They have several features in common, in particular the formula

ΕΦΚΗ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΒΙ ΠΕΣΚΗΝΩΜΑ/ΠΛΕΙΨΑΝΟΝ ΝΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ/  
 ΜΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ “here lies the body/lie the remains of the blessed,” followed by the name. The people commemorated all belonged to the local elite concentrated in the nearby town of el-Balyana, which had its own bishop at this time, and the same milieu can be detected in two contemporaneous Coptic *dipinti* from the temple of Seti I. The second group (pp. 211–214) consists of four stelae of the litany-type, three of which have already been mentioned in **23** and **24** above (note that J. Westerfeld, *Landscapes of Memory: Pharaonic Sacred Space in the Coptic Imagination* [unpublished doctoral dissertation; University of Chicago 2010] 176–177, repeated in the article listed under **24** above, p. 45, has suggested to add *SB Kopt.* 1.793 to this group, but as the author states, despite some similarities, the identification remains unproven). They can be dated to ca. the sixth-eighth centuries and are characterized by a litany of (monastic) saints (cf. *CIEN* 4.8), with the “Bawit triad” (Apollo, Anoup and Phib) taking in a prominent place. Again, Van der Vliet looks at the other inscriptions from the site and finds the same predilection in two *dipinti* with litanies from “Petrie’s Hermitage.” By contrast, a *dipinto* with a litany from the Seti temple does not mention the Bawit triad at all but rather the one of Sohag (Shenoute, Pqol, and Pshoi), which is unusual in such litanies, and gives pride of place to the local Abbot Moses. Thus, the stelae of the litany-type and *dipinti* from Petrie’s Hermitage seem to represent a different monastic tradition than those in the Seti temple, which generally appear to be later in date.

In the third section (pp. 215–223), four texts discussed in the previous parts are (re-)edited: two stelae, now in Turin, of the Balyana group (nos. 1–2 = **25–26**), the first eleven lines of one of the two contemporaneous *dipinti* from the Seti temple (no. 3 = **27**), and one of the stelae of the litany-type (no. 4 = **28**).

**25. Coptic funerary stela, 13 March 946 CE.** Turin, Egyptian Museum, cat. 7130. *Ed. princ.* G. Seyffarth, “Inscripfen aus Aegypten,” *ZDMG* 4 (1850) 256, no. 7 = E. Revillout, “Mélanges d’épigraphie et de linguistique égyptienne,” *Mélanges d’archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne* 2 (1874) 195–196, no. 5, “Les prières pour les morts dans l’épigraphie égyptienne,” *Revue égyptologique* 4 (1885) 26–27, no. 35, and “Textes coptes extraits de la correspondance de S<sup>i</sup> Pésunthius évêque de Coptos et de plusieurs documents analogues (juridiques et économiques) (suite),” *Revue égyptologique* 14 (1912) 27–28 = *SB Kopt.* 1.486 = Van der Vliet, pp. 216–217, no. 1, Fig. 1. Marble funerary stela for a woman named . ⲓⲁⲙⲱ “.jaqo” (l. 4), whose name can unfortunately not be reconstructed. After

an opening invocation of the Trinity in Greek (l. 1), there follow the “here lies the body of the blessed”-formula (see above; ll. 2–4) and the deceased’s name (ll. 4–5). The text continues with the date of death introduced by the ΝΤΑΣΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΣ “she went to her rest”-formula (ll. 6–8), and a prayer ΝΧΙ ΚΛΗ[ΡΟ]ΝΟΜΙΑ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ “to receive inheritance with all the saints” (ll. 8–12). At the end there is a dating according to both the Diocletian and Saracen eras (ll. 13–15), yielding a precise date of 13 March 946.

**26. Coptic funerary stela, 26 December 949 CE.** Turin, Egyptian Museum, cat. 7131. *Ed. princ.* Van der Vliet, pp. 218–219, no. 2, Fig. 2. Limestone funerary stela (34 × 29 × 5 cm), also for a woman, ΜΑΛΗΥ “Maleu” (l. 7), a so far unattested name. The text contains eighteen lines and is complete except for its top left corner, while there is also some surface damage. It has basically the same formulary as **25**, but is more extensive, adding ἐ[λέ]υσων ὑμᾶς (read ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς) “have mercy on us” to the Trinity in ll. 1–2, and in the prayer section ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΡΕ ΠΟΤ ΝΑΧΣ ΑΚΟΥΝΩ (read ΝΟΧΣ ΕΚΟΥΝΩ) ΝΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΜΝ ΙΣΑΚ ΜΝ ΙΑΚΟΒ (read ΙΑΚΩΒ) ΖΗ ΤΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΣΟΣ ΜΠΟΥΝΑΩ (read ΜΠΟΥΝΟΩ) “may the Lord make her recline in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in the garden of delight” (ll. 11–14) before the request for receiving inheritance with the saints.

**27. Coptic dedicatory dipinto, 910–921 CE.** *Ed. princ.* U. Bouriant, “Rapport au Ministre de l’instruction publique sur une mission dans la Haute-Égypte (1884–1885),” in G. Maspero (ed.), *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire*, vol. 1.3 (Cairo 1887) 384–385, no. 11 = *SB Kopt.* 3.1534 = Van der Vliet, pp. 219–221 (re-edition of ll. 1–11 only). Dedicatory *dipinto*, located in the “Butchers’ Hall” at the temple of Seti I, of a well, which can no doubt be identified with the one discovered there in the 1860s. The opening line invokes the prayers of ΑΠΑ ΜΟΗΣΗΣ “Apa Moses,” which confirms the observation (above) that this local abbot occupies a central position in the monastic tradition represented in the graffiti from the temple. The well was constructed under the patronage of a ΚΕΛΑ (read ΚΥΡΑ) ΘΕΥΠΗΝΤΕ “lady Theupente” (for Theopempte; ll. 2–4) and mentions among the overseers of the work the deacon and steward Apa Kire from el-Balyana (ll. 4–5). In ll. 8–11, a list of acting dignitaries is given, including the Patriarch Gabriel, which dates the text to 910–921 CE.

**28. Coptic funerary stela, ca. 6th–8th centuries.** Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago, reg. no. E9161. *Ed. princ.* Van der Vliet, pp. 221–223, no. 4. The limestone epitaph, 73 cm high, was found in “Cemetery D”

by T.E. Peet and W.L.S. Loat, *The Cemeteries of Abydos, Part III: 1912–1913* (London 1913), who provide a translation at p. 39, no. 2, but no text, and a photo at Pl. 13.3. The author's edition is based on this photo, and includes the 33 lines of inscribed text, filled in with red paint, but not the two additional lines painted beneath them and mentioned by Peet and Loat, since they are not visible on the photo. Van der Vliet also remarks that the present location of the stela is unknown, although he assumes it entered an Egyptian collection.

Meanwhile, in working on the edition of a newly discovered stela from the same location (to be included in the following *CIE*N), J.H.F. Dijkstra, "A Coptic Funerary Stela from the North Necropolis at Abydos," *Journal of Coptic Studies* 23 (2021) 41 has noticed that at p. 50, Peet and Loat mention that the stela was sent to Chicago, where the stela has now been located in the Oriental Institute Museum. The inv. no. has been added above. From a photo obtained, Dijkstra has also been able to read the last two lines: ΠΑΣΩΝ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ | ΑΠΑ ΠΧΟΟΡΕ "Brother Biktor | Apa Pjoore."

The text starts with the customary invocation of Father, Son and Holy Spirit (ll. 1–2), followed by a litany of saints (ll. 2–17), in which, as we have seen, the Bawit triad is placed at the head of the monastic saints (ll. 6–8), although among the other saints Moses (ll. 10–11) is also mentioned. The tombstone commemorates two persons, Papa Sire and Papa Ioseph, whose dates of death are almost nine months apart (ll. 18–27). After an "Amen," the names of three more people, as well as a short prayer, have been added (ll. 27–33), presumably of the caretakers of the memorial. In l. 11, the reading ΒΗC is certain (remove the dot under the Β); in l. 31, add a *diaeresis* above the ι in ἀπῖ.

**29–42. Abydos (Shunet el-Zebib). Coptic *dipinti*. Ed. princ.** R. Bélanger Sarrazin and J.H.F. Dijkstra, "Appendix: The Textual Finds," in M.D. Adams, "Abydos in Late Antiquity: A View from the Shunet el-Zebib," in E.R. O'Connell (ed.), *Abydos in the First Millennium AD* (Leuven 2020) 79–149 at 137–148. This contribution presents the results of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University project, initiated in 2000, to record the monastic dwellings (partly) built into the mudbrick enclosure walls of the early dynastic funerary complex called the Shunet el-Zebib, to our knowledge the only such case of monastic reuse in Egypt. After a detailed description of the "hermitages," at pp. 122–135 the excavator, M.D. Adams, also situates the monument in a broader landscape by providing a comprehensive overview of the Late Antique remains

discovered so far in North Abydos. In the appendix, R. Bélanger Sarrazin and J.H.F. Dijkstra edit, in addition to other fragmentary textual finds, the inscribed remains of the painted plaster layers that covered the walls of the hermitages. Where the language can be ascertained this is (Sahidic) Coptic. Here only those fragments are included that permit reading a more or less coherent text.

**29.** Hermitage 8, Room 3. *Ed. princ.* Bélanger Sarrazin and Dijkstra, p. 138, no. 1, Fig. 103. One line of text with a cross underneath, situated just below an oratory niche:  $\overline{\pi\iota\omega\tau\ \pi\omega\eta\rho\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\pi\{\pi\}\ n\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta.}$   $\overline{\pi\varsigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\ \overline{\iota\varsigma}\ \pi\epsilon\chi\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\ n\chi\varsigma}$  “The Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit. The Savior, Jesus Christ, our Lord.” An invocation of the Holy Trinity, expanded with the name and titles of Christ.

**30.** Hermitage 9, Room 2. *Ed. princ.* Bélanger Sarrazin and Dijkstra, p. 138, no. 2, Fig. 104. Very faint, in two lines, the name Zacharias,  $\zeta\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\iota\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ .

**31–33.** Hermitage 3, Room 1, inv. 17099, 17098, 17099. *Ed. princ.* Bélanger Sarrazin and Dijkstra, p. 139, nos. 3–5, Figs. 105–107. The three most substantial of seven fragments (nos. 3–9) that may belong to a single inscription, written in thick black letters with a backward inclined  $\alpha$ .

**31.** No. 3 (14.5 × 19.2 cm). Remains of seven lines of text that must have belonged to a so-called litany (see for such texts **25–28** above). The preserved fragment invokes the apostles (l. 2) and various monastic saints: Jeremiah (?), Moses, Pshoi, and Paul (ll. 4–6). Judging from the disposition of the text, it followed the rounded top of a niche.

$\alpha[$   
 $] \cdot \cdot \ n\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma[\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$   
 $\alpha[ \cdot \cdot ] \cdot \cdot \ \alpha\pi\alpha [$   
 $\rho\eta\mu\iota\varsigma \cdot \ \alpha\pi\alpha \ m\omega\iota\varsigma[\eta\varsigma$   
**5.**  $\alpha\pi\alpha \ \pi\omega\omicron\iota \cdot \cdot [$   
 $\alpha\pi\alpha \ \pi\alpha\omicron\gamma[\lambda\epsilon$   
 $\zeta\alpha\mu\eta[\eta$

As the editors suggest,  $\rho\eta\mu\iota\varsigma$  in l. 4, may stand for  $\alpha\pi\alpha \ \iota\epsilon]\rho\eta\mu\iota<\alpha>\varsigma$ . The name reappears in no. 15 (**39**).

**32.** No. 4 (7 × 8.7 cm). Fragment from the right-hand margin of the same or a similar litany, with the end of the name Anoup; in the margin itself, a tiny part of a cross.

$\alpha\eta]\omicron\gamma\pi \cdot$   
 $] \varsigma \cdot$



33. No. 5 (4 × 8 cm). A similar fragment, with the remains of names and titles.

]με · απ[α  
] απα [

34. Hermitage 3, Room 1, inv. ANC 17098 or 17099 (10.5 × 6 cm). *Ed. princ.* Bélanger Sarrazin and Dijkstra, p. 139, no. 10, Fig. 112. Six incomplete lines, apparently from the left-hand margin of another litany, in a much different hand. Again Apa Paul is invoked (as in no. 3 = 31, l. 6).

ἰς πε[ῡς  
απα παρ[υλε (?)  
απα πα[  
απα ψω[  
5. απα μ[  
απα . [

35. Hermitage 3, Room 1, inv. ANC 17099 (16.2 × 11.5 cm). *Ed. princ.* Bélanger Sarrazin and Dijkstra, p. 141, no. 11, Fig. 113. A nicely decorated cross “pattée” with the lower arm tapering out; above, the abbreviated word for “cross,”  $\overline{\text{CPO}}[\text{C}]$ .

36. Hermitage 3, Room 1, inv. ANC 17098 (8 × 15.7 cm). *Ed. princ.* Bélanger Sarrazin and Dijkstra, p. 141, no. 12, Fig. 114. An invocation of the Trinity, expanded with the name of Christ; underneath, a blank space and, apparently, a single name.

+ πι<ω>τ πω[ηρε πεπνα ετογααβ]  
ἰς πεχστος

*vac.*

απολ[λ]ω

The end of l. 1 is left open by the editors and is, of course, likely but not entirely certain. Instead of assuming a muddled writing of the abbreviated word for “cross” in l. 2, as the editors do, it is more economical to interpret -τος as the ending of the name of Christ, so that the scribe intended πεχ(ρι)στος.

37. Hermitage 3, Room 1, inv. ANC 17098 (4.5 × 2.8 cm). *Ed. princ.* Bélanger Sarrazin and Dijkstra, p. 141, no. 13, Fig. 115. Apparently, the beginning of a text, with an invocation of Jesus and a saint (?), whose name is lost.

ⲡ ⲓϥ [   
 ⲁⲓⲣⲓⲟ[ϥ

38. Hermitage 3, Room 1, inv. ANC 17099 (3.5 × 4.5 cm). *Ed. princ.* Bélanger Sarrazin and Dijkstra, pp. 141–142, no. 14, Fig. 116. Remains of three lines, perhaps from a prayer for forgiveness.

ⲁ]ⲓⲁ . [   
 ]ⲁ ⲕⲱ ⲉ[ⲃⲟⲗ (?)   
 ] . ⲧ . [

39. Hermitage 3, Room 1, inv. ANC 17098 (3.7 × 5.8 cm). *Ed. princ.* Bélanger Sarrazin and Dijkstra, p. 142, no. 15, Fig. 117. Fragment with twice the (incomplete) name ⲓⲉⲣⲉⲙⲓⲁϥ, Ieremias/Jeremiah.

40. Hermitage 3, Room 1, inv. ANC 17098 (11 × 5.1 cm). *Ed. princ.* Bélanger Sarrazin and Dijkstra, p. 142, no. 16, Fig. 118. Fragment with the single word ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲏⲏ “peace”; apparently the end of a text.

41. Hermitage 13, inv. ANC 28336 (8 × 4.3 cm). *Ed. princ.* Bélanger Sarrazin and Dijkstra, p. 144, no. 27, Fig. 129. The fragments from this hermitage (nos. 24–32) show mostly a few letters only. An exception is no. 27, with perhaps the end of a prayer.

]ⲁⲗ[   
 ] . ⲃⲟⲗ ⲉ[   
 ]ϥⲟⲛ ϥⲓ[   
 ]ⲏⲛⲗⲁ[

As the editors suggest, in l. 3 we have perhaps the title “brother” with a following name beginning with Phi- and in l. 4 quite likely ⲗⲁⲙ]ⲏⲛ ⲗⲁ[ⲙⲏⲛ.

42. Hermitage 13, inv. ANC 28336 (5.9 × 4.2 cm). *Ed. princ.* Bélanger Sarrazin and Dijkstra, p. 144, no. 32, Fig. 134. This fragment may be read as ] ⲁⲃⲣ[ⲁⲗⲁⲙ “Abraham.”

In particular the remains of the litanies invite comparison with material from other monastic sites in Abydos (see again 25–28 above) and further afield.

**43. Abydos (ibis hypogeum). Coptic, Arabic and figural graffiti.** L.R. Gosner and L. Bestock, “Living with the Dead: Three Examples of Christian Reuse in the Abydos North Cemetery,” in E.R. O’Connell (ed.), *Abydos in the First Millennium AD* (Leuven 2020) 151–175. As a supplement to Adams’ survey of Late Antique remains in North Abydos (see 29–42 above), the authors report on the Brown University excavations of three monastic dwellings near the modern village of Deir Sitt Damyana, the first one built in the vault of a Ptolemaic tomb, the other two in Vaults 9 and 12 of a Ptolemaic ibis hypogeum, another unique case of monastic reuse. The latter two dwellings contain numerous Coptic and figural, and some Arabic, graffiti many of which are found near niches (e.g. Fig. 9b), as well as more formal paintings, such as the ones of the sacrifice of Isaac (pp. 169–170, Fig. 22) and an enthroned Christ flanked by Peter and Paul (p. 170, Fig. 26, reproduced on the cover) in Room I, which is interpreted by the excavators as an “oratory.” The graffiti and paintings await systematic study.

**44. Abydos (marketplace). Greek/Coptic inscription and figural dipinti.** A.M. Damarany and H.S. Abdallah, “The South Abydos Marketplace Excavations (2009–2010, 2013): The Monastery of Apa Moses?” in E.R. O’Connell (ed.), *Abydos in the First Millennium AD* (Leuven 2020) 177–194. Report on the excavations of the Ministry of State for Antiquities conducted in 2009–2010 and 2013 near the marketplace of the village of Araba el-Madfuna, ca. 500 m south of the Seti temple. During previous work at the site, R.A. Farag, “Excavation at Abydos in 1977: A Byzantine Loom Factory,” *MDAIK* 39 (1983) 51–57 unearthed a pillared hall here dating to Christian times, which he interpreted as a weaving factory, but based on the more recent investigation of a wider area the excavators view it as part of a monastic complex, which they assume is the monastery of Moses (see also A.M. Damarany and K.M. Cahail, “The Sarcophagus of the High Priest of Amun, Menkheperre, from the Coptic Monastery of Apa Moses at Abydos,” *MDAIK* 72 [2016] 12–15). However, none of the data adduced proves that the site is monastic, and so its identification with the monastery of Moses remains conjectural until evidence in support of it is found. Among the finds are an architectural fragment with the *nomen sacrum*  $\text{IC XC}$  in black paint (p. 182, Fig. 10) and a plastered wall with drawings in red (p. 188, Fig. 21).

**45. Abydos (Umm el-Qa’ab). Incised/painted ceramics.** A. Effland, “Apa Moses and His Fellow Brethren: Christian Finds from Umm el-Qa’ab,” in E.R. O’Connell (ed.), *Abydos in the First Millennium AD*

(Leuven 2020) 195–209. Survey of the Late Antique remains found during the German excavations at Umm el-Qa‘ab. The finds, which are mainly concentrated near the tomb of Djer and in the southern part of the one of Khasekhemwy, include sherds, sometimes reused from among the much older material lying around at the site, painted or incised with names (one from the tomb of Den, mentioned in several of the author’s previous contributions, with ἀπα μοῦς η̄ ‘ς’, Fig. 8: the second *ς*, omitted in the facsimile [Fig. 9], is written underneath the *η̄* at line’s end),<sup>1</sup> drawings and crosses.

**46–49. Abydos (high desert). Coptic *dipinti*, 5th–8th cent.** D. McCormack and J. Westerfeld, “A Desert Hermitage South of Abydos: Preliminary Work of the Abydos Survey for Paleolithic Sites, Historic Division,” in E.R. O’Connell (ed.), *Abydos in the First Millennium AD* (Leuven 2020) 211–222. Presentation of a hermitage, located in the Wadi Bani Hamil, south of the Wadi Umm el-Qa‘ab, discovered and investigated in three seasons between 2002 and 2008 during the Abydos Survey for Paleolithic Sites. The hermitage was partly built in a natural cave and comprises three rooms: a small storage chamber (Room 1), the main room, with a central niche, a bench, plastered and whitewashed walls and ceiling, and some decorative elements (Room 2), and a third room with a large stone basin, which likely served as a kitchen (Room 3). The ceramics indicate that the place was in use first in the first-second century, and then in the fifth-eighth century. Ten inscriptions painted in red have been found in Room 2 and two in Room 3; four of them, particularly well preserved and noteworthy, are discussed by the author (a full edition of the texts is planned).

**46.** No. 2.6. *Ed. princ.* McCormack and Westerfeld, p. 216, Fig. 9. Invocation of the Trinity, painted on the east wall of Room 2, below and right of the central niche (just visible on Fig. 16).

**47.** No. 3.1. *Ed. princ.* McCormack and Westerfeld, pp. 216–217, Fig. 10. List of the seven archangels, painted in a *tabula ansata* on the ceiling of Room 3. An enumeration of the same names, though in a slightly different order, is found in a version of the *Oratio Mariae ad Bartos* preserved in British Library Or. 6796 (ed. A.M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte*, vol. 1 [Brussels 1931] 38 [text G, ll. 84–85]). The text clearly has a prophylactic purpose.

**48.** No. 2.2. *Ed. princ.* McCormack and Westerfeld, pp. 217–218, Figs. 11–13 (only of sections). Bandeau inscription, carefully written in

<sup>1</sup> We would like to thank Andreas Effland for sending us a high-resolution image of the sherd, confirming our reading.

a single line below a band of red paint along the west and north walls of Room 2; it would have continued onto the east wall but the plaster containing the text there is gone. The text is a litany (see 25–28 above for inscriptions of the litany-type and 29–42 for some further examples of litanies from the Shunet el-Zebib) invoking the Trinity, our mother Mary (Τ̅Μ̅Μ̅Α̅Α̅Υ, not Τ̅Μ̅Α̅Α̅Υ; see Fig. 11), our father Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and other Old Testament figures.

49. No. 2.1. *Ed. princ.* McCormack and Westerfeld, p. 218, Fig. 14. Prayer painted in the south-west corner of Room 2. The text begins with an invocation of the Trinity and an Apa Apollo, who is a martyr from Pmoeir. This martyr is not otherwise known, but the toponym can be identified with Μοῖραι (modern Meir) in the Hermopolite nome (Timm 4.1633–1635; Trismegistos Places, Geo\_ID 2799). We propose to edit the text as follows:

- [+] ΠΙΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ  
 [Π]ΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ  
 [Π]ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ 'Α'ΠΟ-  
 [Λ]ΛΩ ΠΜΑΡΤΗ-  
 5 [ΡΟΣ] ΜΠΜΟΕΪΡ  
 [ΑΡΙ Π]ΜΗΝΟΥΕ  
 [ΜΠΑ]ÇΟΝ ΘΕΟΔΩΡ'Ε'  
 [ΝΤΕ Τ]ΕΒΖΑΗ ΕΡ ΨΑΥ  
 [ΖΝ ΤΜ]ΗΔΕ 'Ν'ΝΕCΗ-  
 10 [ΗΥ ΤΗΡΟ]Υ ΖΑΜΗΝ

“+ The Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit. Saint Apa Apollo, the martyr of Pmoeir. Remember brother Theodore, that his end may be profitable in the midst of all the brothers. Amen.” In l. 8 read ΤΕΒΖΑΗ, in l. 9 ΤΜΗΤΕ. For the expression in l. 8, cf. J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît* (Cairo 1904) 27, no. 13, ll. 11–12: ΝΤΕ ΤΝΖΑΗ ΕΡ ΨΑΥ “that our end may be profitable.” For the reconstruction of ll. 8–10, cf. e.g. A. van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d’Égypte*, vol. 1 (Leuven 1929) 42, no. 23, ll. 14–16.

At the end, the authors also briefly mention some figural *dipinti* on the walls, such as (the remnants of) a cross in the central niche (Fig. 16) and the depiction of a jar on the plaster further down below it (Fig. 17).

**50. Western Thebes (Deir el-Bahari). Greek/Coptic graffiti, 6th–8th cent.** A. Łajtar and G. Ochala, “Nouveaux graffiti grecs et coptes du site de Deir al-Bahari,” in A. Boud’hors et al. (eds.), *Études coptes XVI*

(Paris 2020) 161–169. Overview of the textual graffiti carved on the rocks along the path above the temples of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. These texts were documented in 1999–2000 by the Polish archaeological mission and first reported on by S. Rzepka, “Rock Graffiti above the Temple of Hatshepsut,” *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 11 (2000) 183–190, after which the authors were entrusted with their study in 2017. A total of 29 Christian graffiti have been documented, of which 3 in Greek, 16 in Coptic, and 10 in either language. They are presumably to be seen in connection with the monastery of Phoebammon and can be dated to the sixth–eighth centuries. Most of the inscriptions are short and can be classified into four groups: simple names (7 texts, e.g. Ioseph in monogrammatic form, no. D 29a, Fig. 2); invocations of God or Christ (3 texts); combinations of an invocation with the name of the visitor (two or three texts); and inscriptions of the  $\alpha\text{NOC}$ -type (4 texts, possibly without following name).

In addition to these short texts, six longer ones have been documented, of which two are translated and one is edited, translated and commented on. The first, no. D 17, is written in Greek by a certain Bartholomaios, priest, monk, and *oikonomos* of the holy *topos* of the Cross (?), located at the *kastron* Memnoneion. The authors suggest that this would be the first attestation of a monastic settlement of this name in Jeme. It should be noted, however, that a street in the town is called  $\pi\tau\iota\rho\ \mu\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  “the street of the Cross” (*P.KRU* 106.121), which may have been named after a religious institution. The second graffito (no. C 3; a facsimile in Rzepka [above], p. 187, Fig. 4), in Coptic, was left by a deacon of the church of Saint Kerikos (that is, Kyriakos) of Jeme, which is well known from the documentation. The third text (no. B 1, given here in *ed. princ.*), also in Coptic, is quite extraordinary and therefore of particular interest. It is a memorial for a certain Pemou (l. 1,  $\pi\epsilon\rho\pi\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\mu[\omicron\upsilon]$ , repeated in l. 2 as  $\pi\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\bar{r}\pi\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$  “This is the memorial”), but also a lament (ll. 3–4,  $\pi\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \pi\epsilon\ <\pi>\rho\eta\beta\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon$  “this is the lament for Pemou”). We learn from the text that Pemou got lost (l. 4,  $\iota\epsilon$  [read  $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ ]  $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\delta\varsigma\omega\rho\bar{\mu}$  “Well then, he got lost”) and that the author of the inscription went up to look for him on the path, without finding him (ll. 5–7,  $\alpha\bar{\iota}\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \epsilon\iota\omega\iota\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\varsigma\omega\delta\ \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\bar{\iota}\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\delta$  “I went up to look for him but I did not find him”), and that this caused him much grief (ll. 7–9,  $\epsilon\iota\rho\rho\eta\beta\epsilon\ \eta\alpha\delta\ \epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$  “I lament him deeply”). The authors imagine the scenario that Pemou was the child of the author of the inscription, who on a visit to the monastery of Phoebammon wandered off and fell in a crevice or tomb, and that when his parent could not find him he engraved this text in memory of the tragic accident.

**51. Western Thebes (Deir el-Bahari). Graffiti.** A. Pawlikowska-Gwiazda, “Christian Secondary Epigraphy in the Temple of Hatshepsut: Some New Remarks,” *ÉtTrav* 33 (2020) 139–162. Preliminary study, based on a survey carried out in 2018, of the Christian graffiti (referred to as “secondary epigraphy”) in the Hatshepsut temple. The graffiti are predominantly in Coptic. Among the just five Greek inscriptions are two of the “One God”-type (A. Bataille, *Les inscriptions grecques du temple d’Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari* [Cairo 1951] 63–64, no. 89 = A. Łajtar, *Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: A Study of an Egyptian Temple Based on Greek Sources* [Warsaw 2006] 219–220, no. 132, and Bataille, p. 99, no. 142). The other Greek inscriptions are an alphabet and twice (parts of) the famous *chalin*ος Ἀβροχίτων δ’ ὁ φύλαξ θηρο-ζυγοκαμψιμέτωπος (Bataille, pp. 131–134, nos. 185, 187–188). This verse (AP 9.538) is common in an educational context, and its presence at Deir el-Bahari does not necessarily imply that copies of the *Greek Anthology* circulated in the Theban area. The spatial distribution of the graffiti is analysed next (Figs. 1–2), which shows that they were mainly clustered around the church, while two graphs (Figs. 3–4) record the height at which the graffiti were written, on average 1.45 m, that is, at eye level. There is also a plan that shows the placement of the graffiti on a specific wall, in this case the western wall of the Upper Courtyard (Fig. 5). An analysis of the spatial distribution of the crosses shows that they are often found in passageways (Fig. 6), and so are other figural graffiti (Fig. 7). The chronological distribution of the graffiti can be divided into two phases: the period when the temple was reused as a monastery (the monastery of Phoebammon; end of sixth to end of eighth century) and the period when the site was frequented by visitors (ninth to thirteenth centuries; Figs. 8–10). The most recent inscription is dated to 1222/1223 (W. Godlewski, *Deir el-Bahari V. Le monastère de St Phoibammon* [Warsaw 1986] 151, no. 29, Figs. 162–163), but this date is not unproblematic since there is a discrepancy between the year according to the Era of the Martyrs (919 = 1202/1203) and that of the Saracens (549 = 1154/1155). The use of modern image-processing techniques (in particular DStretch) has made it possible both to reveal new inscriptions (e.g. Fig. 11) and to review previously published graffiti (e.g. Fig. 12, cf. Godlewski, p. 143, no. 7, “Texte entièrement illisible,” now interpreted in n. 66 [where the Coptic characters have been lost] as [ΠΑ]ΡΙΟΣ | ΝΕΤ [understand ΝΕ(ΤΑΥΡΟΣ)] “the holy cross”). In addition, re-examining previously recorded drawings with these methods allows for a better understanding of the graffiti (e.g. Fig. 15, cf. Godlewski, p. 106, no. 48, Fig. 40, makes it possible to recognize a figure carrying a censor).



**52. Western Thebes (Ramesseum). Figural graffiti.** E. Serdiuk, “Un pigeonnier de briques crues dans le contexte du Ramesseum de l’époque romano-byzantine?,” in A. Boud’hors et al. (eds.), *Études coptes XVI* (Paris 2020) 59–103 argues on the basis of beam holes in a wall in the eastern part of the Ramesseum that there was once a dovecote built against it. A cross made up of interlaces and circles (Fig. 8) was incised on the same wall, which is interpreted by the author as apotropaic. An earlier attempt at incising the figure slightly higher up on the wall was abandoned, presumably due to lack of space. The author also mentions some other graffiti attesting to the Christian presence in the temple. At pp. 93–94, there is a short, rather speculative, discussion of graffiti depicting horsemen.

**53. Western Thebes (monastery of Epiphanius). Lamp with Coptic inscription, ca. 600 CE.** A. Pawlikowska-Gwiazda, “Terracotta Oil-Lamps from Egypt’s Theban Region in the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York,” *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 28 (2019) 641–657. Study of the 17 lamps excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in Western Thebes at the beginning of the twentieth century and now kept in the museum’s collections in New York. Among them is one inscribed lamp, MMA 14.1.378 (pp. 644–645, no. 3, Fig. 2), which was found at the *topos* of Epiphanius and already described by H.E. Winlock and W.E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, vol. 1 (New York 1926) 88, Pl. 32a. The lamp contains the words “love” and “peace,” apparently in Coptic as shown by the definite article (ⲧⲁⲣⲁⲡⲏ and ⲧⲓⲣⲏⲏⲏ). A lamp with a similar inscription is known from the Benaki Museum (K. Loverdou-Tsigarida, “Ἐνεπίγραφοι κοπτικοὶ λύχνοι τοῦ Μουσείου Μπενάκι,” *Δελτίον τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας*, series 4, no. 6 [1970–1972] 136, no. 12034: ⲧⲁⲣⲁⲡⲏ ⲧⲓⲣⲏⲏⲏ, interpreted as anthroponyms).

**54–57. Region of Armant. Coptic graffiti.** F. Krueger, *Andreas von Hermonthis und das Kloster des Apa Hesekei. Mikrohistorische Untersuchungen zu Kirchengeschichte und Klosterwesen im Gebiet von Armant (Oberägypten) in byzantinischer Zeit anhand der koptischen Ostraka der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig*, vol. 1 (Berlin 2020) 35–39, 40–41, 42–51. Revised version of a 2018 doctoral dissertation, in which a dossier of almost 600 ostraca from Leipzig (and several more from other collections) pertaining to the monastery of Apa Ezekiel is systematically studied. The importance of this study lies in the fact that it adds a substantial

group of Late Antique texts from the Armant region and, moreover, from a time (the later sixth century) slightly before the date of the vast majority of Christian texts from Western Thebes, that is, the seventh to eighth centuries. See also F. Krueger, “The Papyrological Rediscovery of the Monastery of Apa Ezekiel and Bishop Andrew of Hermonthis (6th Century): Preliminary Report on the Edition of the Coptic Ostraca at the Leipzig University Library,” *Journal of Coptic Studies* 21 (2019) 73–114. While vol. 2 presents a complete edition of the Leipzig (and other) ostraca, vol. 1 analyses in detail what we can glean from these texts, together with other relevant sources, about monastic life in the region.

Occasionally, inscriptions are also mentioned. In § 4.3.3, where the monastery of Darb Rayayna (ca. 12 km north-west of Armant) is discussed, at pp. 35–39 three Coptic graffiti (54–56) are first edited from among the (as yet unpublished) graffiti recorded at the site (see J.C. Darnell and D. Darnell, “The Luxor-Farshût Desert Road Survey,” *Oriental Institute 1994–1995 Annual Report* [1995] 50–52).

**54.** *Ed. princ.* Krueger, pp. 35–36, Fig. 5. Two-line graffito of the  $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$ -type by one George (his name written as a monogram in the form of a cross), who is a  $\psi\eta\mu$  |  $\pi\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$   $\eta\alpha\pi\alpha$   $\tau\upsilon\rho\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$  “novice (of) the *topos* of Apa Tyrannus.”

**55.** *Ed. princ.* Krueger, pp. 36–37, Fig. 6. Graffito in four lines written within a *tabula ansata* of a  $\pi\omicron\varsigma\iota\delta\omega\eta\iota\omicron\varsigma$   $\psi\eta\mu$   $\pi\iota\rho\epsilon\eta\bar{\rho}\eta\omicron\upsilon\beta\epsilon$  “Posidonios, novice, the sinner,” which is followed by the prayer  $\omicron\Upsilon\omicron\eta\eta$   $\langle\mathbf{N}\rangle\mathbf{IM}$  (as the haplography should be noted, not  $\omicron\Upsilon\omicron\eta\eta$   $(\mathbf{N})\mathbf{IM}$ , as in the *ed. princ.*)  $\epsilon\tau\omicron\Upsilon\alpha\alpha\beta$   $\psi\eta\eta\lambda$   $\epsilon\chi\omega\iota$   $\omicron\Upsilon\chi\alpha\iota$  “Every holy one, pray for me and fare well.” The latter is clearly a variant of the formula  $\omicron\Upsilon\omicron\eta\eta$   $\mathbf{NIM}$   $\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\omega\psi$   $\psi\eta\eta\lambda$   $\epsilon\chi\omega\iota$  “everyone who will read this, pray for me,” which besides in epitaphs also occurs in other kinds of inscriptions such as graffiti (cf. also 66–67 below); see J. van der Vliet, “‘What Is Man?’ The Nubian Tradition of Coptic Funerary Inscriptions,” in A. Łajtar and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Nubian Voices: Studies in Christian Nubian Culture* (Warsaw 2011) 183–184 (repr. in J. van der Vliet, *The Christian Epigraphy of Egypt and Nubia* [London 2018] 395). The prayer thus does not invoke “all saints,” as the editor translates, but the holy passer-by.

**56.** *Ed. princ.* Krueger, pp. 37–39, Fig. 7. The name  $\pi\omicron\varsigma\iota\delta\omega$  beneath a cross. No doubt Posidonios is again meant, but there is no abbreviation mark, as suggested by the editor’s notation  $\pi\omicron\varsigma\iota\delta\omega(\eta\iota\omicron\varsigma)$ . The name has been inscribed within a shortened depiction of a building (Fig. 8).

The author is right to note that these three graffiti cannot be used to identify Darb Rayayna with either the *topos* of Tyrannus and/or that of

Posidonius, as previous scholars have done: the novice George (54) could have come from somewhere else, and both graffiti mentioning a Posidonios (55–56) refer to an individual (or individuals), not a monastery.

In § 4.4.1, where the attestations of the *topos* of Posidonius are discussed, the author includes another first edition of a graffito, this one from Deir el-Bakhit in Western Thebes (57; cf. *CIEN* 4.46 on the site).

57. *Ed. princ.* Krueger, pp. 40–41, Fig. 9 (improved drawing compared with the facsimile published by W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Qurneh* [London 1909] Pl. 48). Graffito in five lines of the  $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$ -type by a certain Daniel,  $\pi\mu\omicron\eta\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$  (there is no superlinear stroke above the  $\pi$ , as the editor transcribes)  $\bar{\eta}\alpha\pi\alpha\ \pi\omicron\varsigma\iota\delta\omega\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\mu}\pi\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\epsilon\mu\omicron\bar{\nu}\tau$  (for  $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\rho\mu\omicron\bar{\nu}\tau$ ) “monk of (the *topos* of) Apa Posidonius in the desert of Armant,” followed by  $\omega\lambda\eta\lambda\ \epsilon\chi\omega\iota\ \eta\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta$  “Pray for me in charity,” and flanked at beginning and end by crosses.

Finally, in § 4.4.2 (pp. 42–51) the author mentions several graffiti from the first Phoebammon monastery. As indicated at p. 42, since this paragraph is a synopsis of the longer article included next under 58, we will leave a full discussion to that entry.

**58. Region of Armant. Coptic/Greek graffiti.** F. Krueger, “Revisiting the First Monastery of Apa Phoibammon. A Prosopography and Relative Chronology of Its Connections to the Monastery of Apa Ezekiel within the Monastic Network of Hermonthis during the 6th Century,” *APF* 66 (2020) 150–191 highlights the close connections between the monastery of Apa Ezekiel and the monastery of Phoebammon in the desert of Armant (called Phoebammon I, to distinguish it from the better known monastery of this name in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, where it was relocated at the end of the sixth century, Phoebammon II; see 51 above). At pp. 172–178, the author offers a series of notes on and corrections to nearly thirty of the graffiti, all Coptic except for one in Greek and some bilingual texts, from this monastery, which were first edited by R. Rémondon et al., *Le Monastère de Phoebammon dans la Thébaïde*, vol. 2 (Cairo 1965). In several cases, he proposes to identify individuals known from the dossier of ostraca concerning the monastery of Apa Ezekiel in the graffiti from Phoebammon I, such as Apa Ezekiel himself, the eponymous saint of the monastery (e.g. no. 13a,  $\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \zeta\epsilon\kappa\iota\eta\lambda$ , interpreted as an invocation, “Lord, Ezekiel,” cf. nos. 60, 118a, 145, 190, and 201; in no. 37, he recognizes a reference to the monastery of Apa Ezekiel). He suggests a possible identification of Apa Aron, priest and co-abbot of the monastery of

Apa Ezekiel, in Greek graffito no. 11 (note that the *ed. princ.* has εἰμη for εἰμι; the text should have been printed in Greek font) and Coptic graffiti nos. 62 and 103, and of Andrew, Aron's fellow priest and co-abbot, and later the bishop of Hermonthis, in nos. 49b, 128, and 199. Other corrections concern the formulary of the texts: the author detects in several badly preserved graffiti the expression  $\Psi\Lambda\eta\lambda \epsilon\chi\omega\iota \nu\alpha\rho\alpha\pi\eta$  "pray for me in charity" (or variants: nos. 82, 92, 113, and 134) and the title of deacon (nos. 46 and 55). In two texts (nos. 17 and 18b), he correctly suggests that the words  $\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\pi\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\nu\epsilon\iota\beta\iota\eta\eta\eta$  refer to the writer of the inscription and not passers-by (so read  $\nu\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\pi\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\nu\epsilon\beta\iota\eta\eta\eta$ ). In no. 159,  $\varsigma\epsilon\delta\epsilon\rho\mu \Psi\lambda\lambda/ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha \pi\alpha\gamma[\lambda\omicron\varsigma]$  "... pray according to Paul," he proposes to see an allusion to 1 Thess. 5:17 (a verse which is quoted in no. 183:  $\Psi\lambda\eta\lambda \alpha\chi\eta \omega\chi\eta \nu\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega \nu\iota\mu$  "Pray without ceasing always"). In no. 79, which is bilingual, he understands  $\pi\omicron\gamma\alpha\eta\omicron\upsilon$  as τοῦ ἁγίου; we can therefore edit Θεόδωρος ἐλάχι(στο)ς μονάζ(ων) τοῦ ἁγίου ἅπα Παχωμῶ (read Παχωμίου)  $\alpha\rho\iota \pi\alpha\mu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon \pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha \pi\epsilon\kappa\eta\omicron\varsigma \eta\eta\alpha$  "Theodoros, the most insignificant monk of (the monastery of) Saint Apa Pachomius. Remember me, God, according to your great mercy" (note that the last words are probably an allusion to Ps. 50:1). Finally, in no. 78.4–5, the author proposes to see an omission of the verb  $\chi\omega\kappa$  in the sequence  $\eta\gamma\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\epsilon$  and to understand  $\eta\gamma<\chi\epsilon\kappa> \tau\alpha\tau\alpha\epsilon \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \epsilon\varsigma\rho \alpha\eta\alpha\kappa$  "and complete my end pleasing to you," but it is more economical to think here of the omission of the verb  $\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$  ( $\eta\gamma<\eta> \tau\alpha\tau\alpha\epsilon \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$  "and bring about my end," cf. e.g. *SB Kopt.* 2.1061.4–5:  $\eta\tau\epsilon \pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau'\epsilon \eta\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\eta \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \epsilon\varsigma\bar{\rho} \alpha\eta\epsilon\eta$  "that God may bring about my end pleasing to him"). In the last line (l. 8) of the same text, the *ed. princ.* has  $\mu\mu\omicron\eta\tau\alpha \eta\tau\alpha\eta\alpha\pi\alpha\gamma\varsigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ , the meaning of which is difficult to understand. The author's proposal to interpret it as  $\mu\mu\omicron\eta\tau\alpha<\iota\tau\mu\tau\epsilon/ \tau\mu\chi\iota> \tau<\alpha>\alpha\eta\alpha\pi\alpha\gamma\varsigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  "lest I do not find/receive (?) my rest" seems extremely doubtful. In this case, as in others, an examination of the graffiti *in situ* would be necessary to confirm the author's proposals.

**59. el-Kab. Coptic graffito.** L. Prada, "Voices from Late and Graeco-Roman Period Elkab: A New Field Project on Monument Reuse, Graffiti, and Other Epigraphic Material from the Site," in F. Naether (ed.), *New Approaches in Demotic Studies* (Berlin 2019) 211–247. Announcement of a project to publish the graffiti – both figures and texts, the latter in various scripts, including Coptic – from several monuments in the necropolis of el-Kab and a wadi to its north-east, the Wadi Hilal. Among the graffiti

mentioned, one (pp. 215 [n. 19], 241) from a building near the *hemispeos* (the so-called “*hammam*”) in the Wadi Hilal, which was already recorded in facsimile by W.M. Flinders Petrie, *A Season in Egypt, 1887* (London 1888) Pl. 17, no. 642, and is mentioned by P. Derchain, *Elkab I. Les monuments religieux à l’entrée de l’Ouady Hellal* (Brussels 1971) 73, is interpreted as Coptic since it seems to contain the word ⲓⲱⲧ.

**60. Elephantine. Graffiti.** J.H.F. Dijkstra, “Of Fish and Vendors: The Khnum Temple Graffiti Project,” in S.C. Dirksen and L.S. Krastel (eds.), *Epigraphy through Five Millennia: Texts and Images in Context* (Wiesbaden 2020) 61–71. First overview of the project to record and publish the 199 figural and textual graffiti from the forecourt of the temple of Khnum at Elephantine (for a description of the architectural context, see the article by T. Krapf, “Vom Hofplaster zur dritten Dimension. Der Kontext der Graffiti des Chnumtempelvorhofes von Elephantine,” in the same volume, pp. 157–167). The author discusses the spatial distribution of the graffiti on the pavement, highlighting the information that can be inferred from them about the use of the space (especially regarding the parts of the temple accessible to the public in the Roman period). Of the 180 graffiti considered in this article (19 more were recorded on the steps to the Satet temple but they could date to anywhere from the Middle Kingdom onwards), 138 are figural and 43 textual (one graffito contains both a figure and a text, and is therefore counted twice). Only 90 of them can be dated to either the Roman or the Christian period, with 21 belonging to the latter group. Among the Christian graffiti are an *orans*, partly overlapping with an Egyptian deity incised in the opposite direction (no. K 5 = cat. no. 60, Fig. 2), various crosses (e.g. a *crux ansata*, no. K 4 = cat. no. 66, Fig. 8), and ten Greek/Coptic graffiti, including nine names, one of a new bishop (Iakob), presumably from Aswan (no. K 158 = cat. no. 177, Fig. 10), and an acclamation of the “One God”-type.

**61. Aswan (monastery of St. Hatre). Coptic and Arabic inscriptions.** T.S. Richter et al., “Deir Anba Hadra: Ein mittelalterliches Kloster auf dem Westufer von Assuan,” *Archäologie in Ägypten. Magazin des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo* 5 (2019) 21–25. A concise summary of the preliminary outcomes of the German Deir Anba Hadra Project (DAHP), which has a special focus on epigraphy (cf. *CIEN* 6.34; while two earlier notices in the same magazine are mentioned there, the one here is included under a separate entry as it offers a first general overview

of the project's results). After an introduction by the project leader (T.S. Richter), members of the team briefly report on the Coptic stelae (L.S. Krastel), the Coptic and Arabic graffiti (R. Bodenstein, L.S. Krastel and T.S. Richter), the wall paintings (G.J.M. van Loon), and the architecture of the church (H. Lehmann).

**62. Aswan (monastery of St. Hatre). Cemetery.** G.J.M. van Loon, "Le cimetière du Deir Anba Hadra et les fouilles de Jean Clédat," in A. Boud'hors et al. (eds.), *Études coptes XVI* (Paris 2020) 105–126 documents what we know from early travelers and excavations (cf. *CIEN* 6.34) about the cemetery located south-east of the monastery of St. Hatre, from which the 144 Coptic stelae currently under study (see **64–71** below) derive. The author adds new information from the dig diary of J. Clédat, kept in the Louvre, who excavated seven of the tombs in 1903.

**63. Aswan (monastery of St. Hatre). Two Coptic legends, 7th/8th cent.** J.H.F. Dijkstra and J. van der Vliet, *The Coptic Life of Aaron: Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary* (Leiden 2020) 153, 172. In the commentary to their edition of the *Life of Aaron*, a sixth-century hagiographical work describing the lives of fourth- and early fifth-century ascetic monks from the Aswan region, the authors mention two legends to paintings, dating to the seventh/eighth century (previously it was assumed that they dated to the sixth/seventh century; see e.g. R. Dekker, "The Development of the Church at Dayr Anba Hadra: A Study of the Plasterwork and Dated Inscriptions," in G. Gabra and H. Takla [eds.], *Christianity and Monasticism in Aswan and Nubia* [Cairo 2013] 106, 112–113 = *CIEN* 1.24, but this date has now been adjusted; see e.g. the article included above under **61**, p. 24), from the cave that was later incorporated into the monastic church. The legends, to be published by the DAHP team, read **ΑΠΑ ΒΑΝΟΥ[ΦΙΗ]Λ** and **ΑΠΑ ΖΑΒΟΥ[Λ]ΩΝ** (saint nos. 21, 30). Since both figure as characters in the *Life of Aaron* (Zaboulon: *Life of Aaron* 3, 9, 11 [pp. 64, 68, 70 Dijkstra and Van der Vliet]; Banouphiel: *Life of Aaron* 25 [p. 76 Dijkstra and Van der Vliet]), the legends thus demonstrate that besides the main protagonist of the work, Aaron, other monks mentioned therein were also venerated locally as saints.

**64–71. Aswan (monastery of St. Hatre). Coptic inscriptions.** L.S. Krastel, "Words for the Living and the Dead: The Coptic Inscriptions of Deir Anba Hadra," in S.C. Dirksen and L.S. Krastel (eds.), *Epigraphy*

*through Five Millennia. Texts and Images in Context* (Wiesbaden 2020) 169–193. Overview of the Coptic epigraphical material from the monastery of St. Hatre, subject of the author’s doctoral dissertation at the Free University of Berlin. After introductory sections on previous research and the DAHP (of which the study of the several hundred Arabic graffiti from the site is most relevant [see also the other summary in 61 above]: the earliest graffiti, left by Muslim visitors, date to the tenth century; *haji*-pilgrims are attested from at least the thirteenth century; and the earliest Arabic graffito by a Christian dates to the fourteenth century), the material is divided into two main groups: funerary stelae and graffiti.

The tombstones (pp. 176–179) were mostly published by H. Munier, “Les stèles coptes du Monastère de Saint-Siméon à Assouan,” *Aegyptus* 11 (1930–1931) 257–300, 433–484 = *SB Kopt.* 1.498–675. Only 130 of the ones he published, however, come with certainty from the monastery, while he missed seven published by Clédât and seven more were found during the recent investigation of the monastery (see Fig. 6 for one of them), for a total of 144 stelae with a certain provenance in the monastery. The author maintains Munier’s division of the main formulary into three types, of which the oldest is now dated to the seventh (not Munier’s sixth) century, the middle one to the eighth century, and the youngest to the ninth (with an outlier in the tenth) century. All of these stelae will receive a fresh new treatment in the forthcoming dissertation (cf. now also the six recently published stelae from the monastery discussed below at 72–77).

There are also about 300 graffiti (pp. 179–181) from the monastic complex, especially the church and the *qasr*, the monks’ living quarters, dating to the tenth-early fifteenth centuries (so essentially from a later time than the stelae). They consist in majority of the standard form: a self-designation, often accompanied by a prayer, and sometimes a date. The author gives the following *dipinto* as a typical example.

64. DAHP no. OT\_120\_S\_018. *Ed. princ.* Krastel, pp. 179–180, Fig. 8 (all texts presented in this article are given in a preliminary transcription with translation and short notes, anticipating a comprehensive treatment in the forthcoming dissertation; some of the exquisite color photos of the inscriptions are enhanced with DStretch). *Dipinto* in black (9 × 12.5 cm) from Room 120 of the *qasr*, south wall. The six-line text is of the  $\alpha\text{NOK}$ -type for one Petros, followed by the prayer  $\pi\text{N}(\text{ΟΥΤ})\epsilon \text{N}\alpha \text{N}\alpha\text{q}$  “God, have mercy on him,” then an Amen and  $\epsilon\text{q}\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$  “so be it” (twice). In l. 3, the patronymic  $\alpha\lambda\chi\alpha\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma$  derives from Archelaos, not Archilaos (see Trismegistos People, Nam\_ID 2205).



The author also discusses several other kinds of texts, such as commemorative graffiti, which follow the formulary of the funerary stelae. Of the ca. 300 graffiti, 30 contain absolute dates (so ca. 10%). She adds a final section (pp. 181–189, nos. 1–7 = **65–71**) presenting a selection of the better preserved ones that, besides the date (from the earliest, 956 CE, to the latest, 1404 CE), also offer important information on the monastery and/or wider issues.

**65.** DAHP no. K\_19\_002. *Ed. princ.* U. Bouriant in J. de Morgan et al., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*, vol. 1 (Vienna 1894) 136, no. 4, 140, no. 1 = J.H.F. Dijkstra and J. van der Vliet, “‘In Year One of King Zachari’: Evidence of a New Nubian King from the Monastery of St. Simeon at Aswan,” *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 8 (2003) 31–39 (repr. in J. van der Vliet, *The Christian Epigraphy of Egypt and Nubia* [London 2018] 243–251) = Krastel, pp. 181–183, no. 1, Figs. 9–10. *Dipinto* in red (22 × 39 cm) from the south wall of the northern aisle of the church. The text, in six lines, commemorates the passing of a member of the monastic community (“our brother”) called Petro. It has a formulary common in commemorative inscriptions and stelae from Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia, consisting of the name of the deceased and date of death (ll. 1–5, introduced here by ΠΕΖΘΟΥ ΝΤΑΦΜΤΟΝ ΜΜ[ΟQ] “the day on which he went to his rest”; note that the beginning of the left part of the second Μ of ΜΜ[ΟQ] is visible and so should be transcribed with a dot, not placed in the lacuna, as the author does), followed by a prayer (ll. 5–6: ΠΧΘΕΙC Ρ ΟΥΝΑ ΜΝ ΤΕQΨΥΧΗ “Lord, have mercy on his soul”). The text is dated according to both the reign of the Nubian King Zachari (ll. 2–3) and the Diocletian era (l. 4). For the historical context, see the article by Dijkstra and Van der Vliet. The main difference with the new text is that Krastel reads the Diocletian year as ΧΘΒ, not ΧΘΗ, changing the date from 962 to 956. We disagree, however, with the suggestion that the phrase ΕQΖΗ ΠΜΑ ΝΨΩ(ΠΕ) ΝΑΠΑ ΖΑΤΡΕ (ll. 3–4) refers specifically to the decorated cave that was incorporated in the monastery (see **63** above), and with Dijkstra and Van der Vliet’s article think it more likely that it refers to the monastery as a whole, cf. *O.Mon.Epiph.* 92.4–5, where it is said of a monk, ΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΖΜ ΠΜΑ ΝΨΩΠΕ | . . . ΝΑΠΑ ΕΠΕΦΑΝΙΟC “who lives in the dwelling place of Apa Epiphanius” (it is not entirely clear what happens before ΝΑΠΑ at the beginning of l. 5; Crum assumes that either some letters were erased or there is nothing there), with the comment by H.E. Winlock and W.E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, vol. 1 (New York 1926) 127 that it refers to the settlement as a whole.

**66.** DAHP no. K\_19\_001. *Ed. princ.* U. Bouriant in J. de Morgan et al., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*, vol. 1 (Vienna 1894) 140, no. 7 = J. Clédat, "Les inscriptions de Saint-Siméon," *RecTrav* 37 (1915) 44, paroi sud d, no. 1 = Krastel, pp. 183–184, no. 2, Fig. 11. *Dipinto* (24 × 54 cm) in seven lines (the last two now lost), located directly left of **65**, also painted in red and just a few years later (962/963 CE). The text is of the **ΑΝΟΚ**-type for one Hileia (ΖΗΛΕΙΑ, a variant of the name ΖΗΛΙΑΣ, see Trismegistos People, Nam\_ID 2929; l. 1). The author transcribes the following patronymic as **ΙΘΟΥΜΗΤΕ**, but the small trace transcribed as an **ι** before the **Θ** has to belong to the filiation formula ("son of"); the name **ΘΟΥΜΗΤΕ** "Thoumete" is likely a variant of Domitios (Trismegistos People, Nam\_ID 2856; cf. a **[ΔΟΜ]ΗCΙΟC** in *SB Kopt.* 1.516.2, a tombstone from the same monastery). The text continues with the common prayer inspired on Luke 23:42, "Remember me, Lord, when you enter your kingdom" (ll. 2–3), then asks the passer-by to say a prayer (cf. **55** above), of which the exact wording is not entirely clear (ll. 3–7; the author's translation of l. 5 is based on the suggested reading in her *apparatus*, not her text, an issue that recurs a couple of times elsewhere). The date, according to the Era of the Martyrs, is written in larger script to the right of l. 6, the horizontal of the last numeral, **Θ**, extending all the way to the space between ll. 2–3 of **65**.

**67.** DAHP no. K\_7\_001. *Ed. princ.* J. Clédat, "Les inscriptions de Saint-Siméon," *RecTrav* 37 (1915) 41–42, paroi ouest = Krastel, pp. 184–185, no. 3, Fig. 13. *Dipinto* in red (80 × 87 cm) from the west wall of the eastern annex of the northern aisle of the church. It is an extended version of an inscription of the **ΑΝΟΚ**-type, covering fifteen lines, for a certain deacon (whose name cannot be read), although it is in fragmentary condition. Above the text, the date according to the Era of the Martyrs is written in larger script (l. 1: **ΩΚϷ**, that is, 1108/1109 CE; note that it is separately copied by U. Bouriant in J. de Morgan et al., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*, vol. 1 [Vienna 1894] 140, no. 3 as **ΩΚΑ**). The rest of the text (ll. 2–15) seems to be boxed in. It starts, after a cross, with the expression **Σὺν Θεῷ** ("With God," better noted as such in the text, rather than in Coptic transliteration with the Greek in the apparatus) and an invocation of "Jesus Christ," then the request "Remember me in charity" (ll. 2–3). Following the self-designation (ll. 3–5), there is a prayer to "God of the spirits and Lord of all flesh" to have mercy on the deacon's soul (in l. 6, and also in l. 12, the author translates **ΝΑΕΡΝΑ** as "will have mercy," but in the context of a prayer the optative **Ε(ΡΕ)**-... **ΝΑ**- is rather to be expected [see Layton, *Coptic Grammar* § 339]; in l. 5, although the

68. DAHP no. OT\_112\_4\_S. *Ed. princ.* J. Clédat, “Les inscriptions de Saint-Siméon,” *RecTrav* 37 (1915) 56 = Krastel, pp. 186–187, no. 4, Fig. 14. *Dipinto* in red (14 × 55 cm) from the stairs leading from the first to second floor of the *qasr*. The text, covering six lines, opens with  $\Phi\bar{\Gamma}$   $\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{A}$   $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{L}$  “God, have mercy on your servant” + the name, Markos (l. 1). In l. 2 follow three adjectives expressing modesty, of which the first,  $\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{\Theta}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{C}$ , is, as the author suggests, most likely a garbled rendering of  $\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{C}$  “the insignificant one” (with the  $\mathfrak{T}$  being a reading error for  $\mathfrak{L}$ ). From l. 3, we learn that he was a priest and monk ( $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{N}$ , from Greek  $\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega\nu$ ; the editor notes  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{N}$  in her text, and the writer indeed started writing  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{N}$  but then corrected the second letter to  $\mathfrak{O}$ ), and also that he was “the son of this monastery” (ll. 3–4). Unlike what is suggested by the author, the latter phrase does not indicate that Markos was donated to the monastery as a child, but is a conventional way of referring to a monk, cf. e.g. *SB Kopt.* 1.348, in the re-edition by R. Dekker and J. van der Vliet, “From Naqada to Esna. A Late Coptic Inscription at Dayr Mari Girgis (Naqada),” *Eastern Christian Art* 5 (2008) 39–41, no. B, l. 5 (repr. in J. van der Vliet, *The Christian Epigraphy of Egypt and Nubia* [London 2018] 237–240), a *dipinto* from Deir el-Fahuri (Esna) dated to 1316 CE. He then asks God to have mercy on him  $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{E}$   $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{Q}$  (read  $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{B}$ ; the editor transcribes  $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{N}(\mathfrak{T})\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{Q}$ , which suggests an abbreviation, but the sequence  $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{O}$  is written, either as a muddled ligature or a ditto correction)  $\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$  “because of the weakness of my nature,” and to forgive him (ll. 4–6). The text concludes with a double “Amen” (l. 6). To the right of the text is the dating according to the Era of Martyrs, 1150/1151 CE (cf. 66 above).

69. DAHP no. OT\_120\_N\_005. *Ed. princ.* Krastel, pp. 187–188, no. 5, Fig. 15. *Dipinto* in black (9 × 20 cm) from the northern wall of Room 120 in the *qasr*. Above the text, comprised of eight lines, is the number

of the Era of the Martyrs (l. 1: 920, that is, 1203 CE), which returns in the more detailed dating formula at the end of the text that also contains a dating to the Era of the Saracens (ll. 6–8). The text starts with a conventional request for prayer (ll. 2–3) and is made for three men (ll. 3–5). The name of the first of them, a priest, is read as  $\pi\rho\alpha\chi\mu\alpha\alpha\lambda\eta$ , which is interpreted as a combination of the Coptic article  $\pi$ - with the Arabic word *raḥmān* “merciful.” It should be noted, however, that the reading of the first part is uncertain and the name unattested. Before the dating clause, in l. 6, is a prayer to God to have mercy and a triple “Amen.”

**70.** DAHP no. OT\_120\_S\_007. *Ed. princ.* Krastel, pp. 188–189, no. 6, Fig. 16. *Dipinto* in black from the south wall of Room 120 in the *qasr*. It is chosen as exemplifying a group of over 30 similar *dipinti* from the same room, seven of which contain a date of 1305/1306 CE, like the present *dipinto*. The three-line text is of the  $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$ -type, for one  $[\alpha]\beta\alpha\alpha\delta\alpha\lambda\alpha$ , that is, the Arabic ‘Abd Allah (ll. 1–2), and contains a brief prayer to God for mercy ( $[\Phi]\top$  can be noted in the text, as the editor suggests in her apparatus) and an “Amen” (l. 3). The text is boxed and outside of it, on the left, the numbers of the year are written above each other.

**71.** DAHP no. K\_31\_001\*. *Ed. princ.* J. Clédat, “Les inscriptions de Saint-Siméon,” *RecTrav* 37 (1915) 45, III–IVb = Krastel, p. 189, no. 7. This *dipinto* of seven lines written in black ink in the sanctuary of the church is no longer extant but constitutes the latest dated text from the monastery, 1404 CE. It is of the  $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$ -type for a certain deacon (name not preserved). Following the self-designation (ll. 1–4) and the date (ll. 5–6), there is the same prayer for mercy and “Amen” as in **70**.

**72–77. Aswan (monastery of St. Hatre). Six Coptic funerary stelae, 8th–9th cent.** *Ed. princ.* A.T.A. Khalil, “Six Coptic Funerary Stelae with the Commemorative Day Formula from the Abou El-Goud Storage Magazine,” *JEA* 105 (2019) 275–283. Edition of six sandstone epitaphs donated by private owners in 1984 and 1985, kept in Luxor temple for a while, and then transferred to the Abou el-Goud storage magazine in Luxor. Even if some of the epitaphs are missing parts, they all follow the typical formulary of the stelae from the monastery of Hatre (see **64–71** above, also with the division of the formulary into three types, roughly dating to the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries) and can thus be assigned to it.

**72.** Reg. no. 320. *Ed. princ.* Khalil, pp. 275–278, no. 1, Fig. 1. Epitaph (27 × 25.3 cm) of the monk Mena. The text is dated to 23 Mecheir in

Diocletian year 582, that is, 17 February 866. It begins with an invocation of Jesus Christ with a cross “fourchée” between **IC** and **XC** (l. 1), and continues with the formula **ΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ** “The day of remembrance” (l. 2), the name and title of the deceased (ll. 3–4), the formula **ΝΤΑΦΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΦ ΝΖΗΤΦ** “on which he went to his rest” (ll. 5–6), and the date (ll. 6–8), to which is added a prayer asking God to give rest to the soul of the deceased in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (ll. 8–12). The text ends with **ΓΕΝΟΙΤΩ ΑΜΗΝ** “So be it, Amen” and a cross, again “fourchée” (l. 13). Small, decorative crosses (✕) are found in the left, right, and lower margins.

**73.** Reg. no. 204, inv. 221. *Ed. princ.* Khalil, pp. 278–279, no. 2, Fig. 2. Epitaph (42.1 × 31.1 cm) of the monk Haron (**ΖΑΡΩΝ**); for this rendering of the name, the same as for the legendary Apa Aaron, who was venerated in the region, see J.H.F. Dijkstra and J. van der Vliet, *The Coptic Life of Aaron: Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary* (Leiden 2020) 174–175. The text contains the characteristic elements: invocation of Christ, with crosses on both sides (l. 1); **ΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ**-formula (ll. 2–4); name of the deceased (ll. 4–7); **ΝΤΑΦΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΦ ΝΖΗΤΦ**-formula (ll. 8–9); date (month and indiction year, ll. 9–10). The date is read as **ΜΗ | ΘΩΘ ΙΘ ΝΔ / Α**; from the photo, it can be corrected to **μη(νός) | Θωθ ιθ** (i)νδ(ικτίωνος) ï, so 16 September of a 10th indiction. The formulary (type 2) indicates that that indiction fell in the eighth century.

**74.** Reg. no. 116, inv. 126. *Ed. princ.* Khalil, pp. 279–280, no. 3, Fig. 3. Epitaph (30 × 30 cm) of the monk Athanasios, of which the formulary conforms to type 2 (eighth century): the invocation of Jesus Christ was probably present at l. 1 (not seen by the editor; all lines go up by one); **ΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ**-formula (ll. 2–3); name and title of the deceased (ll. 3–7); **ΝΤΑΦΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΦ ΝΖΗΤΦ**-formula (ll. 7–9); date (ll. 9–11; 31 August of a 3rd indiction); and an “Amen” (l. 11). Note that in two cases, the stonecutter noted **ϸ** as an **ο** (**ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΟ**, l. 4; **ΠΜΟΝΑΧΟΟ**, ll. 6–7), a reading error.

**75.** Reg. no. 194, inv. 210. *Ed. princ.* Khalil, pp. 280–281, no. 4, Fig. 4. Upper part of the epitaph (23 × 28.4 cm) of a father Gragorios. The text begins with an invocation of Christ (l. 1: **[±] ΙΥ ± ΧΥ ±**), then has the **ΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ**-formula (ll. 2–3), the name of the deceased (ll. 3–6), the **ΝΤΑΦΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΦ ΝΖΗΤΦ**-formula (ll. 6–7), and the first word of the date (l. 8, **ΕΓΡΑΦΗ**). Since the text breaks off here, it is impossible to see whether its formulary belongs to types 2 (eighth century) or 3 (ninth century).

**76.** Reg. no. 106, inv. 116. *Ed. princ.* Khalil, pp. 281–282, no. 5, Fig. 5. Lower part of a funerary stela (28 × 37 cm) for a monk, of whose name only the ending on -OC is preserved at the beginning of l. 2 (of the first line only traces remain). In the same line, the designation “monk” is rendered ΠΜΟΝΟΧΘΟ. Apparently, the stonecutter got confused with the round letters of his model and wrote -ΘΟ instead of -OC, cf. **74** above, ll. 4, 6–7, where C is noted as O. Following the ΝΤΑϞΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟϞ ΝΖΗΤϞ-formula (ll. 3–4), the editor reads the dating formula (ll. 4–7) as ΕΙΓΡΑΦΙ ΦΩΦΙ Θ Ι ΝΔΙΚ/ Ζ ΑΠΟ ΔΙΟΚΛΗ[Δ]ΙΑΝΟΥ ΥΟΘ “Written on 9 Phaophi, the 7th indiction, Diocletian year 479.” But this is impossible, since Diocletian year 479 is a first and not a seventh indiction. Instead of 479, one can read 485 (with a cursive π and an ε similar to the one in l. 3). The reading of the day (θ “9”) is also doubtful: it looks more like an η. The last lines can thus be edited as ἐλγράφη Φαῶφι ἡ Ι ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ζ ἀπὸ Διοκλήτιανοῦ υπε “Written on 8 Phaophi, the 7th indiction, Diocletian year 485,” that is, 5 October 768 CE.

**77.** Reg. no. 321, inv. 345. *Ed. princ.* Khalil, pp. 282–283, no. 6, Fig. 6. Lower part of a funerary stela (22.4 × 32.3 cm). At the end of l. 1, which is very much effaced, the editor appears to see ΖΓΩΜΕΝΟΥ “abbot,” but the reading is far from certain (and the spelling would be odd). After the ΝΤΑϞΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟϞ ΝΖΗΤϞ-formula (ll. 2–3), the date is edited as ΕΓΡΑΦΙ ΘΩΘ Ι Γ ΙΚ/ ΟΓ[Δ]Α ΑΠΟ ΔΙΟΚΛ/ Ι ΥΟΔ “Written on 13 Thoth, the 8th indiction, Diocletian year 474” (ll. 3–5). Here again there is no agreement between the indiction and Diocletian year, as year 474 is an eleventh indiction. From the photo, it is possible to read ἐγράφη Θωθ Ι ιγ (or ιβ?) ἰνδικ(τίωνος) (there is no red paint in the κ and the abbreviation mark) . ἀπὸ Διοκ(λ)η(τιανοῦ) Ι υο . . The number of the indiction year has a round shape (and looks like a θ), but this is not compatible with υοδ. Whatever the exact year, it should fall in the eighth century, as the formulary is of type 2.

**78. Aswan (Qubbet el-Hawa). Greek/Coptic/Arabic inscriptions.** S. Torallas Tovar and A. Zomeño Rodríguez, “Notas sobre la ocupación cristiana de la orilla oeste de Asuán: a propósito de una campaña arqueológica española a orillas del Nilo,” in L.A. García Moreno and E. Sánchez Medina (eds.), *Del Nilo al Guadalquivir: II Estudios sobre las fuentes de la conquista islámica. Homenaje al profesor Yves Modéran* (Madrid 2013) 393–403. Announcement of a project to publish the Greek, Coptic, and Arabic inscriptions (and ostraca) from the monastery of Qubbet el-Hawa, in particular its church (cf. *CIEN* 1.25; see also the earlier brief

notices by S. Torallas Tovar, “Cristianismo en Asuán: nuevos y viejos hallazgos epigráficos en la orilla oeste del Nilo,” *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 7 [2010] 297–299, and S. Torallas Tovar and A. Zomeño, “De nuevo en la orilla oeste del Nilo: tercera campaña en los restos arqueológicos cristianos de Qubbet el-Hawa [Asuán],” *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 8 [2011] 305–308).

**79. Aswan (Qubbet el-Hawa). One Greek and one Coptic inscription with extracts from the Lord’s Prayer, 5th–6th cent.** *Ed. princ.* V. Barba Colmenero and S. Torallas Tovar, “Archaeological and Epigraphic Survey of the Coptic Monastery at Qubbet el-Hawa (Aswan),” in P. Buzi, *Coptic Literature in Context (4th–13th Cent.): Cultural Landscape, Literary Production, and Manuscript Archaeology* (Rome 2020) 149–160. Further study of recently found Christian texts at the site. In the first part (pp. 151–155), two *dipinti* with extracts from the Lord’s Prayer from tomb QH 34aa are edited. The tomb was exposed due to a natural phenomenon at some point in time, after which its shaft gradually filled with sand. The upper part of the shaft was then whitewashed and received a niche in Late Antiquity. The authors interpret the resulting small room (1.2 × 1.3 m) as a chapel or “some sort of oratory.” Since the area was later used as a dumpster for the monastery that was built higher up on the hill, based on the pottery, from the sixth century onwards, the “chapel,” and hence the two inscriptions painted in red on its walls, are dated to the fifth–sixth centuries. The first (ca. 10 × 80 cm), on the north wall, is in Coptic and written in a neat, literary hand. It seems to contain the beginning and end of the Lord’s Prayer (Matt. 6:9, 13). Both verses are surrounded by a thicker red line. Although the photo (Fig. 5) is not sharp enough to make a good judgment, at least a superlinear stroke seems to be missing in ⲙⲡⲏⲏⲉ in l. 1; between the first two letters of ⲉⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ in l. 2 is a *vacat* due to a hole in the wall not indicated in the text. The second (ca. 20 × 150 cm), on the south wall, contains most of Matt. 6:10–13 and is written in a Greek literary hand. The text is again boxed in (ll. 2–3; in l. 2, for ἐν οὐρανὸν read ἐν οὐρανῷ, not noted in the critical apparatus), but Matt. 6:11 was apparently forgotten and written in smaller letters above (l. 1), with an asterisk indicating where the text should go in l. 2. It is unlikely that the scribe started on one wall in Coptic, then continued on the other in Greek, and finally finished again on the first wall in Coptic, as the authors suggest; we are more probably dealing here with two different texts.

The second part (pp. 155–157), though not epigraphical in content, contains important information about the history of the monastery. Of



the ca. 40 Coptic ostraca found in the dumpster (above), two are edited, the first of which, dated by the editors to ca. the seventh century, mentions in ll. 6–7 ΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΓΑΒ ΝΑΠΑ ΖΑΤΡΕ “the holy *topos* of Apa Hatre,” which is not only the first dated reference to that monastery but also reveals that connections existed between the monastery at Qubbet el-Hawa and the one of Hatre.

**80. Eastern Desert (Ain Sukhna). Two Greek *dipinti* on amphora sherds.** P. Tallet et al., “Le matériel inscrit d’Ayn Soukhna (2002–2016),” in G. Castel and P. Tallet (eds.), *Ayn Soukhna IV. Le matériel des galeries-magasins* (Cairo 2020) 1–120. At p. 56, *ed. princ.* by J.-L. Fournet of two *dipinti* on wine amphora sherds consisting of commercial notes (nos. 69 and 70, Pl. 41). They date to the first half of fifth and the sixth centuries, respectively, and were found in Galleries G3 and G1, which were reused by monks at this time.

**81–83. Eastern Desert. Greek/Coptic graffiti.** J. Ciglenečki and B. Zabel, “‘Wady Ghrásheca’: An Unknown Christian Site in Sir Gardner Wilkinson’s Unpublished Manuscripts from the Eastern Desert,” in P. Starkey and J. Starkey (eds.), *Pious Pilgrims, Discerning Travellers, Curious Tourists: Changing Patterns of Travel to the Middle East from Medieval to Modern Times* (Oxford 2020) 92–108 discuss a so far unknown site in the Eastern Desert named “Wady Ghrásheca,” visited by John Gardner Wilkinson in 1823 and described by him in his “Notes on a Part of the Eastern Desert of Upper Egypt,” *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 2 (1832) 37–38 and, in more detail, in his unpublished documents, now kept in the Bodleian Library. The site is located in the vicinity of the Gebel Tenassib (south-west of the monastery of St. Paul). Wilkinson saw there two tombs, potsherds scattered on the ground, some Greek inscriptions, and rock drawings. The site was doubtless in use or at least visited by Christians at some point, as is shown by the crosses around some of the texts, but the nature of the site should be further investigated in the field. A manuscript page with thirteen sketches of texts and figures made by Wilkinson is reproduced at p. 98, Fig. 2. The authors then provide transcriptions only of “those sketches that seem to be relevant for the Christian presence at the site” (pp. 98–99, nos. 1, 4–6, 13), without translations or explanations. However, no. 5 apparently concerns the name Κάσις (transcribed KACIC), which is well attested in Roman documents and probably dates to the first centuries CE (Trismegistos People, Namvar\_ID 31679), while no. 6, written on a sherd found in one of

the tombs, contains the name Imouthes in the genitive, Ἰμούθο[υ (transcribed IMOYΘOY), which indicates that the text is of Ptolemaic or Roman date (Trismegistos People, Nam\_ID 368). We therefore include here only those sketches with a certain Christian content. We have transcribed them as Greek, but for the first two it cannot be said whether they are Greek or Coptic.

**81.** No. 1. Two inscriptions: Μα . σουδος and below a cross with ασιπα written on its right. The interpretation of both texts is uncertain, and the first one does not necessarily have to be Christian.

**82.** No. 4. Two names, between crosses: + Μουσης | Σαμουηλ (transcribed ΣΑΜΟΥΗΛ) +.

**83.** No. 13. A four-line inscription engraved on a block, “placed at the head of a pile of stones, probably another tomb.” The cross at the end shows the Christian nature of the text (transcribed . . . ]Α . ◇ . [ . . . | ΤΟΥ . ΟΓΟΜ | . . . ]ΟΙΒΟΗΘ[ . . . | . . . ]ΠΑCΙ +). One can perhaps read at the end: βοήθη (read βοήθει) πᾶσι “help all.”

**84. Western oases, esp. Kharga Oasis. Christian epigraphy.** J. van der Vliet, “Places of Passage. The Christian Epigraphy of the Western Oases, with a Focus on the Kharga Oasis,” in G. Gabra and H.N. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Alexandria and the Egyptian Deserts* (Cairo 2020) 177–191. Presentation of the Christian epigraphy of the Western oases, in particular of two sites in the Kharga Oasis: Shams el-Din (ancient Mo(u)nesis), in the extreme south, where a large number of Greek graffiti were discovered mainly in the reception room (καθεστήριον) of a small, fourth-century church, and the necropolis of el-Bagawat in the north. Several inscriptions from both sites are translated and commented on. For Shams el-Din, of particular interest are the two graffiti left by Herakleios (*SEG* 26.1786 = 38.1732 and 38.1777), the inscription of the soldier Flavius Makarios, where the expression ἔλαβεν τὴν ἱρήνην(v) “he found peace” probably indicates that he died in the oasis (*SEG* 38.1736), and the longer text left by a military family from the Nile valley, which also mentions two local dignitaries thus weaving the prayer into the local social fabric (*SEG* 38.1776). For the necropolis of el-Bagawat, the author distinguishes between funerary inscriptions, which are quite rare, and graffiti left by visitors. Among the inscriptions of a funerary nature, besides the rather rudimentary Greek funerary stelae (*SEG* 49.2214–2247), particularly noteworthy are the acrostic epitaph of Petechon in verse (*SEG* 38.1704), some liturgical *dipinti* and inscriptions relating to the construction of tombs (e.g. *SEG* 38.1700). Among the

visitors' graffiti, the bulk of them in Coptic and Arabic (cf. *CIEN* 4.49), some in Greek, the author discusses the Coptic *dipinto* of Athanasios, addressed to Jesus Christ and "God of Apa Daniel" (that is, God through the intercession of the Prophet Daniel, who is depicted on the wall), which was probably made by a visitor and not the painter who decorated the chapel, as G. Roquet, "Les graffites coptes de Bagawât (Oasis de Kharga). Remarques préliminaires," *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 76 (1976) 30–31 thought. Another interesting example is a ca. tenth-century inscription containing Arabic elements transcribed into Coptic by Panare and Psate, who fled a certain 'Abū r-Riḡāl over an incident that remains obscure (last edition by E. Cruz-Uribe, P. Piccione, and J. Westerfeld, "Kharga Oasis Coptic Graffiti Project. Preliminary Report of the 2005 Field Season," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 31 [2004] 46–47, no. 5; cf. V. Ghica, "Pour une histoire du christianisme dans le désert occidental d'Égypte," *JSav* [2012] 236). At the end, the author also quotes a Coptic graffito from the church at Umm el-Dabadib, for which see *CIEN* 6.39. As these texts show, the epigraphy of the Western oases is one of people on the move, who do not leave monumental inscriptions, but brief mementoes of their presence, sometimes accompanied by short prayers addressed to God and the persons who will read the texts; in this sense, they constitute social acts as much as testimonies of devotion.

**85. Kharga Oasis. Coptic graffito, 6th–8th cent. Ed. princ.** N. Lazaridis, "Desert Deviations: Massaging Standard Writing Conventions in North Kharga's Ancient Graffiti," in G.E. Bowen and C.A. Hope (eds.), *The Oasis Papers 9: A Tribute to Anthony J. Mills after Forty Years of Research in Dakhleh Oasis. Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project* (Oxford 2019) 127–134 presents some graffiti recorded during the North Kharga Oasis Darb Ain Amur Survey, a successor to the North Kharga Oasis Survey (see *CIEN* 6.35–45) that concentrates on the northern desert track between Kharga and Dakhla and was launched in 2007 (for this survey see e.g. the contribution by S. Ikram to the same volume, pp. 1–8), which display features that deviate from conventional spelling and writing practices, drawing attention to the various factors at play while carving graffiti in a desert environment. Among the examples is one Coptic graffito (23 × 21 cm), found with four other such graffiti at a site called "Copt Rock" (Copt Rock 1, discussed at pp. 131–133, with Pl. 4). The text given does not indicate the line division, and contains errors of spacing and transcription, so we provide a new text here:

Ϡ ΛΝΟΚ  
 ΛΟC ΜΝ  
 ΠΑΛΟΥ ΜΝ  
 ΦΥΛΟ-  
 5 ΘΕΟ[Ϛ]

“I, Los, together with Palou and Phulotheos.” For the names Los, Palou, and Philotheos, see *NB Kopt.* s.v. and Trismegistos People, Nam\_ID 10196, 613 and 3263. The latter two seem rather late, Philotheos not being attested before the sixth century, so the editor’s date (without justification) in the third-fourth centuries is certainly in need of revision, and can better be placed in the sixth-eighth centuries. The editor regards ΦΥΛΟΘΕΟ[Ϛ] (for ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟC) as a “misspelling” due to the name ending on -ΟΥ in the previous line, but, as also remarked in the review article “Recent Research on the Dakhla Oasis” by J.H.F. Dijkstra in *BiOr* 78 (2021) 322, we are in fact dealing here with a case of iotacism, and so it is rather different from the other examples of “deviations” in hieroglyphic/hieratic that are previously discussed.

**86. Dakhla Oasis (Mut el-Kharab). Greek/Coptic inscription on a column base.** G.E. Bowen, “Christianity at Mut al-Kharab (Ancient Mothis), Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt,” in C. Di Biase-Dyson and L. Donovan (eds.), *The Cultural Manifestations of Religious Experience: Studies in Honour of Boyo G. Ockinga* (Münster 2017) 241–248. Among the traces of Christian reuse of the precinct of the temple of Seth at Mut el-Kharab are the architectural elements of a church that once stood here. To an already known Greek inscription on an architrave (*SEG* 26.1724, mentioned at pp. 241–242, with a photo at Fig. 1), an inscription on the base of a column (p. 242, Figs. 2–3), found by the Australian team in 2011, is added, whether Greek or Coptic, which reads ΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΕ, perhaps a name (though unattested).

**87. Dakhla Oasis (Mut el-Kharab). Greek/Coptic inscription on a column base.** G.E. Bowen, “Christianity in Dakheh Oasis: An Archaeological Overview,” in G.E. Bowen and C.A. Hope (eds.), *The Oasis Papers 9: A Tribute to Anthony J. Mills after Forty Years of Research in Dakhleh Oasis. Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project* (Oxford 2019) 367–380. In her archaeological survey of the churches and Christian cemeteries of the Dakhla Oasis, the author mentions at pp. 373–375, the two inscriptions (with a drawing,

Fig. 8a, of the newly found one) from the church of Mut el-Kharab presented in the previous entry (86).

**88. Dakhla Oasis (Ain el-Sabil). Greek graffito on a column, 4th-early 5th cent.** *Ed. princ.* A. Connor, “Appendix 2: A Graffito from a Column at ‘Ain al-Sabil,” in K.A. Bayoumy and M.M. Masoud, “‘Ain al-Sabil in Dakhleh Oasis,” in G.E. Bowen and C.A. Hope (eds.), *The Oasis Papers 9: A Tribute to Anthony J. Mills after Forty Years of Research in Dakhleh Oasis. Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project* (Oxford 2019) 353–365 at 362–364. Preliminary report on the Egyptian excavations of 2009–2011 at Ain el-Sabil, a village located near Ismant el-Kharab (Kellis), focusing on a fourth-century house and the contemporaneous church across the street. On one of its columns, a Greek inscription was found, which is published in Appendix 2. The four-line inscription was incised into the plaster, which has fallen down since the discovery, so that unfortunately the graffito is now lost. The text starts with a εἰς Θεός-acclamation in l. 1. Despite the rather poor photo, the following word can be read as ὁ βοεθ( ) with the θ written above to mark the abbreviation, not the editor’s βοηθ(ων?). For the spelling βοεθ- instead of βοηθ-, see e.g. the stela included under CIEN 7.27, l. 2. As the editor remarks in his commentary, the abbreviations in ll. 2 and 4 are impossible to resolve, and the same should apply to βοεθ( ) in l. 1. Interestingly, the visitor who left the graffito, Alexandros (l. 2), is said, in l. 3, to be an ἀρματοῦρα, that is, Latin *armatura*, an officer in the army responsible for drills (the function is also attested in SEG 38.1776.6 from Shams el-Din in Kharga Oasis, discussed at 84 above). In l. 4, he calls himself δ(ουλ ) Ἰ(η)σ(οῦ) Χρ(ιστοῦ) “servant of Jesus Christ.”

**89. Nubia. Church history.** A. Tsakos, “Sources of the Medieval History of Bishopricks in Nubia,” in N. Kouamé, É.P. Meyer, and A. Viguier (eds.), *Encyclopédie des historiographies: Afrique, Amériques, Asies*, vol. 1 (Paris 2020) 1692–1695. In the absence of proper historiographic sources, the article briefly reviews textual genres relevant for the study of episcopal institutions on the basis of 133 texts listed in the Database of Medieval Nubian Texts (DBMNT, <http://www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl>). In addition to letters and legal documents, these are mainly funerary stelae of bishops and members of their families as well as mural inscriptions, among which the well-known list of bishops of Faras (DBMNT 97; seventh-twelfth centuries). The episcopal hierarchy of medieval Nubia is discussed in more detail in 90 and 100 below.

**90. Nubia. Church history.** W. Godlewski, “Short History of the Church of Makuria (Mid 6th-Early 12th Century),” *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 27 (2018) 599–616. Sketch of the history of the Nubian Church, focusing on the relationships between Church and state, and between Makouria and the Alexandrian patriarchate. In addition to archaeological and external literary sources, inscriptions of various kinds (lists, epitaphs, legends and mural *dipinti*) occupy an important place in the fairly lacunose historical record and are frequently cited. For the inscription commemorating a convention of Nubian bishops in Dongola, in either the early ninth or the late tenth century, discussed at pp. 608–609, see now **100** below.

**91. Nubia. Cult of Michael.** M. Łaptaś, “The Position of the Archangel Michael within the Celestial Hierarchy: Some Aspects of the Manifestation of His Cult in Nubian Painting,” in I.S. Gilhus, A. Tsakos, and M.C. Wright (eds.), *The Archangel Michael in Africa: History, Cult and Persona* (London 2019) 95–107. Primarily iconographic study of the various roles assigned to Michael in medieval Nubia. In so far as epigraphic sources are cited, these qualify Michael as celestial commander-in-chief (ἀρχιστράτηγος, p. 97) and a protective power (pp. 105–106).

**92. Nubia. Cult of Michael.** D. Zielińska and A. Tsakos, “Representations of the Archangel Michael in Wall Paintings from Medieval Nubia,” in I.S. Gilhus, A. Tsakos, and M.C. Wright (eds.), *The Archangel Michael in Africa: History, Cult and Persona* (London 2019) 79–94. Inventory of iconographic data from wall paintings related to the Archangel Michael in the framework of a projected “Corpus of Wall Paintings from Medieval Nubia.” Out of 75 presumed representations of Michael, 19 are securely identified by legends, which are listed here (pp. 81–84), together with the appropriate bibliography.

**93. Nubia. Dynastic history.** W. Godlewski, “Makuria in the Middle of the 12th Century,” *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 28 (2019) 465–478. The author tries to unravel the complicated political situation in Nubia in the mid-twelfth century, when a personal union associated Makouria to the southern state of Arwa (Alwa), on the basis of various documents from Qasr Ibrim and the Greek-Old Nubian funerary stela of King George (V), who died in Egypt in September 1157 (most recent edition by V. van Gerven Oei, “The Old Nubian Memorial for King George,” in A. Łajtar and J. van der Vliet [eds.], *Nubian Voices: Studies*

in *Christian Nubian Culture* [Warsaw 2011] 225–262). His main witness, however, is a Greek-Old Nubian *dipinto* from the cathedral at Faras (see *CIEN* 6.68). This inscription appears to give the pedigree of a King Moses George, mentioning as his ancestors Maraña George, Zacharias, and a King David. Against the common understanding of the text, the author defends the thesis that the names Moses and George (juxtaposed in l. 2) refer to two different kings who were co-regents of Makouria and Arwa, the second being either George V or a younger George VI. The translation given at p. 471 is difficult to accept, however, even if one might be tempted to read in l. 2: ΜΩΥΣΗΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΝΟΥΒΑΔΙΩΤΩΝ “Moses, son of King George, (king) of the Noubadians.” This (not unproblematic) reading would distinguish two individuals, Moses and George, but contradicts the author’s tentative reconstruction of the dynastic succession (as outlined at p. 467, Fig. 1).

**94. Nubia. Epigraphic use of literary texts.** A. Łajtar, “Literary Manuscripts and Writing Supports in Christian Nubia in Context. Three Case Studies: Qasr Ibrim, Faras, Dongola,” in P. Buzi (ed.), *Coptic Literature in Context (4th-13th Cent.): Cultural Landscape, Literary Production, and Manuscript Archaeology* (Rome 2020) 183–209. A review of literary, liturgical and biblical texts (in Greek, Coptic and Old Nubian) discovered in three major Nubian archaeological sites. The texts, split up according to genre, language and support, are presented in useful tables and lists at pp. 196–204. As it appears, and as is amply confirmed by the present bulletin (e.g. **101–103** and **104–132**), these show the prominent role of inscriptions, most often *dipinti* on plastered wall surfaces, as a medium for copying so-called literary texts in Nubia. Even if these texts are not always strictly spoken liturgical originally, their spatial context (including funerary space) usually is (cf. J. van der Vliet, “Literature, Liturgy, Magic: A Dynamic Continuum,” in P. Buzi and A. Camplani [eds.], *Christianity in Egypt: Literary Production and Intellectual Trends* [Rome 2011] 555–574).

**95. Nubia. Rock graffiti.** T. Karberg, “Rock Art,” in D. Raue (ed.), *Handbook of Ancient Nubia*, vol. 1 (Berlin 2019) 1051–1067. General overview of Nubian rock art, in which under common Christian motifs depictions of churches are briefly discussed at p. 1062.

**96. Tafa (Taphis) and Kalabsha (Talmis). Greek/Coptic funerary stelae.** D. Salvoldi, “(Re)Constructing the Religious Landscape of Nubia



in the Early Nineteenth Century,” in R. Häussler and G.F. Chiai (eds.), *Sacred Landscapes in Antiquity: Creation, Manipulation, Transformation* (Oxford 2019) 419–427. Study of the perception of the Christian and Islamic monuments of Nubia in the writings of early nineteenth-century European travelers. An unpublished manuscript by W.J. Bankes (1786–1855), cited at pp. 423–424, confirms the provenance, postulated on typological grounds by the editors, of the epitaphs *CIEN* 3.26–29 (from Tafa and Kalabsha). *CIEN* 3.28 can now be assigned more precisely to Tafa. Fig. 33.5 shows Bankes’ copy of *CIEN* 3.27, from Kalabsha.

**97. Faras (Pachoras). Two figural *dipinti* and an Old Nubian prayer, ca. 11th–15th cent.** *Ed. princ.* P. Makowski, “In Search of Nubian Master-Builders: An Architectural Drawing from the Cathedral in Faras,” with an appendix by V.W.J. van Gerven Oei, “Prayer of a Young Woman,” *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 25 (2016) 809–832. Study of a small group of *dipinti* in the interior of the cathedral of Faras (now in the National Museum at Khartoum) consisting of an imperfect sketch of a male figure, a geometrical composition interpreted as a church plan (already by K. Michałowski, *Faras: Die Kathedrale aus dem Wüstensand* [Zürich 1967] 65) and, above the latter, a four-line text in Old Nubian (pp. 817–820, with Fig. 4: an archival photo and a drawing showing its present state). The first author discusses depictions of churches from Nubia and elsewhere (pp. 820–824) as well as the epigraphic evidence for Nubian architects (pp. 810–812), but as he himself admits (p. 821) is unable to provide any convincing parallel, and it seems more likely that we are dealing here with a set of  $2 \times 3$  crosses decorated with small circles within a box. In an appendix (pp. 826–827), V.W.J. van Gerven Oei offers the *editio princeps* of the Old Nubian text (presumably after the photo of Fig. 4), which in spite of considerable difficulties of interpretation may plausibly be read as the prayer of a girl not to be married to her maternal uncle. The text runs thus:

ΕΙ ΔΙΓΡ̄ΤΙ ΓΑ[Π]ΕΙΝ ΔΝ̄ΕΣΩ  
ΔΙΓΡ̄ΤΙ ΓΑΘΙ ΓΑΠ̄ΚΑ ΑΛ[ΛΑ]  
ΟΝ ΤΑΡΙ ΓΑΠ̄ΚΑ ΜΑΛΛΑ  
ΓΙΝΝΑ ΕΙΤΤΑ ΑΙΓΑΡΑ ΤΤΑΜΗ

It is translated by the editor as: “Oh testament of sin, give to me. Do not cause me to be the wife of (my) maternal uncle, binding (me) to the testament of exulted sin and turning me to the blessing of sin.” The editor

points to similarities with a graffito in the temple of Wadi el-Sabu'a (re-edited by G.M. Browne, "Griffith's Old Nubian Graffito 4," *ÉtTrav* 17 [1995] 17–21) and provides an extensive grammatical commentary. All in all, the connection between the three *dipinti*, assumed by the first author, remains undemonstrated.

**98. Dongola. Inscriptions as witnesses to literary culture.** A. Łajtar, "Literacy in Christian Nubia: Perspectives from the Polish Mission in Dongola," *Sudan & Nubia* 24 (2020) 5–23. A discussion of medieval Nubian literary culture, illustrated by finds from the Polish excavations at the capital city of Dongola (see also **94** above). Given the nature of the finds, which hardly include manuscripts on perishable material, inscriptions, usually on stone and plaster, in Greek, Coptic, and Old Nubian occupy an important place in the textual record. In addition to mural inscriptions of a predominantly ecclesiastical character, including legends and dedications of wall paintings, liturgical texts, and prayers left by visitors, these comprise epitaphs as well as texts on various objects, such as pottery and elements of church furniture. Among unpublished items illustrated and discussed are the Greek graffiti of the clerics Gourronga (commemorative church of St. Anna; Fig. 7) and Doureri (Dourere; North Church, both in the Monastery on Kom H; Fig. 8), both of whom are also known from graffiti at Banganarti (see **133** below, nos. 674 and 9, respectively). Finally, school texts, exemplified by exercises from the walls of the church of the Monastery on Kom H (Fig. 16), are a clear indication of the value placed on Greek-style education until the very end of Nubian Christian culture.

**99. Dongola. Greek/Old Nubian dedicatory inscription on a censer, ca. 8th-10th cent.?** *Ed. princ.* M. Wyzgoł, "A Decorated Bronze Censer from the Cathedral in Old Dongola," *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 26 (2017) 773–786. Study of a bronze censer decorated with the busts of Christ and three anonymous apostles (?), discovered in 1968 in the cathedral of Dongola. The rim bears an incised dedicatory inscription, for the decipherment of which the editor thanks A. Łajtar and V. van Gerven Oei. Regrettably, the inscription cannot be properly read from the photos and no facsimile is given. As rendered in the publication, it seems to run: + σὺχαριστή(ριον) (read εὐχαριστήριον) προσένεγκ(ε) (rather than προσένεγκ(ον) as in the *ed. princ.*; read προσήνεγκ(ε)) τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Πέτρου) Δ'Λ'ΔΥΔΥ'Τ'ΤΛΛΚ'Ο'Α. The last group is not unproblematic, yet must contain the name of the donor, for which we

follow Van Gerven Oei's interpretation as  $\Delta\{\Upsilon\}\Delta\Upsilon\tau(1)\tau\bar{\alpha}\lambda\kappa\omicron\alpha$  "Dauti (David) (whom) God has" (at p. 777). We prefer to separate the initial group,  $\Delta\lambda'$ , however, and read it as  $\delta(o\tilde{o})\lambda(o\varsigma)$  "servant." The inscription may then be translated as: "Votive offering presented to the (church of the) holy apostle Peter by his servant Dauti (whom) God has," with a not uncommon *genitivus pro dativo*. The Dongola cathedral may therefore have been dedicated to St. Peter. The editor dates the censer on stylistic grounds to between the sixth and tenth centuries. The Nubian name suggests a date in the latter half of his period.

**100. Dongola. Greek commemorative *dipinto*, early 9th/late 10th cent.**  
*Ed. princ.* T. Derda and A. Łajtar, "Organization of the Church in Medieval Nubia in the Light of a Newly Discovered Wall Inscription in Dongola," *JÖB* 69 (2019) 135–154. A *dipinto* of eight lines (23 × 72 cm) inscribed in neat and formal uncials in the southern *pastophorium* of Church B.V, situated on the citadel of Dongola (Figs. 1–3). The text, discovered in 2016, commemorates the consecration or renovation of the church in question by Aaron, metropolitan archbishop (of Dongola), on 24 Choiak (20 or 21 December) of an unspecified year in the reign of a King George (ll. 1–4). The verb used to designate the event ( $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ , l. 1) does not allow us to decide whether it refers to the consecration or a later renovation of the church. The text additionally attests the presence of eight other Nubian bishops, John of Faras, Adam of Upper Ounger ( $\text{Ἀνω Οὐγγερ}$ ), Chael of Sai, Menas of Phrim (Qasr Ibrim), Mark of Kurte, and three more, another Menas, Christodoulos, and Ignatius, whose dioceses cannot be deciphered anymore (ll. 4–8). The bishops are said to have convened for seven days, undoubtedly for a local synod, which is said to have taken place in "inutterable" ( $\alpha\nu\epsilon\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$ , l. 5) splendor (?; cf. p. 141).

The inscription has an obvious importance for the history of the Nubian Church and its territorial organization, still imperfectly known (see also **89** and **90** above), but its interpretation is hampered by the missing names of three of the dioceses and the impossibility of locating Upper Ounger (the editors tend to place it between Dongola and Sai, but their argument is hardly compelling). The date of the inscription is also problematic. The simultaneous mention of a bishop of Faras, John, and a King George narrows down the options to either the years 802–ca. 815 or 999–1002. The latter date seems more probable, but the former cannot be ruled out, in particular since it would fit the presumable date of the construction of the church.

**101–103. Dongola. Greek/Old Nubian excerpts from Psalms, 12th cent. or later.** *Ed. princ.* V.W.J. van Gerven Oei and A. Łajtar, “Three Bilingual Greek-Old Nubian Psalms from Dongola (DP 2–4),” *Orientalia* 89 (2020) 287–316. Three bilingual *dipinti* from the annexes of the Monastery on Kom H, in the northern suburbs of Dongola. (The *siglum* DP is left unexplained.) No. 1 (DP 2) = **101** is situated in the Southwest Annex, which may have had a special significance for women (cf. *CIE*N 7.44); nos. 2–3 (DP 3–4) = **102–103** are located in two different rooms of the Northwest Annex, which had a primarily commemorative function. All three inscriptions are heavily damaged.

**101.** DP 2. *Ed. princ.* Van Gerven Oei and Łajtar, pp. 289–294, no. 1. Ps. 29:2–13 (19 × 35 cm) with the verses partly in Greek, partly in Old Nubian, beginning with Greek. The alternation, marked by strokes, corresponds to logical units in the text, but not to the verses of the Septuagint text or the lines of the inscription.

**102.** DP 3. *Ed. princ.* Van Gerven Oei and Łajtar, pp. 294–300, no. 2. Ps. 96:7–12 (12.5 × 44 cm) with each verse given alternately (and completely) in Greek and Old Nubian (in that order). Again the versification is different from that of the Septuagint text and does not coincide with the lines of the inscription either.

**103.** DP 4. *Ed. princ.* Van Gerven Oei and Łajtar, pp. 300–309, no. 3. The complete text of Ps. 127 (13.5 × 49 cm) with alternate verses in Greek and Old Nubian, as in the previous text (ll. 1–11). It is followed by a damaged colophon (ll. 12–14) that mentions several names, including those of the Archangels Michael, Gabriel and Raphael. At the end of l. 7, the name of the scribe, Ioanes (Ἰω[ά]νου), can most likely be found.

The texts must have been related to the liturgical function of the rooms in each case and the linguistic alternation is plausibly connected with a practice of antiphonal singing (pp. 309–310). The Old Nubian parts of the texts are accompanied by an extensive grammatical annotation. The language shares a significant number of features with other Old Nubian Psalm excerpts, most notably the use of the “expanded genitive” and a close adherence to Greek word order. According to the editors, the stylistic features of the Old Nubian Psalms would point to a rather late date of translation, presumably around the turn of the twelfth century (pp. 313–314).

**104–132. Baganarti. Greek mural inscriptions, mainly liturgical, ca. 7th–11th cent.** A. Deptuła, *Liturgical Poetry in Christian Nubia: The*

*Evidence of Wall Inscriptions in the Lower Church at Banganarti* (Leuven 2020). Edition of 29 inscriptions, nearly all *dipinti*, from the walls of the so-called Lower Church at Banganarti, about 10 km south of Dongola. This church, itself the successor of an earlier one, was razed to a height of almost three meters in the eleventh century, to lay the foundations for the far better preserved Upper Church (see **133** below). The surviving pieces of plastered walls bear the extremely fragmentary texts presented here. All but one (no. 12 = **115**) appear in *editio princeps*.

**104.** No. 1. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, pp. 11–13, Fig. 5. Prayer (4 × 31 cm) in two lines, to “preserve” (ἐδιατήρησον for διατήρησον) in peace a priest (ιερεύς) Antony; eighth-ninth centuries.

**105.** No. 2. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, p. 13, Fig. 5. Graffito (3.5 × 21 cm) left by another (?) Antony; eighth-ninth centuries.

**106.** No. 3. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, p. 14, Fig. 6. List (3 × 4.5 cm) of the first three archangels; eighth-ninth centuries.

**107–108.** Nos. 4–5. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, pp. 15–16, Figs. 7–8. Unidentified fragments (the second 13.3 × 5.6 cm); ninth-tenth centuries.

**109.** No. 6. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, pp. 16–18, Fig. 9. Fragmentary prayer (?; 10 × 41 cm) mentioning the martyrs; ninth-tenth centuries.

**110–111.** Nos. 7–8. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, pp. 19–20. Unidentified fragments (6 × 4 and 8 × 49 cm); ninth-eleventh centuries.

**112–114.** Nos. 9–11. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, pp. 20–21, Figs. 10–12. Fragmentary legends (4 × 8, 4 × 8, 46 × 20 cm); eighth-ninth centuries.

**115.** No. 12. *Ed. princ.* A. Łajtar, “Wall Inscriptions in the Banganarti Churches: A General Note after Three Seasons of Work,” *JJP* 33 (2003) 158–159 = Deptuła, pp. 22–23, Fig. 13. Prayers (19 × 30 cm) for King Zacharias; eighth century. As the Archangel Raphael is invoked (l. 11), it is likely that the Lower Church, like its successor (for which see **133** below), was dedicated to Raphael.

**116.** No. 13. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, pp. 23–25, Fig. 14. Fragmentary prayer (10 × 28 cm) for King Abraham; eighth-ninth centuries.

**117.** No. 14. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, pp. 26–27, Fig. 15. Fragmentary invocation of the Holy Trinity; eighth century.

**118.** No. 15. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, pp. 27–31, Fig. 17. Prayer (10 × 35 cm) for Abba Kyros; tenth-eleventh centuries. The prayer addresses “the God of the holy martyr George” (l. 1), who may have been depicted on a nearby wall painting (Fig. 16). Curiously, this Abba Kyros, whose faith in the Holy Trinity is praised and who may have been a bishop, is called σιδηροκόπος “blacksmith” (l. 2), perhaps to be taken in a metaphorical sense, as the editor suggests.

**119.** No. 16. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, p. 31, Fig. 18. Fragmentary legends (6.5 × 1.5 cm); sixth-seventh centuries.

**120.** No. 17. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, pp. 32–33, Fig. 19. Prayer for a priest (πρ(εσβύτερος)) Angelophoros; ninth-tenth centuries.

**121.** No. 18. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, p. 34, Fig. 20. Fragmentary legends, ninth-tenth centuries.

**122.** No. 19. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, pp. 35–50, Fig. 22. Two hymns (15 × 51 cm) connected with Great Lent; tenth-eleventh centuries.

**123–124.** Nos. 20–21. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, pp. 50–53, Figs. 23 and 25. Unidentified prayers (?; 25 × 20 and 8 × 42 cm); tenth-eleventh centuries.

**125.** No. 22. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, pp. 54–67, Fig. 26. Two hymns (19 × 68 cm), most probably for Lazarus Saturday, the last Saturday before Holy Week; tenth-eleventh centuries.

**126.** No. 23. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, pp. 67–68, Fig. 27. Graffito (12 × 33 cm) left by a Zacharias; eighth-ninth centuries.

**127.** No. 24. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, pp. 68–86, Fig. 28). List of incipits of Psalms and hymns (39 × 30 cm); tenth-eleventh centuries.

**128.** No. 25. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, pp. 86–96, Fig. 29. *Troparia* (10 × 45 cm), probably for Palm Sunday; tenth-eleventh centuries.

**129.** No. 26. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, pp. 96–97, Fig. 31. Fragmentary legend (4 × 8 cm); tenth-eleventh centuries.

**130–131.** Nos. 27–28. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, pp. 97–98, Figs. 32–33. Names of the Archangels Michael, abbreviated, and Raphael, as a monogram (9 × 17 and 9 × 6 cm); tenth-eleventh centuries.

**132.** No. 29. *Ed. princ.* Deptuła, pp. 98–113, Fig. 34. Hymn (30 × 65 cm) connected with Great Lent; tenth-eleventh centuries.

The main focus of this richly illustrated and documented edition is on the long liturgical texts (nos. 19 = **122**, 22 = **125**, 24 = **127**, 25 = **128** and 29 = **132**), which are discussed in great detail and with exemplary erudition. The collection importantly attests to the persistence of the early Byzantine liturgical tradition in medieval Nubia. Liturgical scholars may regret the absence of indices.

**133. Banganarti. Greek/Old Nubian mural inscriptions, ca. 13th–14th cent.** A. Łajtar, *A Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre in Nubia: The Evidence of Wall Inscriptions in the Upper Church at Banganarti* (Leuven 2020). Monumental edition of an ensemble of 968 inscriptions, for the greater part in *editio princeps*, found on the walls of the so-called Upper Church at Banganarti (for a preliminary publication, see *CIEN* 3.33–53).

The edition of the inscriptions (pp. 93–566) is preceded by a synthetic study of the formal and historical aspects of the texts (pp. 3–89) and followed by indices and over 140 color plans and plates. The presentation of the texts follows a topographical order, and their position within the church building and in relation to each other is carefully mapped. The editions are accompanied by rich and pertinent commentaries and in many cases also by facsimiles.

The church in question was built as the successor of an earlier church (the Lower Church; see **104–132** above), presumably in the later eleventh century. It was almost certainly dedicated to the Archangel Raphael and must have had a particular significance for the Makourian monarchy, since royalty figures prominently in the wall paintings of the church. Only ten inscriptions can be connected with the original decoration of the church (painted legends and dedicatory texts, mostly much damaged). The remainder consists of visitors' inscriptions, left by clergy as well as civil functionaries, including some kings, apparently on festive occasions (discussion of titles, pp. 67–74; mentions of feasts, pp. 56–57). The editor persuasively argues that most of them were inscribed by the principals (the patrons of the texts) themselves rather than made on order by local scribes (p. 79). Most of the visitors appear to come from nearby Dongola, but some came from as far afield as Faras (no. 646) and Silmi (Qasr Ibrim, no. 257) in Noubadia. Several are known from elsewhere, such as the clerics Gourronga (no. 674) and most likely also Dourere (Doureri; no. 9 and more often), who left graffiti in Dongola (see **98** above). Dourere was an official (ⲉⲡⲣⲱⲗ) of King Siti, who occurs in various other inscriptions (see no. 276) and is known to have reigned in the 1330s. Another king attested in the graffiti is King Paper, who in no. 67, a Greek prayer for grace and salvation, is called τοῦ γρρ(οὔλ) πόλ(εως) βασιλ(εὸς) βρέφ(ος) “junior (?) king of the city of Dongola” (l. 4), and may have been one of the last Christian sovereigns of the region. Below Paper's prayer, an interesting scene representing two mounted horsemen is found, which may be contemporaneous (Fig. 90; see also **134** below).

The language of the inscriptions is Greek and Old Nubian or a mixture of both, but with a clear preponderance of Greek (pp. 19–30). Arabic and Coptic are only marginally and doubtfully attested. One inscription, published previously, is in Provençal (no. 669, left by a certain Beneseg). The Old Nubian occasionally shows the lexical influence of a local (Dongolawi) substratum. It is perhaps to be regretted that the use of different type fonts in the edition (accented minuscules for Greek elements and Coptic-type majuscules for Nubian ones) disrupts the visual and



conceptual unity of the “mixed” texts, which all use the same script (late Nubian majuscules). This is compensated up to a degree by the numerous facsimiles and photos. Figural graffiti are not studied for their own sake (for these, see 134), but playful writings are discussed at pp. 18–19.

The nature of the inscriptions varies from a cross followed by only the first letter of a name (e.g. nos. 518 and 526) or a simple ἐγώ/αι “I,” without a following name (e.g. no. 206), to more extensive presentational formulae that beyond names and titles may comprise statements referring to the writing act itself (often γράψον or παισελο “I wrote [this]”) or brief prayers or acclamations, such as e.g. no. 672: + Παφαήλ θ(ε)έ, διαφύλαξον “+ God of Raphael, keep (me) safe.” More ambitious inscriptions contain quotes from Psalms or, more often, hymnic compositions in honor of the Archangel Raphael, some of them referring to the events related in the book of Tobit (pp. 37–41). Thus a whole series of inscriptions opens with ἐγώ εἰμι Παφαήλ ὁ παριστάμενος ἐνώπιον κυρίου (in various spellings) “I am Raphael, who is standing before the Lord” (cf. Tob. 12:15), sometimes abbreviated to the *incipit* ἐγώ εἰμι Παφαήλ “I am Raphael.” In a similar way, a prayer addressing the Virgin Mary echoes Greek *theotokia* (no. 181). Such hymnic graffiti quite probably reflect practices of communal singing by pilgrims during celebrations on site.

The piety of the pilgrims was clearly, though not exclusively, focused on the Archangel Raphael, the probable patron of the church (pp. 45–55). The texts frequently open with the invocation “God of Raphael” (an example was quoted above). Reference may be made to Raphael’s healing role in Tobit, but he also receives unique epithets such as “arch-bridal gift” (ἀρχιέδνα, in no. 621) or “arch-intellect” (ἀρχινοῦς), the latter connected with his professed role as a teacher (no. 393, cf. p. 48). As the editor aptly remarks, the audience addressed by the texts is always the supernatural. Different from earlier Egyptian graffiti, there is no overt interaction with the living human readers of the text (as would be apparent from addresses or requests). In an exceptional case, no. 960, a cleric of a church in Dongola appears to have inscribed a prayer for the eternal rest (designated as ἀναψύξις “refreshment”) of a “great notary,” perhaps the notary and “royal letter writer,” βασιλέως ἐπιστ(ολο)γράφος, Phorou, commemorated in the nearby text no. 958.

The ensemble of the inscriptions presents a panoramic view of Nubian elite culture during the last phases of the Makourian kingdom in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, when Church and state institutions and a literate culture inherited from Late Antique Mediterranean models were still

vigorously alive. The texts are presented and discussed in an exemplary way and the volume makes a major contribution to the field of graffiti studies.

**134. Banganarti. Figural and textual graffiti, ca. 13th-14th cent.**

B. Żurawski, “Discourses with the Holy: Text and Image Graffiti from the Pilgrimage Churches of Saint Raphael the Archangel in Banganarti, Sudan,” in G. Emberling and S. Davis (eds.), *Graffiti as Devotion along the Nile and beyond* (Ann Arbor 2019) 87–104. In its focus on the figural graffiti of the churches of Banganarti, the article nicely supplements the publications reviewed above (104–132 and 133). Textual and figural graffiti seem to be contemporaneous and in some cases were possibly meant to interact. The figural graffiti are concentrated in the western part of the Upper Church, near the entrances, and usually depict animals, most often camels, but also a boat and several human figures. In the Lower Church, a single (fragmentary) figure of an angel survives (Fig. 6.12). Playful writings of the name of Raphael, discussed also in 133 above, pp. 18–19, have the capital Φ inscribed with a pair of eyes (Fig. 6.8; see 133, no. 249) or provided with wings (Fig. 6.9; 133, no. 953). Examples of figural graffiti include: two mounted horsemen neighboring (and perhaps related to) the inscription of the Dongolan King Paper (Fig. 6.7; 133, nos. 67–69); graffiti of a pilgrim carrying a staff and a bag and a warrior bearing a spear and a shield, the former associated by the author with the Arabic name Ali (ألي) written underneath (Fig. 6.10; 133, nos. 951–952, where the discussion is more cautious); and various animal depictions discussed at pp. 96–98, such as those of an oryx and a giraffe (Fig. 6.11; 133, nos. 757–758), whereas Fig. 6.13 shows an animal hunt. The author ends with a discussion of the Provençal graffiti of Beneseg (pp. 99–100; 133, no. 669) and some broader historical conclusions.

**135. el-Kurru. Figural graffiti.** S. Davis and G. Emberling, “Graffiti

at El-Kurru: The Funerary Temple,” in G. Emberling and S. Davis (eds.), *Graffiti as Devotion along the Nile and beyond* (Ann Arbor 2019) 25–38. Presentation of the graffiti from the funerary temple of el-Kurru (Ku. 1500), which was built in the fourth century BCE. With a sole exception, all of them are found in the two outer rooms (Rooms 1 and 2) of the building. 643 “graffiti” are mentioned, but of these 408 are actually holes or gouges, which are usually treated separately from graffiti. Among the 235 figural graffiti, some Christian graffiti are mentioned, in particular one that is interpreted as the representation of a church (p. 34, no. T 41,

Fig. 2.14), which is also included in the catalogue of select graffiti at the end of the volume (p. 163).

**136. el-Kurru. Boat graffiti.** B.B. Williams, “Boat Graffiti on the El-Kurru Pyramid,” in G. Emberling and S. Davis (eds.), *Graffiti as Devotion along the Nile and beyond* (Ann Arbor 2019) 39–58 briefly discusses the predominantly Christian graffiti from pyramid Ku. 1 at el-Kurru, situated 100 m to the west of the funerary temple (see previous entry) and constructed at about the same time, before embarking on a detailed description of the largest group, boats, dividing them into three types and concluding on the basis of parallels that they date to the Christian period. Again, a selection of graffiti, including sixteen boats (nos. P 1–16), can be found in the catalogue that concludes the volume (pp. 178–189).

**137. Gebel el-Ain and Wadi Abu Dom. Graffiti.** J. Eger and T. Karberg, “Medieval Presence at the Periphery of the Nubian State of Makuria: Examples from the Wadi Abu Dom and the Jebel al-Ain,” *Dotawo* 6 (2019) 149–174 review the medieval presence in two locations, the Gebel el-Ain (situated ca. 240 km south-west of Debba) and the Wadi Abu Dom. The latter, surveyed in the “Wadi Abu Dom Itinerary” (WADI) project (2009–2016), has revealed Christian evidence, including rock art and inscriptions, especially in the area around the monastery of Ghazali (see esp. pp. 156–157). In the more remote Gebel el-Ain a church, probably belonging to a monastery, was discovered in 2011, with figural graffiti and an as yet unpublished textual graffito on its walls (pp. 165–166).

**138. Wadi Abu Dom. Rock graffiti.** T. Karberg, “The Rock Art Landscape of the Wadi Abu Dom, Northern Sudan,” in S.C. Dirksen and L.S. Krastel (eds.), *Epigraphy through Five Millennia: Texts and Images in Context* (Wiesbaden 2020) 113–128. Survey of the rock art recorded during the WADI project, of which Christian graffiti are mostly found in the vicinity of the Ghazali monastery (137 above). A particularly rich cluster consists of site nos. 40 and 42 (with 75), where Christian motifs, such as crosses, the representation of a church and a rider figure (pp. 118–119, Figs. 8–10) have been incised, as well as Coptic/Greek inscriptions (see next entry).

**139–143. Wadi Abu Dom. Coptic/Greek rock graffiti.** *Ed. princ.* A. Tsakos, “Inscriptions in Greek Script on Rock Outcrops in the Wadi Abu Dom,” in A. Lohwasser, T. Karberg and J. Auenmüller (eds.), *Bayuda*

*Studies. Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Archaeology of the Bayuda Desert in Sudan* (Wiesbaden 2018) 171–182. Publication of the rock inscriptions recorded at various sites near the monastery at Ghazali in the context of the WADI project (for which see, in addition to the studies 137–138 above, the detailed report “The Wadi Abu Dom Itinerary (W.A.D.I.) Survey Project” by T. Karberg and A. Lohwasser in the same volume, pp. 3–120).

**139.** Site 40, Boulder 1, Feature 40-1. *Ed. princ.* Tsakos, pp. 173–174, Fig. 1. Juxtaposed  $\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  and  $\chi\pi\theta$  (the monogram for Michael) are vague but legible on the photo;  $\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  is plausibly interpreted as Coptic and may perhaps be completed as  $[\beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota] \epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  “Help us.”

**140.** Site 40, Boulder 2, Feature 40-2. *Ed. princ.* Tsakos, pp. 174–176, Fig. 2. One line of Greek text:  $\text{Μιχαήλ, ἐγὼ Ἐνὼχ}$  “Michael! I, Enoch”; immediately below, perhaps a blundered repetition of the same line:  $\text{Μιχαήλ, <Ε>νὼχ}$ . At the top, right, again the name Michael; beneath, what look like three crosses “potent,” and, upside down, the name  $\text{Ἰὰνλ}$  “Yael,” another archangel.

**141.** Site 40, Boulder 3, Feature 40-3. *Ed. princ.* Tsakos, pp. 176–177, Fig. 3 (needs to be turned 90°). The name Michael, incomplete and written over two lines.

**142.** Site 40, Boulder 4, Feature 40-6. *Ed. princ.* Tsakos, p. 177, Fig. 4. Perhaps a name  $\text{ἸϞΟΥ}$ , Jesus, but not well legible from the photo.

At p. 178, Fig 5, the author discusses Site 42, where on a single rock inscribed with various non-textual motifs (including the church and rider mentioned at 138 above), the author suggests that there could be a Christogram above one of the crosses. We cannot discern it on the photo (or the better one in T. Karberg, “Die Felskunst im unteren Wadi Abu Dom,” *Der Antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 20 [2009] 137 [Fig. 11]), however, and have not given it a separate number.

**143.** Site 50. *Ed. princ.* Tsakos, pp. 179–180, Figs. 6–7. Two different boulders; on the first:  $\text{ΔΙΑΚ'}$ , the title “deacon”; on the second, the editor doubtfully reads  $\text{ΚΥ}$ , a form of  $\text{κύριος}$ , which cannot be verified on the photo, however.

**144. Area of the Fourth and Fifth Cataracts. Rock graffiti.** F.H. Bakhiet, “An Overview of Nubian Rock Art in the Region of the 4th and 5th Cataracts,” in G. Emberling and S. Davis (eds.), *Graffiti as Devotion along the Nile and beyond* (Ann Arbor 2019) 105–118. Overview of the results of a survey conducted in the area between the Fourth and

Fifth Cataracts in 2004–2008. No less than 1822 engravings were documented, mainly on Boni Island (1507), and were studied in the author's (unpublished) doctoral dissertation *Étude sur les gravures rupestres du Nil moyen. Les sites de Boni, Daghfali, Mograt et Fillikol* (Université Charles de Gaulle-Lille 3 2009). Christian petroglyphs are common in the region (34% of all engravings) and they consist mostly of crosses of different types (Figs. 7.12–14). Of particular interest is the schematic representation of a church on Boni Island (Fig. 7.13).

## REVIEWS

Alan Mugridge, *Copying Early Christian Texts: A Study of Scribal Practice*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuem Testament I 362. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016. xx + 558 pages. ISBN 978-3-16-154688-4.

Scott D. Charlesworth, *Early Christian Gospels: Their Production and Transmission*. Papyrologica Florentina 47; Florence: Gonnelli, 2016. xxi + 326 pages. ISBN 978-88-7468-048-1.

Both of these two volumes are the revised dissertations of Australian researchers, working under the direction of G.H.R. Horsley, and are splendid contributions to the study of the transmission of texts in the first three or four centuries CE. While they overlap in many ways, they consider different sets of manuscripts and take distinctly different approaches to the study of their chosen texts. But they both undertake their tasks with comprehensiveness and accuracy.

Let me begin with Mugridge's work, as it has the wider scope. The heart of this very valuable volume is the "Catalogue of Papyri," which occupies pp. 155–410. In fact, the study focuses on 548 manuscripts (mostly codices, but some rolls) from the second century BCE through the fourth century CE. Most of these manuscripts are indeed papyri, but Mugridge includes dozens of parchment codices as well, such as Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus (each of which originally contained the entire Bible plus some further books). It is a bit jarring when we find (7–8) that such codices are placed among the "papyri." Their presence in a study of early Christian copying is completely justified. Nevertheless, I wonder why the inclusive term "manuscript" is not simply used throughout.

The first part of the book (chapters 1–6, pp. 1–154) provides an overview of the issues to be analyzed and a summary of the results obtained. These pages present an extraordinary amount of data concerning the manuscripts, dealing with codicology, paratextual elements, and scribal features such as orthography and the use of *nomina sacra*. The discussion is well-organized and provides often exhaustive references to the manuscripts in the catalogue. Anyone studying early manuscripts will find much of value here. In particular, Mugridge classifies the hands involved into three categories (22): 1 and 2 are "professional or scribal hands" (1 is "calligraphic," 2 is

“secretarial or plain”), while 3 is “non-professional.” Plus and minus signs are then used to indicate more or less skill within a category. However, Mugridge is not merely assembling data. This overview is the basis for his conclusions (144–154) concerning the nature of early copying. Chief among these is “that the vast majority of Christian papyri were copied by professional scribes” (148). This assertion is supported by Mugridge’s extensive analyses of the level of writing found in these Christian manuscripts, as well as the presence of standard features such as *nomina sacra*. All of this evidence is detailed in the earlier pages, and perspicuously summarized in the tables at the end of the book.

A corollary of the principal thesis is: “By drawing on the services of trained copyists to have their texts reproduced, the Christians were guaranteed prompt and accurate work (mostly for a fee, presumably); and the accuracy embedded in the copying of the texts served as *the* basis for generally very consistent texts being dispersed across the Mediterranean as Christian mobility occurred” (153). Mugridge goes on to speak of the “thoroughgoing reliability – not at a verbatim level, and certainly not at a letter-by-letter level – which, for all their diversity, Christian papyri of II–IV AD and later attest remarkably” (153). While it would seem that one might expect accurate work from a professional scribe, the substantial variation in early NT manuscripts makes one wonder how much accuracy was in fact achieved. Of course, “accuracy” is a vague term, and it may be that these Christian manuscripts achieve greater accuracy than do non-Christian manuscripts. But Mugridge seems not to present evidence on that point.

Mugridge makes an especially intriguing observation that “we cannot establish that the majority of the early Christian papyri were copied by writers who were themselves Christians” (152). It is often asserted that the presence of *nomina sacra* is reliable evidence that the scribe was Christian (see, e.g., Charlesworth, reviewed below, 103, n. 39). But Mugridge points out (151–152) that a non-Christian scribe could have simply copied the *nomina sacra* found in the exemplar or could have been given a list of words to be so written. However, there seems to me to be further strong evidence to show that the scribes of the NT texts, at least, were indeed Christian. Mugridge (135, n. 161) refers to my own argument that the scribe of  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  was a Christian.<sup>1</sup> Some of my points regard *nomina sacra* and the staurogram, and Mugridge makes a plausible case against the

<sup>1</sup> J.R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (Leiden 2008) 499–503.



evidentiary value of those. Unfortunately, he neglects one crucial point, namely that several of the scribe's errors "indicate a familiarity with the writings of the New Testament."<sup>2</sup> And this holds for the scribes of early manuscripts of the NT generally: two of the most common causes of error are harmonization to parallel passages within the NT (as well as in the LXX), and harmonization to general NT usage. Now, in his section concerning "Accuracy of textual transmission" (138–142), Mugridge explicitly avoids a discussion of harmonization to parallels (139, top lines), apparently on no other grounds than that, in the course of my discussion of the harmonizations found in  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ , I said that my examples "may" have arisen in that way. Those examples are indeed not the most persuasive. But among the other papyri that I analyzed, there are many readings where the influence from parallels is unmistakable. And there can be no doubt about the pervasive presence of harmonization to parallels (as well as to general NT usage) in the early period of copying. Naturally, at any one place there may be some doubt about exactly what has happened, but NT textual critics seem generally agreed that harmonization to parallels is a common type of error. One might well wonder whether many non-Christians would have the text of the NT (and the LXX) so clearly in their memories that they would introduce words from a parallel into the text that they were copying.

In fact, the errors that Mugridge focuses on in his section on "Accuracy," which seems to be his only direct engagement with the usual text-critical categories of errors that are found in the early manuscripts, are precisely the sorts of errors that are frequent in copying all sorts of texts, such as orthographic and visual confusions and omissions (including those by *homoioteleuton*). These sorts of errors could indeed have been readily made by non-Christian scribes. (And Mugridge could have added harmonization to the immediate context, which I found to be even more common than harmonization to parallels.) However, some errors would seem to be extremely unlikely for anyone but a Christian scribe, and those are simply passed over.

Twelve tables (445–517) clearly and compactly present important codicological data (e.g., dimensions of columns and letters, the use of *nomina sacra*) on the 548 manuscripts in the catalogue; one finds here a very extensive collection of data made available for the study of early manuscripts. There are then six tables with cross-references to various standard works and lists, thus providing the reader with multiple ways to access the

<sup>2</sup> Royse (n. 1) 501.

material found under the various entries. And finally, we have indexes to the places of publication, the ancient texts that are preserved, authors, and subjects.

All of this is clearly and accurately presented, with extensive references to the literature on both the individual manuscripts and on the larger issues of codicology and copying techniques.

Given the evident care with which this material was assembled and the usefulness of the presentation, it may seem ungrateful to complain that we do not have enough. Nevertheless, I often wished for some additional ways to find information. In particular, there is sometimes no way, except by skimming the first part of the book, to find all the material there that relates to a specific manuscript in the catalogue. For example, we are told (12) that manuscripts #43 and #142 may contain “scholars’ marks.” But if one begins with the entries on #43 and #142, there is no way to reach that comment. Similarly, the reference to Kilpatrick’s suggestion (124, n. 135) is not directly accessible from the entry on #384. A few manuscripts receive entries in the “Index of Subjects” (e.g., the Chester Beatty Composite Codex = #270 + #271 + #333), and if one is looking for a specific subject in a manuscript, that index will often be helpful (e.g., if one wishes to find the discussions of manuscripts with *diple*’s or *nomina sacra*). However, even if a scholar has read every word of this book, his or her use of the material will often begin with the entry on a specific manuscript, and then most if not all of the important discussions in the overview might be missed. Moreover, it seems to me that the addition of such cross-references at each entry would have been straightforward; a final line reading “See pp. ...” would be useful.

Also, relevant information is sometimes tantalizingly absent. For example, we are given (9) a listing of the provenances of the catalogued manuscripts, but we are not provided any method, except by skimming the entire catalogue, to find which manuscripts have a particular provenance. For example, we are told that two manuscripts come from Koptos (at least allegedly). My own interest in the Paris papyrus of Philo permitted me to know that these are #350 (the Philo codex) and #155 (the NT  $\mathfrak{P}^4$ ), which was found inside #350. But it seems that giving a list of the relevant manuscripts after each of the provenances would be simple, at least for the places from which only one or two or three manuscripts come; since 145 manuscripts come from Oxyrhynchus, surveying those manuscripts would amount to looking at much of the entire catalogue anyway. The result is that the linkage between the discussion in chapters 1–6 and the listing of the manuscripts is sometimes not so easy to establish. But we already have an abundance of references, and a writer must stop somewhere.

By the way, the fact that #155 was found inside #350 has received much discussion, but there seems to be no straightforward way to move between #155 and #350. There is no index by current shelfmarks (another desideratum), so that we could move from “Par. suppl. gr. 1120/1” (#350) to “Par. suppl. gr. 1120/2” (#155) or vice versa. One might be able to relate the two manuscripts by their first editions, both of which were by Scheil in *MMAF* 9.2. But the index to that (539) refers only to the edition of #350 at 149–215 (cited at #350), ignoring the (partial) edition of #155 at 216. Note that the entry for #155 places Scheil in the bibliography, not in the places of publication. The articles in the latter are concerned with  $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$ , which are often (as by Mugridge, but not by Charlesworth [see his reference at 44, n. 79]) taken to be from the same codex as is  $\mathfrak{P}^4$ . Of course, if one followed the bibliography on #155, one would quickly see the connection with #350.

Mugridge evaluates the hands of both of these manuscripts (the Philo codex and  $\mathfrak{P}^4$ ) as “1<sup>-</sup>.” However, it seems to me that the writing of  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  is decidedly more regular than is that of the Philo codex. Note that while Scheil describes the Philo codex as being written in “belles onciales” (iii), he describes  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  as being written in “très belles onciales” (216). Further, in reference to 73, n. 14 observe that #349 (another codex of Philo, although quite fragmentary) also has pagination (as noted already at *P.Oxy.* 9, p. 16); indeed, the extant page numbers go up to 289 (*PSI* 11.1207). At the same note the question mark on #350 may be removed (see Scheil, p. v). In general, this discussion on pagination (72–75) could have been expanded to include the numeration of columns in rolls; at least there is such in  $\mathfrak{P}^{13}$  (#239).<sup>3</sup>

I turn now to Charlesworth’s work, which examines in much more detail far fewer manuscripts than does Mugridge. Charlesworth’s focus is on early (i.e., up to ca. 290–310) manuscripts of the Gospels, both

<sup>3</sup> I noticed remarkably few errors in a work that covers so much material so thoroughly. At 108, l. 8 up, read “some” for “come”; at 119 the Tetragrammaton is reversed (but given correctly at 121); ms. #99 = Rahlfs 2014, but indexed (525) under Rahlfs 2019. There are a few minor errors in the bibliography. Under Bowman (418) “Pharaohs” is misspelled; under R.B. Lupi (431) read “ortografici” for “orthografici”; Ulrich Schmid is listed (438) under both “Schmid” and “Schmidt.” Further, the listing includes some items that are not referenced anywhere, such as S.A. Edwards on  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ . Of course, here the title would suggest the connection with #182. More work, however, would be required to relate all the essays in C.E. Hill and M.J. Kruger, *The Early Text of the New Testament* (Oxford 2012), to the manuscripts that are discussed there. Naturally, a bibliography serves as a pointer to further reading, but the helpful bibliographies for the individual entries would be even more helpful if the material in the main bibliography were more thoroughly reported. Also, besides the first two volumes of the Japanese work by T. Hirunuma, which cover  $\mathfrak{P}^1$ – $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ , there is a third volume (2010), which covers  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ – $\mathfrak{P}^{100}$  (omitting, however,  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ ,  $\mathfrak{P}^{72}$ – $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ , and a few others).

canonical (“*gospels*”) and non-canonical (“*ngospels*”), and he aims to make a comparison “holistically in terms of their codicology, palaeography, scribal tendencies, and text” (1). In the course of his analysis much detailed information on all aspects of these manuscripts is presented systematically and clearly and with high accuracy. Anyone studying the early manuscripts of the Gospels (both canonical and non-canonical) will find many interesting observations based on Charlesworth’s painstaking study.

The fundamental conclusion of Charlesworth’s study is that the manuscripts of the *gospels* are the products of a careful scribal tradition: “the early textual tradition as a whole was transmitted accurately” (28). Further, the *gospels* “had a special role in the public life of the ‘catholic’ church in the second half of the second century.” In contrast, the *ngospels* “enjoyed only peripheral influence and inspired relatively few” (276).

To support such conclusions Charlesworth cites evidence (summarized at 27–28) of various sorts of standardization to be seen in the earliest manuscripts of the *gospels*, such as their format and the use of *nomina sacra*. Charlesworth concludes (27) that those manuscripts “were produced in controlled settings such as small copying centres comprised of two or more scribes.” He makes similar comments later (39), and one can compare his discussion with that of Mugridge (15–17). (Both authors avoid the use of the term “scriptorium,” following Mugridge’s 2007 article.<sup>4</sup>) Charlesworth notes that there are more than four times as many early manuscripts of the *gospels* than of the *ngospels* (27) and observes that the *gospels* are cited much more frequently than are the *ngospels* (134–135).

After an initial chapter that provides a survey of current views of the early transmission of the Gospels, Charlesworth turns to codicological conventions (ch. 2) and then the use of *nomina sacra* (ch. 3) in the *gospels*. There follow a discussion of the early *ngospels* (ch. 4), a study of “textual fluidity” in the early *gospels* (ch. 5), and an analysis of “textual originality” in the early *ngospels* (ch. 6). Finally, we have the wide-ranging chapter 7: “The recent historiography of early Christianity.”

The work includes three excurses on dating, *nomina sacra*, and ancient literacy, and has several helpful indexes to the various manuscripts as well as to passages from Scripture and other sources. These are generally accurate and complete, but there are a few omissions and anomalies. There

<sup>4</sup> A. Mugridge, “What is a Scriptorium?” in J. Frösén, T. Purola, and E. Salmenkivi (eds.), *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology 2* (Helsinki 2007) 781–792.

is no index to manuscripts of the LXX (see the citations at 33 and 113), but perhaps the references are too fleeting. We do, though, have as the final index “Qumran and the Judaean Desert,” which picks up three of the manuscripts cited at 33. The more substantial references to the NT manuscripts  $\aleph$ , A, B, D, and W at 48 and 54–57 also do not show up anywhere, not even in the listing of manuscripts by their Gregory-Aland numbers. Further, the extensive index of NT passages is nevertheless not quite complete. E.g., of the six verses in  $\P^{66}$  that are discussed on 106, three (1:45, 6:42, 12:34) are in the index, but three (8:36, 19:7, 20:15) are not. The volume concludes with a generous selection of excellent plates, including at least one plate (and usually more) from each of the manuscripts that are discussed in detail.

Charlesworth follows the consensus in holding that the early Christians developed a “strong preference for the codex as a format for sacred texts” (3). In this connection he notes that only one early manuscript of the gospels ( $\P^{22}$ ) is known to come from a roll. (But it is interesting that  $\P^{13}$ , dated to the third/fourth century, is a roll that contained at least Hebrews and perhaps other Pauline epistles.) In contrast, half of the early manuscripts of the “gospels are rolls, and Charlesworth infers that a text on a roll “may have been seen as a literary work rather than as a ‘gospel’ on a par with the ‘gospels’” (26). The other chief characteristic of early Christian manuscripts is the presence of *nomina sacra*, and Charlesworth asserts that the “presence of a single *nomen sacrum* ... is generally sufficient reason to designate the MS as Christian” (3). (However, at 126, n. 39, we are told that the presence of  $\overline{\tau\epsilon}$  in *P.Oxy.* 4.655 “does not necessarily establish Christian production.”)

The observations on singular readings and scribal habits naturally attracted my attention. While Charlesworth’s analyses are done with scrupulous care, there are occasional problems. For example, Charlesworth cites many itacisms as singular readings. But, as is often noted, orthographic error is very common, and quite a few of his examples in fact find support according to Swanson (which Charlesworth uses [see 42]). Here is a selection:  $\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\kappa\eta$  is cited (61) at John 17:23 in  $\P^{108}$  as singular, but is also found in B D  $\Theta$ ;  $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\eta$  at Matt 26:24 in  $\P^{37*}$  is cited (67, n. 285) as singular, but is also found in A  $\Theta$  28 579 700\*;  $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  is cited (69) in  $\P^{53}$  as singular at Matt 26:34, but is also found in A C F G L $^c$   $\Delta$  33 579 700\* 1071; and  $\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma\omicron[\upsilon\mu\epsilon]\nu\omicron\iota$  (Charlesworth has -voc) is cited (76) in 0171 as singular at Matt 10:22, but is found also in B C D. Apart from the difficulty in determining whether such readings are in fact singular, I wonder about their importance. What do we learn about the scribe by

finding that he writes ει for ι at a few places? Whatever it might be, it seems quite different from the issue of, say, accurate transmission of the text.

Here and there are some inaccuracies. Charlesworth reports (66) the long omission in  $\Psi^{37}$  at Matt 26:49–50 as being a leap from ειπεν to ειπεν, but in citing the words that are omitted fails to note that ειπεν is also omitted; the correct description is found in Nestle-Aland and Swanson. There is a problem with his description (58) of what happened at John 16:23–24 in  $\Psi^5$ . It seems that the scribe's exemplar read: δωκει υμιν εν τω ονοματι μου εως αρτι ουκ ητηκατε ουδεν εν τω ονοματι μου αιτειτε και κτλ., where the final words of verse 23 agreed with  $\aleph$  B C\*. However, what the scribe originally wrote was: δωκει υμιν] εν τω ον[ο]ματ[ι μου αιτειτε και κτλ. Charlesworth describes this as a leap from υμιν to ουδεν. However, in fact it is the much more tempting leap from υμιν εν τω ονοματι μου to ουδεν εν τω ονοματι μου. The scribe then made the correction by writing εν τω ονοματι [μου εως αρτι ουκ ητηκατε ουδεν in the lower margin.<sup>5</sup>

In his discussion of  $\Psi^{52}$ , considered the earliest fragment of a NT manuscript, Charlesworth notes the (probable) omission of the second occurrence of εις τουτο at John 18:37, “which the scribe must have viewed as superfluous” (80). But this omission is explained as the result of a scribal leap (εις τουτο εληλυθα), indeed the first known occurrence of this exceedingly common sort of error within the transmission of the NT.<sup>6</sup>

Charlesworth gives considerable attention to punctuation and other ways of marking sense divisions in the manuscripts, a topic that I mostly ignored in my *Scribal Habits*, and makes many valuable observations. However, I wonder about his analysis of the varying frequency of points marking sense breaks to be found in  $\Psi^{45}$  (72–73). Rather than the use of different *Vorlagen*, perhaps we have simply the well-known tendency of scribes to tire toward their end of their task. As Charlesworth reports, the Gospels in  $\Psi^{45}$  were likely found in the Western order (Matthew, John, Luke, Mark), so that the scribe may have begun by placing points frequently, but then trailed off as he copied Mark and neglected them entirely in the following Acts.

<sup>5</sup> In their transcription (*P.Oxy.* 15, pp. 10–11), Grenfell and Hunt incorrectly place εν τω ονοματι μου αιτειτε και in both the text and the margin. However, see P.W. Comfort and D.P. Barrett, *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts* (2nd ed., Wheaton 2001) 76, and P.M. Head, “The Habits of New Testament Copyists: Singular Readings in the Early Fragmentary Papyri of John,” *Biblica* 85 (2004) 404.

<sup>6</sup> Royse (n. 1) 732, n. 115.

While Charlesworth's analysis of scribal habits in the early 'gospel manuscripts is usually on more or less firm ground, the discussion of the 'gospels seems to me on occasion to confuse the work of the authors of the 'gospels with that of the scribes of the manuscripts. For example, at 219 we are told that "[a]ccurate copying is evident" as a consequence of the listing of parallels between *P.Oxy.* 1.1 and the 'gospels. But surely the use of these parallels is by the author of the Gospel of Thomas (or whatever work *P.Oxy.* 1.1 is a copy of) and does not reflect the copying habits of the scribe of that specific manuscript. On the other hand, at 225–227 we do have a comparison between two manuscripts of (perhaps) the same work. Many features of the manuscripts of the 'gospels can be analyzed even if we have only one manuscript of the work (e.g., format, hand, use of *nomina sacra*).

At 50 the quotation in French from Martin seems to contradict the stated observation that D and W have many of the textual divisions found already in  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ . In fact, Martin makes the additional point ("[p]ar contre") that  $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$  has none of those divisions, and then concludes (as quoted) that a generally accepted system did not yet exist in the third century.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, from Charlesworth's tables (49 and 73)  $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$  shares only a few divisions with  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  in the scant material where they overlap, i.e. John 10–11.<sup>8</sup>

Both of these works are important additions to the literature on early Christian manuscripts, and the authors are to be congratulated for their careful work and stimulating analyses.

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<sup>7</sup> V. Martin, *Papyrus Bodmer II* (Cologny-Genève 1956) 20.

<sup>8</sup> I noticed a few typos, e.g., "Perservation" at 27 (top line), "perenniel" at 29, and "protrayal" at 238, n. 157. Some further infelicities are: At 109–110 the statistics for the forms of the *nomen sacrum* of  $\text{I}\eta\varsigma\text{o}\upsilon\varsigma$  are missing; at 135 P.Egerton inv. 2 is in the British Library, not in the British Museum; at 140 we twice find "*Georgias*" for "*Gorgias*"; at 156, l. 3 there is a dittography; at 182, n. 142  $\mathfrak{P}^4$  is cited incorrectly at the end of line 1 after "aur," and the final word of that line should be  $\epsilon\lambda\mu\alpha\delta\alpha\mu$ , and in line 2 the first "D" should be "D\*"; at 248, l. 4, for  $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota[\omega\nu]$  read  $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota[\nu\omega\nu]$ , as in Bell and Skeat; at 250 the quotation from Eusebius has several errors (e.g., at line 1 for  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$  read  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$   $\epsilon\mu\alpha\theta\omicron\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\lambda\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$ ). Finally, I noticed about a dozen items in the bibliography that have blemishes, e.g.: at 284 for von Soden read "ihrer" for "inhrer"; at 285 third item for B. Aland, read "des neuen Testaments" for "die Neuen Testament"; at 298 under Mugridge, read "Writing and writers" for "Writers and writing"; at 300 the order of the entries is confused; and at 306 we have "Yongkind" for "Jongkind."



Lorena Atzeri, *Diritto romano dal deserto. Percorsi editoriali di papiri giuridici nella prima metà del Novecento*. Torino: Giappichelli, 2020. xiv + 102 pages. ISBN 978-88-921215-8-4.

In this small monograph, Lorena Atzeri (A.) explores a topic that is receiving more attention in recent years: the history of scholarship. She traces the editing of Latin papyri (and fragmentary parchment manuscripts from Egypt) with juridical content (mainly Gaius, *Institutiones*) by A.S. Hunt, V. Arangio-Ruiz, and C.H. Roberts in the 1920s and 1930s and how the editing (and re-editing) process was supported by other scholars with whom they were in contact. Some of their correspondence survives: Hunt kept letters in files and in copies of *P.Oxy.*, and these are now in the Sackler Library. One of Hunt's correspondents, F. de Zulueta, also kept letters in copies of his books, which are now at the University of Aberdeen. A. pieces together in painstaking detail the editorial process of several *P.Oxy.* texts that involved de Zulueta. Synoptic tables on pp. 34 (for *P.Oxy.* 17.2089) and 47 (*P.Oxy.* 17.2103) allow one to follow the argument. A. also draws on handwritten notes left by Hunt in the margin of his copies of *P.Oxy.*

There are hardly any surprises here – for older papyrologists such as myself. In the past, when one was dealing with an important text and felt somewhat out of one's depth, one consulted several experts, just as Hunt sought the advice of de Zulueta and other legal scholars. The relevant correspondence accumulated in one's files or was kept with the relevant editions, which one also annotated. Such correspondence occasionally contains nuggets worth publishing (see, e.g., P. van Minnen, "*P.Princ.* 3.159," *BASP* 46 [2009] 146). Nowadays, emails accumulate on one's computer or server – until a crash eliminates the lot, making it harder for future generations to do for our editorial work what A. does here. Ironically, I am reviewing an ebook version of A.'s book, which does not allow me to keep notes – the price one pays for progress.

Chapter 1 introduces Grenfell and Hunt's archaeological and editorial activity and provides the essential data about their correspondence. In chapter 2, A. makes the point that the careful editing of Hunt produced a more reliable and less adventurous text of Gaius, *Institutiones* 4.72a, where the *apographum Veronense* is defective, than the enthusiastic attempts of scholars of Roman law such as E. Levy, who tried to fill lacunae in *P.Oxy.* 17.2103, the "Oxyrhynchus Gaius." The synoptic table on pp. 59–60 allows one to contrast Hunt's edition with the first attempt at reconstruction by Levy, that on pp. 62–63 with his second attempt. A. traces the reception of Levy's reconstruction in the second edition of *FIRA* 2 (1940),

which she misdates to 1964, in de Zulueta's edition of Gaius, *Institutiones* of 1946, and in M. David's *editio minor* (first edition 1948; the second edition 1964, p. 139 offers the same text). The text of de Zulueta is the most conservative, and in his 1953 commentary he added (p. 270, n. 2): "Discussion, the basis of which should be Hunt's text in *P. Oxy.* 2103, is impossible here." The David-Nelson-Manthe commentary has not (yet) reached book 4, and de Zulueta's commentary remains authoritative. This chapter also traces the editorial work on *P. Oxy.* 15.1814, which de Zulueta recognized as part of the index of the first edition of the *Codex Justinianus*, and *P. Oxy.* 17.2089, a fragmentary parchment manuscript from Egypt with an anonymous work. A. also traces the response to the editions. After *P. Oxy.* 15.1814 came out, de Zulueta in a letter to Hunt hinted at the possibility that another papyrus likewise derived from the first edition of the *Codex Justinianus* (p. 21), an identification later made independently by J.C. Naber (pp. 26–27).

In chapter 3, A. concentrates on the "Antinoopolis Gaius," *PSI* 11.1182, published by Arangio-Ruiz in 1933 as an *estratto*, two years before the volume itself came out. It is a fragmentary parchment manuscript from Egypt acquired in Cairo from Maurice Nahman, whose "visitor book" is now in the Brooklyn Museum and accessible online (p. 76, n. 10).<sup>1</sup> In this chapter, A. also briefly comments on the editorial work of Roberts on some Latin papyri (and fragmentary parchment manuscripts from Egypt) of juridical content in the Rylands Library, Manchester. He too was in correspondence with de Zulueta.

A. offers a fascinating detective story with some interesting observations along the way. It would have been as effective in a more concise form as a contribution to a *Festschrift*, and even more so as an article in a journal: nowadays, more journals are opening their pages to articles devoted to the history of the discipline they represent, even in papyrology.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I repeat the address here: [https://archive.org/details/bml-SCR\\_N362\\_N14](https://archive.org/details/bml-SCR_N362_N14).

<sup>2</sup> *Postscript*: An English version of A.'s book will appear as an article in *ZRG* 138 (2021). — On p. 9, n. 13, J. Hermann should be J. Herrmann. Ironically, in the same line A. flags a mistake in the title of Herrmann's chapter on O. Gradenwitz with a "(sic)" (Gradenwitz died in 1935, not 1936). The project REDHIS (or RedHiS) often appears as REHDIS in A.'s text. Oddly, a Greek document from the Ptolemaic period is illustrated on the cover.

Cornelia E. Römer, *The Fayoum Survey Project: The Themistou Meris, Volume A: The Archaeological and Papyrological Survey*, with contributions by F. Hamouda, I. Klose, and P. Kopp. *Collectanea Hellenistica* 8. Leuven: Peeters, 2019. 398 pages. ISBN 978-90-429-3627-0.

The volume is the result of several archaeological survey seasons in the western part of the pseudo-oasis of the Fayyum (1999–2006, 2010–2020). It is part of two volumes under the authorships of C.E. Römer as papyrologist and D.M. Bailey as an expert in Egyptian pottery. Volume B, *The Ceramological Survey*, was published in the same series in 2019 also (*Collectanea Hellenistica* 9) but is not reviewed here. The two volumes complement each other with a multiplicity of data concerning a vast territory (the *meris* of Themistos) and the surviving sites, collecting together archaeological, ceramic, and textual evidence for the first time. The Fayyum has been historically the focus of papyrologists and ancient historians because of the richness of textual evidence for the Hellenistic and Roman periods. These two monographs are an excellent example of an interdisciplinary study of a wide area within the Fayyum, with special focuses on papyri and material culture.

The preface summarizes the history of the survey, along with a discussion of the institutions and people involved. Chapter 1 is devoted to the *meris*, describing its boundaries as determined in this survey, its hydrography, and other physical characteristics. The theoretical and methodological bases of the territorial survey, and its goals, are however not explained, something that would have been useful for a critical evaluation of the whole picture here presented.<sup>1</sup> The geomorphology of the area is described according to the official cartography of the Survey of Egypt, along with empirical observations of the present situation and a few previous publications, reaching a series of conclusions about the distribution of ancient sites and canal networks that are not supported by geo-archaeological data. The author (p. 9 and note 45) assumes that the present canals are the same as in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and that the irrigation system in the Fayyum operated by gravity, as it does today, and not by basins. However, the history of each canal has never been studied through geological investigations, and it is thus not possible to assess with certainty their existence and paths in specific periods. A critical approach to this topic is not really possible until geo-archaeological studies will be available. We know in fact

<sup>1</sup> On methodology, see E.B. Banning, *Archaeological Survey* (New York 2002).

that there have been continuous changes in the landscape over the millennia, caused by natural and artificial interventions in the Valley and in the Delta, where these studies are more developed. There are no reasons to expect a different situation in the Fayyum. The dramatic transformation caused by the hydraulic revolution started by Mohammed Ali must be taken into serious consideration.<sup>2</sup> In the Fayyum the continuous fluctuation of the lake and the steep slopes in the depression had a remarkable impact on the natural distribution of the water as well as on its artificial management. The disappearance of the lake in El-Gharaq is an example. Moreover, water management in Egypt, before the modern conversion,<sup>3</sup> was much more complex than we used to think and changed over time with the introduction of new technologies. The Fayyum and the Valley were subject in the past to two different systems at the same time: basin and artificial irrigation, according to the position of the fields. Gravity irrigation does not mean that it was not by basins.<sup>4</sup>

Chapters 2 to 30 describe single sites. The author's deep knowledge of the papyrological and related sources emerges in the descriptions of sites and modern villages that are in some cases identified with ancient toponyms known through texts. The discussions about the attribution of ancient

<sup>2</sup> The bibliography recently published about the Fayyum's changing landscape is impressive. See L. Marks et al., "Holocene Lake Sediments from the Faiyum Oasis in Egypt: A Record of Environmental and Climate Change," *Boreas* 47 (2018) 62–79; N.S. Embabi, *The Geomorphology of Egypt: Landforms and Evolution, I: The Nile Valley and the Western Desert* (Cairo 2004). Nowadays the Fayyum benefits from perennial irrigation like the rest of Egypt. The present system was organized in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, and in 1984 a new drainage discharge was activated towards Wadi Rayan: W. Wolters et al., "Division of Irrigation Water in the Fayoum, Egypt," *Irrigation and Drainage System* 1 (1987) 159–172. The Netherlands supported and collaborated in the Fayyum water management in two main projects, in 1995 with the Dutch-funded Fayoum Water Management Project (FWMP) and between 1994 and 2009 with The Fayoum Water User Organizations project.

<sup>3</sup> The changes to the Valley and the Fayyum's hydrology are well described by H.G. Lyons, *The Cadastral Survey of Egypt 1892–1907* (Cairo 1908). The chaotic situation of the irrigation system and administration of the provinces before Mohammed Ali's government is explained by Linant de Bellefonds, who magnifies the importance and extension of works done in the country from 1816 to 1850 to reorganize the use of Nile water. He also describes the hydrology of the Fayyum in his times: L.M.A. Linant de Bellefonds, *Mémoires sur les principaux travaux d'utilité publique exécutés en Égypte depuis la plus haute antiquité jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris 1872–1873). The Bahr Kasr el-Banat, close to which are several archaeological sites, was created in 1900, possibly not far from a trace of an ancient canal, of which we do not know the precise path.

<sup>4</sup> P. Maury, "Irrigation et agriculture en Égypte à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in P. Louis and F. and J. Métrol (eds.), *L'homme et l'eau en Méditerranéen et au Proche-Orient, IV. L'eau dans l'agriculture. Séminaire de recherche 1982–1983 et journées des 22 et 23 octobre 1983* (Lyon 1987) 77–93.

toponyms to archaeological ruins or actual villages based on texts are intriguing, even if it is not possible to prove them with certainty.

Interesting archaeological features have been documented for the first time in some of the modern villages and towns visited by the team, such as the remains of a wall mentioned by Sir Gardner Wilkinson near Qasr el-Gibali (Chapter 7) and the storage pits in Tell el-Kinissa (Chapter 9). Kom el-Arka (Chapter 8) is revealed to be an interesting place because of the presence of mud brick structures, bases of columns, pottery, and scattered bones. The magnetic survey carried out in 2011 could not add more information on buried archaeological remains.

Archaeological sites under the protection of Egypt's Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) are described in their present state of conservation, with new plans of visible and still standing architectonic evidence, photographs and the history of previous excavations and visitors' descriptions. Papyri, inscriptions, and archives are listed at the ends of some chapters and are employed to draw a historical picture of the settlements. The interpretations of the archaeological remains are in some cases not supported by evidence and thus are not always convincing.

The remains of Kom Alioun, identified with Hermopolis or Theoxenis, and of Kom Hamouli (Chapters 10, 11) are surveyed and plotted on schematic maps. This is the most comprehensive documentation we have of these two sites, which are largely destroyed and under continuous threat. Chapter 13 describes the ruins at Batn Harit/Theadelphia set against earlier publications and documents from Breccia's archive. The author proposes new interpretations of paintings and other features. Particularly interesting is the tentative location of Pnepheros' temple (Photo 13.1 on p. 154), identified with the only two segments of mud brick walls still standing in the area. The hypothesis is fascinating, but there is no evidence supporting it. Schematic plans of archaeological features characterized according to materials enrich the chapter, but they do not provide any information about elevations. Bathhouses 1 and 2 were recorded after partial excavations by Th. Fournet in 2014. West of the settlement are the ancient cemeteries: the description of the graves is based on Grenfell and Hunt's report. To these tombs we have to add another 420 excavated by the SCA in the 1970s, which are not mentioned here.<sup>5</sup> An impressive collection of texts and archives are listed and examined to complete the picture of the settlement. The same schema is followed in Chapter 14 dedicated to Qasr el-Banat/

<sup>5</sup> M.M. Soad, "Excavations at the Cemetery of Batn Ihrit, Governorate of El-Fayyum," *Journal of the Faculty of Archaeology-Cairo University* 2 (1977) 35–44 (text in Arabic).

Euhemereia. Also in this case the author tentatively locates the temple excavated by Grenfell and Hunt, long since disappeared with no traces left.

Medinet Watfa/Philoteris (Chapter 16) was partly excavated by W. Wendrich in 2002 and by Römer's team, who also extensively surveyed the site by magnetometry (Th. Herbich), revealing buildings and a complex system of canals and basins. In this respect the two appendices (by I. Klose and P. Kopp), focused on the work done during excavations seasons in 2012 and 2014, are of particular interest. An impressive water management system surrounding the settlement has been detected by means of a geo-magnetic survey, then partly excavated. The results are of great importance, given the good preservation of canals, drains and wells. It is rare to find such a complex system still preserved in an ancient settlement.

Chapter 18 describes Qasr Qarun/Dionysias with special attention to ancient travelers' reports. The author pays little attention to previous excavations and to the survey of the University of Siena (2009–2013). The description of the settlement could have been greatly improved if the publications of the highly technology-oriented survey of the Siena team had been used.<sup>6</sup>

A schematic map of Medinet Qouta (Chapter 19) with the visible walls placed in the geomorphological context is particularly welcome, given the intensive treasure-hunters' digging that occurred here after 2011. The identification of Middle Kingdom pottery and flint tools is another important achievement of the survey, which extends the chronology of the settlement. The lost granite boundary stela with hieroglyphic text found in 1898 is also ascribed to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>7</sup>

Six pages of bibliography, followed by indices of the mentioned sources (papyri and ostraca, inscriptions, and ancient literature), toponyms, Egyptian and Greek names of gods, kings, queens, emperors, and of modern scholars, plus a general index, complete the volume, which ends with a very useful series of maps from different sources, in color. The volume is rich in iconographic materials, such as maps, Google Earth images, plans

<sup>6</sup> G. Carpentiero and C. Tessaro, "Multi-Scale Approach for the Reconstruction of a Past Urban Environment, from Remote Sensing to Space Syntax: The Case of Dionysias (Fayum, Egypt)," in S. Campana et al. (eds.), *CAA2015. Proceedings of the 43rd Annual Conference on Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology 1* (Oxford 2016) 803–814; L. Bigi, "Oil Production at Dionysias and in Fayum: Tradition and Technological Innovation across the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods," in N. Mugnai, J. Nikolaus, and N. Ray (eds.), *De Africa Romaque: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the University of Leicester (26–27 October 2013)* (London 2016) 145–156.

<sup>7</sup> For a new assessment of this stela see P. Davoli, "The Free-Standing Stela from Medinet Quta Revisited," *SEP* 15 (2018) 53–64.

of features, and photographs, which provide important documentation for the present state of the sites and help in the comprehension of the region. The multidisciplinary approach in the study of this area characterized by a multitude of evidence and sources is particularly appreciated and could have been improved by involving more specialists. The collected data are impressive and, despite the methodological criticisms made above, the volume is a major step forward in our knowledge of the ancient Fayyum and will remain a precious source of information for a long time.

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Giovanni R. Ruffini. *Life in an Egyptian Village in Late Antiquity: Aphrodito Before and After the Islamic Conquest*. Cambridge University Press, 2018. x + 233 pages. ISBN 978-1-107-10560-7.

Aphrodito in Upper Egypt has been on the scholarly radar for more than a century, since the first discoveries of papyri in 1901, followed by those in 1905 and the 1930s and 1940s. For a settlement of its size – a large village of several thousand is the best estimate – and at a remove from both Constantinople and Alexandria, Aphrodito might seem a surprising site for the density of its documentary record. The sixth-century archives of Apollon and Dioskoros, father and son village leaders, provide an exceptional entryway into ordinary lives. The documentary evidence extends to the early eighth century, under Arab rule, offering a comparative perspective before and after the Arab conquest, at least in matters of fiscal administration. Is it simple coincidence of lucky excavations, crumbling house walls, and a zealous Arab governor that Aphrodito reveals itself as fully as it does to the social historian, when the material evidence is so slight? More than coincidence when Aphrodito's special privilege of *autopragia* – the right of local tax collection instead of government officials riding rough shod through its neighborhoods – is considered. And more than coincidence by virtue of Aphrodito's being off the main historical track. The headmen of Aphrodito, like the Jacobite lairds of the Orkneys in the eighteenth century, could think big, both in terms of administrative influence and literary production, without an imperial capital near at hand to cast overlengthy shadows.

In the accumulating scholarship on Aphrodito, Ruffini seeks to break new ground with a study that re-centers the village and its population. His critique of previous studies of the papyrological evidence is not that Aphrodito's historical importance has been relegated to provincial sidelines, but that because of the prolixity of that evidence it has been made the test case for reaching conclusions as to whether the sixth-century imperial administration was pre-eminently oppressive or had already entered into its senility, and as to why an empire with such an expansionist track record could not hold its own against a band of Bedouin nomads on its southern flank. Ruffini positions his study in opposition to two main historiographical narratives into which Aphrodito has been inserted. One, that the demise of Roman rule in Egypt was due in no small part to a class struggle (or divide) between large landowners and a dependent peasantry (22–26). Two, that an autocratic government insinuated itself too unservedly in local affairs and consciousness (27). Aphrodito is central for

Ruffini not because it explains, or should be made to explain, the culture and the political and economic fortunes of Late Antiquity, but because it is representative of many such local communities in Egypt managing their own livelihoods through relationships created, relied upon, or sought out within their immediate social worlds. Aphrodito is exceptional in being able to convey the agency of peasants, artisans, and “higher ups” in maintaining collective autonomy and a measure of social harmony that, Ruffini argues, characterized small town Egypt.

Ruffini presents a social history of Aphrodito in terms of both topical issues and social groups. He begins with what he notes is most striking in the evidence yet what he contends is assuredly out of the ordinary for Aphrodito’s inhabitants: accounts of violence, including brutal assaults and murders. What interests him is less the acts themselves than their probable motivation in factional fights over authority to collect, legally or otherwise, taxes and fines. Within Aphrodito, “factions” served as efficacious networks of patron-client relations, to further individual interests and to protect the vulnerable from the ambitious. Stories which ended in bloodshed point to outside higher officials throwing off kilter a dynamic equilibrium of patronal stemmata (Chapter 2). When legal disputes were at issue, informal contexts for their resolution operated alongside of, if they did not predominate over, court cases. What could be worked out with the opportune mediation of a priest or patron was often preferable to a lengthy and costly court case (Chapter 3).

“Working in the Fields” (Chapter 5) is not in fact focused on farming practices or the labor they required, but on landholdings, their extent and their ownership. For Aphrodito, unlike for the Oxyrhynchite nome, large estates are not in evidence. Landholdings, even if possessed by one owner, were dispersed and most changed hands frequently, as commodities change hands in a marketplace. And it is with the marketplace that Ruffini finds his metaphor for the regular circulation of financial resources, a metaphor that could not apply to a closed aristocracy and a defrauded peasantry (93). An open market mentality carried over unsurprisingly to the relations of craftsmen (Chapter 6) and perhaps not so surprisingly to marriage settlements (Chapter 8). While guilds existed, they did not hinder transactions and business relations made and unmade by consensual agreement between parties. To that degree Aphrodito’s craftsmen (who typically were their own merchants at the local level) exhibited a bourgeois ethos. That ethos, Ruffini argues, impressed itself on marriage alliances, which appear to have been conceived as contractual relationships modeled on business partnerships, if in principle more lasting.

The magnetic pull of advantageous investments in this world extended to the religious sphere (Chapter 7). Although Ruffini titles his chapter on a monastic presence in Aphrodito "Looking to Heaven," the gaze of Aphrodito's inhabitants, monks among them, was more terrestrial than celestial. Aphrodito engaged with the church through business (127). If heaven was a final end, the path to it was by way of well calculated bequests to monasteries, whose communities in turn had economic interests in linking gifts of land to piety in this world for a better ranking in the next. The journey of a soul could also benefit from the right patrons, temporal and spiritual.

While Aphrodito's women are given their own chapter (Chapter 9), the world of women which Ruffini unveils does not differ markedly from that of men as regards social behavior and its incentives. Women of higher status – the wives and daughters of village headmen – made bequests, guaranteed loans, received income from landholdings. They too were participants in a dynamic interplay of social and economic exchanges. For women of limited or no independent means, situations of indentured servanthood could be the only option, yet even in these circumstances women sought out patrons for their protection and advantage. The social divides were not sufficient to despoil them of all agency. They too were threads on the loom of Aphrodito, the shuttlecock moving back and forth between all levels of an inclusive society. *Autopragia* applied to more than tax collection.

If anyone felt keenly the constraints of a given position in the social fabric it was Dioskoros who, in the middle decades of the sixth century, was, by one reading, Aphrodito's leading citizen, but by another a not infrequently beleaguered first among equals (Chapter 4). Before him came a number of cases of theft and petty crimes. To handle them, one recourse was to work through informal channels of information gathering, a cut above the rumor mill. In doing so, however, he could be caught in a web of competing social rivalries, with crossing lines of influence circumventing the straight arrow of justice. Dioskoros also found himself on occasion needing to turn to those above him in the social chain of imperial being. On trips to Constantinople, he navigated the political with the literary, giving rhetorical flourish to his communications in the hopes of eliciting a desirable response to his petitions on behalf of the less eloquent back home (Chapter 10). The imperial official might be a savior when kept at a distance and allowed to know only so much as contained in Dioskoros' florid address. But when Dioskoros moved too easily in urbane circles, he risked losing credibility with his village constituents (Chapter 11). If he did not,

like Machiavelli, each evening remove his sullied work clothes and don the robes of court and palace to enter his study, he still appears to have lived a double life, that of the knowledgeable local politician and that of the reclusive literary man.

Ruffini emphasizes that Aphrodito's papyri may distort along with revealing the rhythms of village life. Lawbreaking and frayed social nerves are documented. There was no reason to document the even tenor of social relations. That smoother surface to Aphrodito's self-governance was, for Ruffini, the norm. The picture changes in the first years of the eighth century (Chapter 11). The Arab governor Qurra ibn Sharik did not equivocate when harvests were good and taxes coming due. To the pagarch Basil he wrote in words essentially replicating the choice once given to the ruminative Jack Benny, "Your money or your life" (206). Aphrodito's men were conscripted to be shipwrights and navvies, not the bailiwick of Bedouin nomads, when under Roman rule they had been left to mind their own business while Latin-speaking garrisons splayed out from the imperial center.

Ruffini's subtitle "Aphrodito Before and After the Islamic Conquest" is somewhat misleading. Only three pages of a conclusion are devoted to post-conquest Aphrodito (204–207). The comparative reach of his study, though, serves his purpose of highlighting, through a closing contrast, Aphrodito as "a late antique story" (209). In his conclusion, Ruffini returns to his introduction, positioning Aphrodito apart from narratives of macro-power politics, whether inspired by imperial or class analyses, and apart from a late antique landscape suffused with the shimmering halos of centenarian holy men and an all-souls-rising Neoplatonism.

There is a tension which runs throughout Ruffini's book, between the documentary fulsomeness of Aphrodito's papyri and their silence regarding the unruffled, habitual comings and goings of Aphrodito's inhabitants (27, 77, 110, 130, 147, 180). Ruffini plumbs his evidence for "stories," at the same time lamenting that "we are at the mercy of our evidence" (127). Many of the stories he wants to tell end up being elusive, in their beginnings and endings, not to mention the middle chapters. There can be gaps in the *dramatis personae*. He leads off with the story of two murders, one leaving a distraught and angry wife and the other a brother to bring charges. The surviving brother's name is lost. The connection between the two murders is for the scholar-sleuth to hypothesize. Ruffini persuasively does so in terms of factional rivalries (1–2, Chapter 2). But for some of the stories Ruffini engages in "thought experiments" (129, 207), which may bring history to life but not necessarily as actually lived out in the details.

As careful as he is to note the limitations of the evidence, Ruffini can take what the papyri offer as a summing up of what they do not. The documentary papyri record actions either taken or their consequences; they are less pliant in conveying emotions which do not materialize in the actionable. Based on marriage contracts, Ruffini asserts that love between husband and wife was not at issue “anywhere in Aphrodito marriages” (147). Marital affection, however, is not so easily made official; marital discord is another matter.

Ruffini has an eye for local intrigue. The problem with tracking local intrigue, as any Sicilian villager knows, is that only fools talk freely. Village stories can also be crueler than any acts of violence brought before village headmen, being stories of the heart, whether calcified, unforgetting, or amorous, having the patience of a generation or more to avenge a wrong or to profess a love. Village stories are layered by time and retellings and also depend upon a language of gesture, wordless innuendo, and jokes that only need hinting at to produce laughter from the *cognoscenti*, to achieve their full effect. They are stories about loss and return, subtle or unbridled vengeance, or the noble act revealed to the unsuspecting. Marcel Pagnol and the singer of the *Odyssey* could tell a good village story. What Ruffini takes as a story can be part of a chapter in a story that contemporaries were deftly skilled at keeping between themselves. The monks of the local monastery petition an official to uphold their claims to a piece of land being contested by a “bad man.” “This is a sad story,” Ruffini writes. Sad for whom and why are questions left hanging (119).

The question of what stories the papyrological evidence tells relates to a second tension in this study of Aphrodito, that between a period history of “Late Antiquity” and a local history *à la* Montaillou. Aphrodito, Ruffini argues, stands in for many villages of sixth-century Egypt. Its world is a “late antique world” re-envisioned from the perspective of common people intent on farming, shepherding, marketing, economic gain where possible, and good social relations as the norm. Aphrodito’s people “breathe the same cultural air as countless others just like them all over Egypt” (18, cf. 73). On the other hand, a major thrust of Ruffini’s argument is that the world of the people of Aphrodito “is a social world uninterested in cultural and macro-economic trends” (27). Ruffini disassociates Aphroditans’ concerns from those of the sixth-century media mogul Procopius (210, 212). It is true that quotidian affairs of a village in southern Egypt could not compete with frontier wars and court gossip. That they did not was due to the domains imperial authority was restricted to: defense, taxation, justice as pertaining to the state, and imperial glory and largesse. Social lives were

local because of, not in spite of or apart from, imperial displays of grandeur and frontier wars. Procopius on that account is more relevant to Aphrodito's history than Ruffini gives him credit for.

Both of these tensions – one pertaining to evidence and one to historical scale – are necessary and productive for any substantive analysis. The risk is turning dynamic tensions into static divides: between the exceptional and the ordinary, between the imperial and the local, between the mercurial and the altruistic. The economic interests of lay donors, monastic recipients, and monastic landholders crowd out ascetic renunciation in the archives under review, such that Ruffini writes, “If we view late antiquity from this angle, there are no holy men there” (130). Following Peter Brown's revising of his own earlier, painterly depictions of holy men – grabbing, so to speak, monks by the heels who ascend too quickly to heaven and bringing them down to earth – Ruffini shows the intersections of the religious and the economic, to the point that the former folds into the latter. For Upper Egypt in the sixth century, the Metropolitan Museum of Art's 1912–1914 Egyptian expeditions and later reports on the Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes well documented the down-to-earthness of monks, who left rubbish outside their cell doors and texted back and forth on ostraca. Monks and their abbots were, from the evidence, unexceptionally normal. Any number could be exceptionally unpleasant. Shenoute on his bad days; even on his good days. But to challenge a view of Late Antiquity based on hagiographical traditions, holy men and women need not become irrelevant. Holiness, for lack of a better word, could reside in their adhering to a vocation not on pillars but in the disjuncture between the ordinary and the aspirational.

Part of the historian's job is to find the good story. It is also to set the stage on which the stories play out. Ruffini is attentive to the stage production side of Aphrodito's story, providing several topographical as well as satellite views of Kom Ishqaw, latter-day Aphrodito (13–18). He also presents tantalizing details outside the range of Google maps. In his desire to fill in the blank spaces of storied lives, however, some of these stage props can be noted without being fitted together and investigated for their own value in bringing sixth-century Aphrodito into view. Ruffini summarizes the occupations mentioned in the papyrological record: “... beekeepers, butchers, coppersmiths, cumin sellers, doormen, fruit vendors, gardeners, goldsmiths, grain dealers, house builders, oilmakers, mill masters, shoe makers – and this is only a sample” (21). Was this array of occupations typical of other sixth-century Egyptian villages? Is it time to reconsider what an urban history of late Roman Egypt looks like before the growth of Fustat as the leading commercial center of Mediterranean trade by the

eleventh century? (Alexandria could be to Upper Egypt what Manhattan is to Iowa.) Which of these crafts produced for a local market or for export down-river? And those doormen: were they security guards or hailers of a cart when needed?

Names also matter. Ruffini gives a brief excursus on naming. In contrast with Christian Nubians, who settled for the stand-by's of Mary, Elizabeth, and Anna for girls (160), Aphroditans were more adventurous. The names of Aphrodito's women included, along with the requisite Mary and Martha: Rachel, Leah, Rebeka, Sophia, Theodora, Eirene, Athanasia, and Prokla (Chapter 9). Nevertheless, fewer names for women than for men appear in the papyri. "Women have fewer options, fewer appropriate gender roles, and only one woman [i.e., Mary, not Cleopatra] who can stand as the perfect role model" (160). But the interest of women's names goes beyond gender roles. What overlap was there in sixth-century Aphrodito between Old and New Testament traditions and between the peoples identifying with each? Were the Greek names chosen because they sounded "pretty" or because names had the power to bestow character? Where do the scales tip in favor of Christian, Greek, or Egyptian names?

Where suddenly Aphrodito is part of the big picture, for Ruffini, is post-Arab conquest. Here the argument rests upon the archive of exchanges between the Arab governor Qurra ibn Sharik, from 709 to 714, and the pagarch of Aphrodito, Basil. The background to Qurra's taking up his duties as governor is not filled in, one gap for which we do have the evidence. Qurra succeeded the ne'er-do-well, rapacious Umayyad prince Abd Allah, whom his own family at last forcibly deposed when he refused to cede power. Abd Allah's tenure in office coincided with a year of famine. In 705, the Nile reached only a little over thirteen cubits (optimal plentitude being sixteen cubits). Famine brought plague and inflated prices. Abd Allah demanded from the non-Muslims of Egypt more than they could possibly give. Some fled. Even the dead were held liable for payment of the *kharaj*, *in absentia* by way of village proxies.<sup>1</sup> Into the breach came Qurra. Qurra pulled Egypt back from the brink of a chaotic, corrupt administration. He gave clear orders and held those under his authority accountable. Land that had gone to waste was reclaimed for cultivation.<sup>2</sup> But Qurra suffered the fate of other post-autocrats. His administrative expertise took the brunt of anger that had been festering in the previous years.

<sup>1</sup> N. Abbott, *The Kurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute* (Chicago 1935) 59–61.

<sup>2</sup> Abbott [n. 1] 62.



Ruffini sides with Qurra's detractors. Qurra "claims" that Aphrodito's payments are sub-par. Qurra "claims that the harvests have not been good" (206), the assumption being that Qurra's claims do not have the ring of disinterested truth. Qurra was intent on rebuilding the state treasury. To that degree he was, certainly, interested. He also knew that illegal extortion was counter-productive at the minimum. He wrote to the pagarch Basil that if the amount owing was valid, let it be turned over; if there was no proof for the amount owed, then he needed to be informed.<sup>3</sup> Punitive measures against fugitives (205) were to staunch the flow of cultivators away from the land when village survival depended upon planting and harvesting – and dynastic survival, to be sure, on the land tax. The hand of the state was more evident than in the late sixth century, but under Qurra's tenure the aim was not to undermine village self-sufficiency but to re-establish it.

Other intrusions of the Muslim state cited by Ruffini do not, on their own, demonstrate a historical rupture in Aphrodito's history in the first century following the Arab conquest. He references a Greek papyrus that mentions a gold coin to be paid to workers hired to build a mosque in Damascus, but the provenance of the papyrus is uncertain (206–207). And there is the matter of military conscription. "With the rapid expansion of the Muslim empire, Egyptians are now recruited for overseas wars" (204). Drafting young men from Upper Egypt had, though, pre-conquest precedent. Pachomius owed his conversion to Christianity, and perhaps some of the inspiration for his monastic rule, to his time as a conscripted soldier. When the imperial throne was at stake, recruits were found.

The back jacket blurb of Ruffini's book states that sixth-century Aphrodito was "a world of free peasants." By contrast, "Aphrodito's eighth century A.D. papyri show that this world died in the early years of Islamic rule." Ruffini's own text is more circumspect; also more ambiguous. "The scholarly vision of a servile state [sic!] dominating Aphrodito," Ruffini writes, "seems to be accurate here, in the 700s, under Arab rule, but that may stem solely from the nature of the archives" (207). The statement raises several questions of interpretation. "Servile state" has to be an editorial oversight. The state is not servile; its subjects presumably are. "Seems" and "accurate" sit uneasily together, especially when both are followed by the dissenting conjunction "but" and the permissive "may." Ruffini is more forthright in the following paragraph. For Islamic Aphrodito: "The outside world pushes against the town, and insists on the lives of the natives [allusion to Qurra's threats] as the price for resistance" (207).

<sup>3</sup> Oriental Institute inv. 13756, text and translation in Abbott [n. 1] 47–48.

It is not so easy to kill off a way of life that depends more on flood levels than changes of regime. Foreign rule was, and would continue to be for the next thirteen centuries, something of a refrain for native Egyptians. *That* stayed the same with the Arab conquest. There is no evidence of a shift to serfdom post-642. The Coptic tax revolts between the 690s and 832 are clinching evidence of a stubborn, free peasantry. Serfs do not stage tax revolts and aristocrats, when all else fails, plead poverty. The point is not that nothing changed post-conquest. Rather, the questions Ruffini's study provocatively, if implicitly, raises concern a transition in lieu of a goodbye to all that. For the sixth century, Ruffini shows that land changed hands frequently in Aphrodito (157). Did land title deeds continue to change hands in the first centuries of Arab rule? Did village settlements along the Nile Valley increase or decrease in number and size? With the growth of a commercial hub at the head of the Nile Delta under the Fatimids, was local commerce between neighboring villages disadvantaged in favor of reaching Fustat's port?

Fatimid Egypt is too far out for Ruffini's evidence. The Aphrodito papyri cannot be stretched so thinly across the centuries. The later dates are only mentioned to consider that historical turns need not pivot on conquest, especially where a pre-industrial, agricultural society is at issue. The "death" of a free peasantry may (again the permissive "may") have to wait for the thirteenth century and following, with the institution of *iqta* as a basis of Mamluk military and financial administration. We are up against the familiar historical paradox that change may be greater from one generation to the next than across the generations.

Ruffini has presented a village community whose members hardly saw themselves as living in the last times. Their present was very much a vital, socially engaged present. The people Ruffini describes were not of temperaments to be swept aside by history, camel raiders, or tax collectors. We owe to Ruffini that he has brought to life these villagers as "ordinary people" whose voices carry. His book is a necessary reminder that what can be lost in picturesqueness is more than made up for in historical depth. The case book on Aphrodito is not closed.

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